Gennadius Scholarius Complete Works

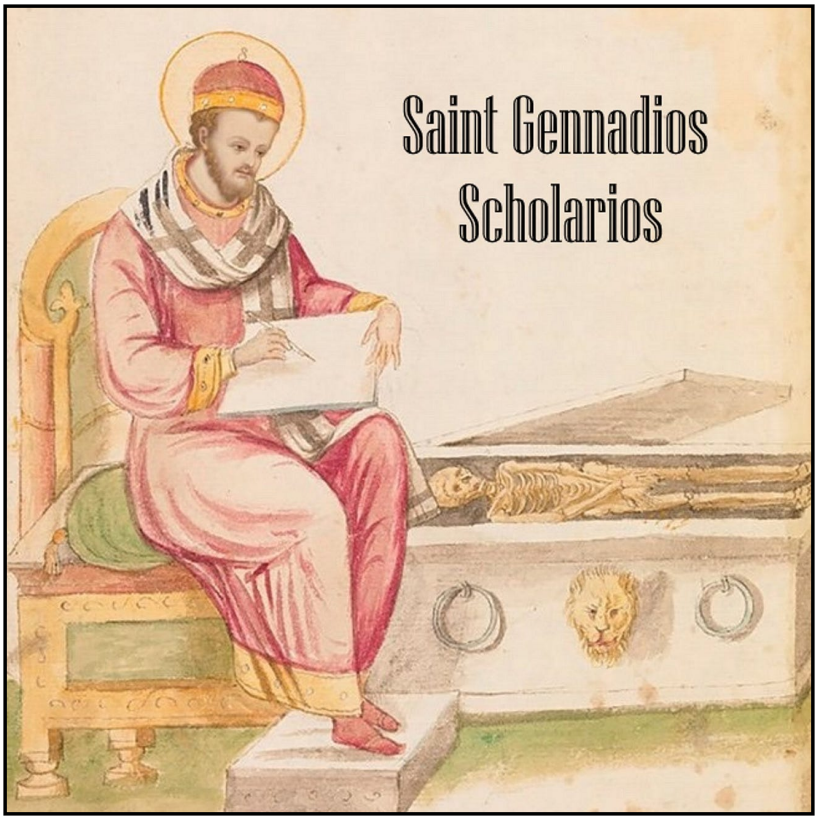
VOLUME 1

The Complete Works of
The Holy Patriarch of Constantinople
Saint Gennadius Scholarius

(OCGS 1)

Volume 1

THE MOST HOLY
PATRIARCH OF



CONSTANTINOPLE

(1405-1473)

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Forward

It is with a mourning cross that the name of the person who worked the hardest to prepare this edition of the works of Georges Scholarius appears at the forefront of this volume. Struck down by an implacable illness, Monsignor Louis Petit passed away in Menton on November 5, 1927, leaving behind this first volume at page 353. On March 4 of that same year, he was correcting the first printed sheets of this work. By that time, he had already felt the first shivers of the malignant fever that confounded even the most renowned doctors of Paris and Brussels until his final weeks. Did he foresee what was to come when he made the author of these lines commit, in writing, to continue the work he had begun should he succumb to the task? It is a heavy legacy, one whose weight we feel keenly and which has caught us in the midst of other pressing labors. Yet, this inheritance has been greatly lightened by the six years of effort our dear departed friend dedicated to preparing this publication. Since 1920, in collaboration with Mr. Xenophon A. Siderides, he patiently gathered the necessary materials, combing through the catalogs of libraries in the East and West, commissioning photographs of entire manuscripts, and even undertaking a lengthy pilgrimage to the monasteries of Mount Athos in May and June of 1921 to bring back valuable pieces. After the work of gathering came the even longer and more arduous task of reading. Monsignor Petit undertook that as well. As will be noted in the introduction that follows, the principal writings of Georges Scholarius have come down to us in authentic autographs. A stroke of good fortune, one might say, for the editors. It is indeed fortunate —but only if these autographs are not too difficult to decipher. Unfortunately, the handwriting of Scholarius is by no means easy to read. It is likely due to their forbidding appearance that most of these writings have remained unpublished until now, eluding the advantages of Gutenberg's invention. They even discouraged the Greeks themselves, as evidenced by the limited influence these works have had on modern Eastern philosophical and theological literature. Patiently, the Archbishop of Corinth unraveled the secrets of these manuscripts, aided in transcription by the keen typographical eye and remarkably deft hand of Brother Jules Pector. Though he had never studied the language of Homer and Demosthenes, under the guidance of a skilled paleographer, he succeeded in deciphering Scholarius's fine cursive script more reliably than many learned Hellenists.

It is also only fair to acknowledge, beyond the multifaceted and indispensable collaboration of Mr. Siderides, other greatly meritorious contributions. Three names in particular deserve mention here: Monsignor René Graffin, director of the Patrologia Orientalis; Monsignor Giovanni Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library; and his brother, Mr. Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, professor at the University of Rome. Between 1920 and 1925, Monsignor Graffin almost continuously sent rolls of photographs of Parisian manuscripts containing Scholarius's works to the Archbishopric of Athens. We know that for this task, the director of the Patrologia Orientalis often handled the photographic equipment himself. The erudite Prefect of the Vatican Library wrote an incalculable number of letters to respond, with his usual meticulousness, to the Archbishop of Athens's detailed inquiries about the manuscripts in his care. As for Mr. Silvio G. Mercati, he served as a gracious and dedicated intermediary with the Italian libraries. Beyond that, from his travels to Patmos and Mount Athos in 1923 and 1924, he brought back pieces of particularly challenging access. May these three scholars receive from our pen the thanks that Monsignor Petit would undoubtedly have extended to them at the outset of this first volume.

The rare readers who will leaf through this octavo will no doubt appreciate the inclusion of a brief biographical sketch of the illustrious prelate who dedicated the final years of his life to preparing this edition.

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Born on February 21, 1868, in Viuz-la-Chiésaz, a village in Haute-Savoie, Louis Petit displayed from an early age the desire to become a priest. He was admitted to the clerical schools run by the Assumptionist Fathers, known as alumnats, where young candidates for the priesthood received free education up to the level of rhetoric. There, he completed a rigorous secondary education. From the beginning, he demonstrated an extraordinary love for intellectual labor, combined with exceptional mental abilities, which would soon make him one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. After completing his classical studies, he joined the Congregation of the Assumptionists at the age of seventeen. In 1891, he was ordained a priest at the abbey of Livry near Paris, following theological studies in Rome at the college of the Dominican Fathers. Initially appointed a professor at Assumptionist schools in France and later at the Oriental minor seminary of Phanaraki, on the Asian outskirts of Constantinople, he was, in October 1895, placed in charge of the newly founded house at Cadi-Keui. Under his leadership, it soon became the seat of a school of advanced Byzantine studies. In the fall of 1897, the first issue of the journal Échos d'Orient was published, which remains to this day the organ of the New Institute.

An avid contributor in the early years of the journal he helped create, Father Petit was not one to limit his prodigious activity to just that. He soon turned his focus to publishing previously unpublished documents, both ancient and modern. Editing texts became his true scientific vocation. For the breadth and variety of his publications, he can be compared to the great scholars of the 17th and 18th centuries. For his adherence to critical standards, his attention to accuracy in even the smallest details, and his love for meticulous work, he stands among the best scholars of our time. He would spend long hours verifying a single citation or leafing through numerous volumes just to provide a simple reference to Migne's Patrology. By 1900, he began collaborating on the continuation of Mansi's collection of councils, which became his crowning achievement and occupied the best part of his time over twenty-five years. Initially, he had committed only to publishing the Eastern synods, but circumstances led him to work on Western councils as well. Of the eleven and a half volumes he contributed to the collection, the East and the West are represented in nearly equal measure. The Vatican Council alone fills five volumes, the last of which was published as the first sheets of the present edition were being printed. A comprehensive dossier on the Council of Florence, consisting largely of previously unpublished documents, had been compiled. Its publication was initiated in the Patrologia Orientalis with two installments appearing in volumes XV and XVII.

After the councils, the most substantial collections published by this tireless scholar are the Acts of the Athonite Monasteries. Between 1903 and 1914, four volumes appeared as an appendix to the Russian Vizantiyskiy Vremennik: the Acts of Xenophon (1903), the Pantocrator (1903-1904), the Esphigmenou (1906), and the Chilandar (1911-1914). The monks of the Holy Mountain, who offered the Catholic scholar their warm hospitality on three separate occasions—in 1901, 1905, and 1921—had no cause for regret. Thanks to him, the ancient charters of their monasteries were revealed to the scholarly world. To these Athonite publications must be added a Collection of Christian Inscriptions of Athos, published in Paris in 1904 in collaboration with M.G. Millet and Father J. Parroire. Mgr Petit made significant contributions to Eastern hagiography. His publications include: 1. The Life and Office of Saint Michael Maleinos, Paris, 1903. 2. The Life and Office of Saint Euthymios the Younger, Paris, 1904. 3. The Life of Saint Athanasius the Athonite (Analecta Bollandiana, 1906). 4. The Life of Saint John Xenos, Based on His Autobiography (Analecta Bollandiana, 1924). 5. The Life of Saint Mary the Younger (Acta Sanctorum Novembris, Vol. IV).

6. The Office of Nicephorus Phocas (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Vol. XIII). 7. The Acolouthia of Mark Eugenikos, Archbishop of Ephesus (Studi Bizantini, Vol. II, 1928). 8. The Bibliography of Greek Acolouthies, a true masterpiece of scholarship, published as Vol. XVI of the Subsidia Hagiographica by the Bollandists (Brussels, 1926).

In collaboration with Hubert Pernot, Mgr Petit continued Émile Legrand's Greek Bibliography for the 18th century. The first volume was published in 1918; a second volume is set to be released in 1928, and a third is ready for printing.

Mgr Petit also dispersed numerous documents related to the history of the Eastern Churches across various collections. Notable works include: 1. The Regulations of the Orthodox Church in Turkey (Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Vol. I). 2. The Regulations of the Armenian Church (Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, Vol. IV). 3. The Typicon of the Monastery of Our Lady of Pity in Macedonia (Izvestia of the Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople, Vol. VI). 4. The Typicon of the Monastery of Kosmosotira near Enos (1152) (Izvestia, Vol. XIII). 5. Monody of Theodore Prodromos on Stephen Skylitzes, Metropolitan of Trebizond (Izvestia, Vol. VIII). 6. Monody of Niketas Eugenianos (Vizantiyskiy Vremennik, Vol. IX). 7. Unpublished Documents on the Constantinopolitan Council of 1166 and Its Final Opponents (Vizantiyskiy Vremennik, Vol. XI). 8. The Typicon of Gregory Pakourianos for the Monastery of Bachkovo, Saint Petersburg, 1904.

To complete an account of this illustrious prelate's scholarly activity, one would need to add the endless list of entries and articles he contributed to the three ecclesiastical science dictionaries currently published in France (Dictionary of Catholic Theology, Dictionary of Christian Archaeology and Liturgy, Dictionary of Ecclesiastical History and Geography) and to the American Catholic Encyclopedia. Of these, the Dictionary of Catholic Theology benefited the most from his work. His entries on Byzantine and modern Greek theologians are rich in new information. For proof, one need only browse his article on Mark of Ephesus, one of the most recently published. We will not delve into the unpublished documents he planned to release —one human lifetime would not suffice to complete them.

This intense scholarly work was partially disrupted from 1912 onward by his episcopal duties, imposed by Pope Pius X following the Roman council of the United Armenians in 1911, for which Mgr Petit had been a key organizer. In 1908, Father Petit had left Cadi-Keui and the East to explore Western libraries, especially those in Rome. From the autumn of 1908 to the spring of 1912, he lived a laborious and quiet life in the Eternal City. During this time, he gathered the materials for the five folio volumes on the Vatican Council, as well as numerous other documents. It was in the midst of these peaceful pursuits that, on March 4, 1912, he was unexpectedly appointed Archbishop of Athens. Consecrated on April 25, 1912, at the Church of Saint Augustine in Rome by Cardinal de Cabrières, he assumed his position on May 21. He accepted the role out of obedience, despite his humility as a religious scholar and his scholarly inclinations being at odds with such a position. For him, the bishop's staff truly became a cross. He bore this cross valiantly for fourteen years, fulfilling his duties as shepherd of souls and Delegate of the Holy See amid the complex and tragic events that marked Greece and Athens before, during, and after the Great War. When he left the See of Saint Denis in May 1926 to become titular Archbishop of Corinth, he left behind universal regret—not only among his flock, who loved him as a father, but also among the elite of Athenian society. He had won their esteem and sympathy through the brilliance of his scholarship, the integrity of his character, and the authority of his virtue.

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If one seeks the guiding principle that inspired and unified such a well-lived life, it is clear that Mgr Louis Petit, in all his scholarly work, aimed not only to advance human knowledge but also, and more importantly, to foster intellectual and religious reconciliation between the East and the West, divided by a schism that has persisted for over nine centuries. Undoubtedly, one of the causes of this separation and its endurance has been the mutual ignorance in which Greeks and Latins have lived for centuries. To dispel this ignorance, there is no better method than to bring to light the documents of the past, many of which remain hidden in the mystery of ancient manuscripts. We hope that this edition of the works of the greatest and last theologian and philosopher of Byzantium will convince those who study these volumes of this truth. It will become evident that these works contain hidden treasures from which both the East and the West can benefit. George Scholarius was the Byzantine who best understood and appreciated Western culture. From the heights of heaven, where we firmly hope he has already received the reward due to faithful laborers, the illustrious departed—whom we mourn and who was for us both a father and a guide—will surely watch over the success and completion of a project that was dear to him, that was his final endeavor, and that remains his in so many ways. The tireless editor continues his work: Defunctus adhuc edit ("Even in death, he still publishes").

Rome, March 19, 1928.

M. Jugie.

Introduction

The figure whose complete works we are undertaking to publish is among the most illustrious names in Byzantine literature, marking its brilliant culmination. He would be even more celebrated if all his writings had already been brought to light. In fact, it is the lesser part of them, and not the most important, that has had this fortune. If their collection were to fit in this single volume, the reader would expect to find here a biographical notice of the author with a complete inventory of his works and a description of their manuscript sources. But this is not the case. George Scholarius was a particularly prolific and varied writer. Grammar and philosophy, sacred and secular eloquence, theology in its multiple forms: dogmatic, polemical, apologetic, ascetic and pastoral, liturgy and religious poetry have in turn, or simultaneously, occupied his laborious life; and he has produced in each of these genres always remarkable works and sometimes masterpieces. Moreover, he translated, commented on, or summarized long treatises and various opuscules of Latin philosophers and theologians. Thus, it is not a single volume, but at least eight of the size of this first one that will be needed to gather all that he has left us, all that, at least, we have been able to collect from him, after long and patient research in the libraries of East and West. It will be understood that faced with such a mass of documents we have renounced giving at a single stroke all the critical and literary information that concerns them, and that we have even postponed to the last volume the detailed biography of the author. Like many other great men, George Scholarius has not had a historian. To write his life, we will use as our main source his own works and especially the notes he has sown here and there in the numerous autograph manuscripts that remain to us. They cannot be conveniently used until after their publication. In the meantime, a short notice will be found below, where new information is not rare, and which will suffice to guide scholars in the reading of the works, as they appear. Each volume, moreover, will have its special introduction making known the date, the sources and the nature of the edited pieces. This plan seemed to us not only the most practical, but also the most in accordance with scientific requirements. For it may happen, and it is to be hoped, that our first volumes will arouse among Byzantinists research that will complete ours and perhaps lead to new discoveries.

The order adopted in the publication of the pieces is both systematic and chronological. We had first considered following the purely chronological order; but we renounced it given the impossibility of assigning a precise date to numerous writings, and also because this method is not without serious drawbacks. If it satisfies the pure historian, it displeases other minds, who are shocked to find, for example, after a grammar, a long treatise of controversy on the procession of the Holy Spirit. This is what made us prefer the systematic order combined, as far as possible, with the chronological order. At the beginning of each piece, a concise note indicates the manuscripts used and, if necessary, the previous editions. These are, for the most part, collated with the manuscript sources. It will be sufficiently seen by this first volume that the republication of certain texts has not been a useless work. For the indication of variants, the number that marks them refers not directly to the word itself, but to the line where it is read. It is easy to find the word in question, since the lines of each page are numbered by fives. The references to scriptural texts and to the Greek and Latin patrologies of Migne are indicated in the same way.

Introduction

The publication of the works will proceed in the following order:

- Volume I: Oratorical works on Providence and on the Soul. Theological questions on Providence.
- Volume II: Treatises, dialogues, and polemical dissertations on the procession of the Holy Spirit.
- Volume III: Continuation of the polemical writings against the Union of Florence. Treatises on Palamism. Apologetic works addressed to Muslims and Jews. Quodlibetal questions on various theological subjects. Ascetic, pastoral, and liturgical works.
- Volume IV: Summary of the Summa contra Gentiles and of the first part of the Summa Theologica of Saint Thomas Aquinas.
- Volume V: Summary of the Prima Secundae of the Summa Theologica of Saint Thomas. Translation and commentary of the De ente et essentia of the same [Aquinas]. Translation of the Commentary on Aristotle's De anima by the same [Aquinas].
- Volume VI: Polemical writings against Plethon. Commentaries on Porphyry's Isagoge, Aristotle's Categories, and the book De Interpretatione.
- Volume VII: Commentaries on Aristotle's Physics. Opuscule on happiness according to Aristotle and Plotinus. Translations of Saint Thomas's Prolegomena to the first two books of Aristotle's Physics; of the opuscule De sophismatibus; of the De sex principiis of Gilbert de la Porrée; of Extracts from the Dialectica of Peter of Spain.
- Volume VIII: Letters. Grammar. Varia. This last volume will be preceded by an Introduction on the life and chronology of the works of George Scholarius, and will give a summary overview of his philosophical and theological doctrine. It will conclude with general tables for the eight volumes.

After these general indications on the progress of the edition and the method adopted, we will 1) give a brief notice on the life of George Scholarius, necessary for the full understanding of his works; 2) describe the main manuscript sources used in this first volume, and especially the autographs; 3) quickly review each of the published pieces, in order to complete the information provided in the course of the volume.

Introduction

A brief biography of George Scholarius.

George Kourtésès Scholarius (Γεώργιος Κουρτέσης ὁ Σχολάριος) was born in Constantinople, to parents of comfortable, if not wealthy, means, around the year 1405. This date is suggested by: 1) the fact that in 1420, the young Francesco Filelfo (1398-1483) met the young Scholarius in Constantinople; 2) because, prior to 1425, George heard Symeon of Thessalonica preach; 3) because before the Council of Florence he was already one of the dignitaries of the imperial court, and he appeared at the council in the fullness of his oratorical talent; 4) because in 1450, upon entering the monastery, he declared that old age was approaching for him. The name Kourtésès or Kourtésis is found in the manuscripts only at the beginning of his youthful works. Afterward, it disappears, and one finds only George Scholarius or Gennadius. It seems that it was abandoned when George became an imperial dignitary. In a letter to Mark of Ephesus, Scholarius states quite clearly that, as regards the humanities, philosophy, and theology, he was self-taught and received almost nothing from his compatriots. He learned the Latin language early on and drew from the writings of Western philosophers and theologians, especially those of Saint Thomas, a good part of his knowledge, which led him to be accused of Latinism by jealous individuals. He responded sharply to them on at least two occasions. After acquiring knowledge for himself, he opened a school in his own house, where Greeks and Italians flocked. One of his students was his own nephew, Theodore Sophianos. His lessons focused mainly on grammar and philosophy. It was during this period of his life, that is, during his youth, that he composed a Greek grammar, translated and commented on several philosophical writings by Western authors, and delighted in Aristotle. Honors soon came to him. Prior to the Council of Florence, and until 1450, he entered the imperial palace with the titles of "καθολικὸς κριτὴς τῶν Ῥωμαίων" (Universal Judge of the Romans) and "καθολικὸς σεκρετάριος τοῦ βασιλέως" (Universal Secretary of the Emperor). At the same time, although a simple layman, he was the appointed preacher of the court, and every Friday, in the imperial palace, he gave a sermon in the presence of the senate and the entire city. He also delivered harangues there and rivaled in eloquence on matters of circumstance with the other courtiers. He was among those who went to Ferrara and Florence with Emperor John and the metropolitans to discuss the union of the Churches. What his attitude and influence were there, we will say shortly, when speaking of the discourses he composed on that occasion. The Judge of the Romans knew how to be loved while remaining upright. The Emperor's Secretary was flattered almost as much as his master. They competed in praising the court preacher. He himself tells us this. Moreover, his new responsibilities did not distract him from study, and he continued to give his lessons as before. This laborious and peaceful life lasted until the death of Mark of Ephesus (June 23, 1444). Since the Council of Florence, George, who had so strongly recommended the union, had maintained a prudent silence. While the struggle was fierce between unionists and anti-unionists, it was not clear what his true feelings were. Mark of Ephesus knew them. On the point of passing away, it was George Scholarius whom he designated to replace him at the head of the anti-unionist party. Flattered by this mark of confidence, he accepted. He promised the dying Mark to follow in his footsteps, and he kept his word. From the autumn of 1444, he threw himself vigorously into the struggle and sustained with the Bishop of Cortona, Bartholomew Lapacci, long discussions on the Filioque, which he promptly put in writing, giving them the form of a long polemical treatise. The dissertations, dialogues, and letters against the dogma defined at Florence followed almost without interruption until the death of Emperor John VIII Palaiologos (1448). At this time, Scholarius's fortune waned. His enemies succeeded in turning John's successor, Constantine, who had not yet

taken a clear position regarding the union, against him. Under the blow of disgrace, the anti-Latin polemicist experienced a profound disgust for the world and its cabals, and three years before the fall of Constantinople, that is, in 1450, he fulfilled the vow he had made during his thirtieth year, to embrace monastic life. He took the holy habit in the monastery of Kharsianites (τοῦ Χαρσιανείτου) and took the name Gennadius. He did not cease for this reason the struggle against the unionists of Byzantium and the Latins of the West. In the autumn of 1451, the Hussites of Prague dispatched an embassy to Constantinople led by the English priest Constantine Platris to conclude union with the Eastern Church. Constantine asked to be instructed in the Greek faith. The monk Gennadius, the great didaskalos (teacher), was given to him as catechist, and he performed his mission perfectly. It was especially upon the arrival of Cardinal Isidore of Kiev (November 1452), sent by Pope Nicholas V to promulgate the decree of union, that our monk redoubled his activity to prevent what he considered the worst of catastrophes. We will say later all that he did and wrote on this occasion. On May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell to the Turks, and the next day, the monk Gennadius was captured along with his nephew, Theodore Sophianos, and several others, reduced to servitude and taken to Adrianople. He had the good fortune to be allotted to a wealthy Muslim, who treated him with honor. Soon, fortune smiled on him in an unexpected way. Mehmed II wished to give the Greek nation a kind of autonomous organization under the high direction of its religious leader. Having learned that the patriarchal see was vacant, he had an election for a new holder carried out, according to canonical prescriptions. The choice of the clergy fell on the monk Gennadius, whom the sultan had sought out. His reluctance was disregarded, and he had, against his will, to accept the charge imposed on him. This was what he calls his first forced return to the capital.

Gennadius II—this is the name by which he is known in the list of patriarchs of Constantinople—occupied the ecumenical see for only a short time. For reasons he does not clearly explain, but which he implies in several of his writings, he voluntarily resigned in the spring of 1456. On June 29 of that year, in fact, we find him in a monastery on Mount Athos—probably Vatopedi—where he delivers the panegyric of the Holy Apostles. On September 28 of the same year, he mourns at Vatopedi, on the tomb of his beloved nephew, Theodore Sophianos, and delivers a moving eulogy for him. After this bereavement, which afflicted him deeply, he soon left Athos to settle permanently in the monastery of Saint John the Baptist or Prodromos, established on the southern part of Mount Menoikeion, northeast of Serres, an hour and a half's walk from the city. He was already there in 1457. It was there that he spent, within a few months, the long years that remained to him. He nevertheless had to return twice more against his will to Constantinople to occupy the patriarchal see, as we learn from autograph notes, which will be read further on. The second forced return—the first being that of 1454—must be placed in 1462, after the death of Isidore II (1456-1462). This new patriarchate lasted about a year. The opposition of the clergy forced Gennadius to retire again. He returned a third time, always against his will, in 1464. On August 15 of that year, he delivered in Constantinople the beautiful homily on the Dormition of the Theotokos, which will be read in this volume. The year was not over when he was again given his freedom by the election of Joasaph I (1464-1466). This time, it was indeed his final retirement. Gennadius led a life entirely of recollection and intellectual labor on Mount Menoikeion. It was there that he composed his best theological writings, there that he delivered some of his most beautiful homilies. We still do not know the date of his death, but we know from a note slipped into codex Parisinus graecus 1289, one of his autographs, that he was still alive in

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1472. It is indeed to his monastic leisure on Mount Menoikeion that we owe the principal autograph manuscripts that have preserved the most important part of his works. In this first volume alone, we have had to use five of these, all later than the year 1467, namely codices Parisinus 1289, 1294 and 1292, the manuscript known as that of Renaudot, and codex Pantocratorinus 127, from Athos. The first is undoubtedly later than 1472, and the last dates at the earliest from 1470. Of these five autographs, we must now give a detailed description, which will be very instructive and will serve not only for this first volume, but also for several of those that will follow, as the pieces they contain are not all published here. To this description we will add that of two other autographs of lesser importance and of some of the non-autograph manuscripts that have provided a particularly notable or unique contribution to this volume.

Description of the autograph manuscripts used in the first volume.

To each of the five autograph manuscripts we have just mentioned, we give an order number, so as to be able to easily refer to the pieces that are common to them.

1. Parisinus 1289. 15th century. Paper. 21.5 × 15.5 cm., 284 ff. Six blank flyleaves, the last of which bears the index on the verso. The following folios have been left blank: 18, 28, 30-31, 44, 52, 61-62, 66-67, 73, 80, 93-94, 102, 114-117, 129-130, 137, 185, 195, 198, 207, 208, 230, 231, 249, 259, 269, 270. In the upper margin of folio 1, these shelfmarks of former collections appear: CIDIOCXV. 45. 1765. 2955. The last is that of the royal library, in the 17th century. The number 45 is also found on the verso of the 6th flyleaf, at the head of a table of contents written by Scholarius himself, under this title: Πίναξ τῶν ἐμπεριεχομένων τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ συγγραμμάτων (Table of the writings contained in this book). He noted in the margin that the first nine numbers of the collection were composed before the fall of Constantinople: ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως (these before the capture), and the others, after: ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν (these after the capture). Each treatise bears, on the left, an order number which is reproduced, on the right, with some corrections, which a new examination of the volume had made necessary. This numbering not being complete, there is no need to dwell on it further; but from another point of view, this table is very useful to consult. As certain titles have not been transcribed in the body of the volume itself, it allows us to make up for this omission. One observes moreover, between the wording of some and others, certain unimportant discrepancies, which will be taken into account in the enumeration that follows only in cases where they offer some interest. With the exception of folios 170-180 and 283, the volume is entirely in Scholarius's hand.

1. (ff. 1-14). † From the letters of George Scholarius, later Gennadius: + In the lower margin: † The book of letters was found after the Fall; and from it these few letters were transcribed; and the funeral oration. α': Without address. Incipit: Πολάκις με βουληθέντα σοι γράψαι, ἐξότου τοὺς τελευταίους περὶ τῶν ζητημάτων ἐκείνων λόγους ἀπέστειλα. (Many times I, having wished to write to you, since I sent the last discourses concerning those matters.) β' (f. 17): To the brother of the Emperor. Incipit: Ἔχεις νῦν, εἰ καὶ διὰ χρόνου, τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν ὑποσχέσεων. (You have now, even if after some time, the other of the promises.) γ' (f. 2): To the Grand Chartophylax Balsamon. Incipit: Τοῦ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς τιμιότητος. (To ask many and great things from your honor.) δ' (f. 21): To Mark Lepomano, in Venice; written from Florence. Incipit: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι θαυμάζειν λοιπόν. (But I would not be able to marvel anymore.) ε' (f. 37): To Ambrosius. Incipit: Τιμιώτατε πάτερ· αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἀρρωστίαι, πλείους δὴ τῶν συνήθων καὶ χαλεπώτεραι νῦν ἐμπεσοῦσαι. (Most honored father; the illnesses of the body, indeed more than usual and more severe now

having befallen [me].) ς' (f. 4): To the Grand Duke. Incipit: Σὲ καὶ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πάγκοινον ἀγαθόν. (You as a common good to this city.) ζ' (f. 5): Without address. Incipit: Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφιλεῖς ἡμᾶς, ἐνεκαλοῦμεν ἄν σοι δικαίως. (If therefore you loved us, we would justly accuse you.) η' (f. 57): To Filelfo, in Milan. Incipit: Ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ὥσπερ εἰώθει μετ' εὐμενείας, ἀναγνωσθέντων σου τῶν γραμμάτων. (The Emperor as he was accustomed with kindness, after your letters were read.) θ' (f. 6): To the Prince in the Peloponnese. Incipit: Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτου σοι τὴν χάριν πρῶτον ὁμολογοῦντες. (I do not know whose grace we first acknowledge to you.) ι' (f. 7): To Emperor Constantine from Gennadius the monk, Scholarius. Incipit: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔξεστι μοναχοῖς, ἄριστε βασιλεῦ, σπανίοις καὶ δυσπορίστοις τρέφεσθαι βρώμασι. (But it is not permitted for monks, best Emperor, to be nourished by rare and difficult-to-obtain foods.) ια' (f. 8): Address completely erased by time. From the same Gennadius. Incipit: Ἄλλος μὲν αὐτὸς εἶπε, δεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι σοι χάριν. (Another himself said, that we must know grace to you.) ιβ' (f. 8): George Scholarius to Paisios in Crete. Incipit: Ἀπήγγειλαν ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τὴν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀρχόντων ἀργήν. (Not a few reported to us the inactivity from the rulers among you.) ιγ' (f. 9): In the final line: George Scholarius to Asanes; in Lemnos. Incipit: Τὰς μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν ταραχὰς ἀγγελοῦσιν οἱ τὴν εὐτυχῆ τριήρη κομίζοντες. (Those bringing the fortunate trireme report the disturbances among us.) ιδ' (f. 10): George Scholarius to the Emperor of Trebizond. Incipit: Οὐκ ἄρα μένον Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμῖν Εὐρώπην εὐφραίνεις τε καὶ κοσμεῖς. (Therefore, you no longer gladden and adorn Asia and Europe near us.) ιε' (f. 10): George Scholarius to a Nomophylax in the Peloponnese. Incipit: Πολλή σοι χάρις ὀφείλεται παρ' ἡμῶν. (Much grace is owed to you by us.) ις' (f. 12): To the one of Ephesus: George. Incipit: Πέμπω σοι τὸ βιβλίον, ὁ μοι νῦν ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους συγγέγραπται. (I send you the book, which has now been written by me concerning Aristotle.) ιζ' (f. 12): Without address. Incipit: Τῆς σῆς μὲν πρότερον εὐσεβείας ἀγγελομένης ἡμῖν ἐτερπόμεθα. (We rejoiced at the report of your former piety.)

2. (ff. 14-177). From the same George: Funeral oration for Despot Theodore. Incipit: Τῷ μὲν τοῦ κρατίστου βασιλέως ἡμῶν ἀδελφῷ τρίτος μὴν ἐξήκει κειμένῳ. (For the brother of our most powerful Emperor, the third month has passed lying [dead]). Published here, pp. 255-262.

3. (ff. 19-27). Of Gennadius the monk Scholarius: Homily on the holy Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Εἴπερ ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑορτῶν. (If indeed any other of the sacred feasts). In the upper margin: Ἀνεγνώσθη ἐν βασιλείοις, ἔτι κοσμικοῦ ὄντος καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ διαπρέποντος λειτουργήμασιν ἐπὶ Ἰωάννου βασιλέως, ᾧ καὶ ἅπαντα συναπέβη καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα. (It was read in the imperial palace, while he was still a layman and performing the distinguished services there under Emperor John, to whom all things and our matters also befell.) In the lower margin: † Εὕρηται ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ, ἐν βιβλίῳ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν· καὶ μετεγράφη ἐκεῖθεν. († Found in Thessaloniki, in a book after the Fall; and transcribed from there.) Published, pp. 149-161.

4. (f. 28). Prayer of the blessed and wise Synesius composed by him in metrical verses; translated by us into clearer [language] for the many. This one, having become a Christian from a Greek, was then also ordained bishop of Cyrene; in the times of Theodosius and Arcadius. Incipit: Ὑμνῶμεν τὸν τῆς ἁγνῆς νύμφης υἱόν· (Let us hymn the son of the pure bride). Opposite, on f. 29, the text of Synesius. Incipit: Ὑμνῶμεν κοῦρον νύμφας. (Let us hymn the son of a bride.)

5. (f. 29). From the letter of Saint Cyril to the monks contained in the book of the Third Council, of which the beginning is: Ἀφίκοντο μέν τινες. (Some have arrived). Incipit: Ἔσικε δὲ πως τῶ καθ' ἡμᾶς τόμω. (And it is somehow fitting to our Tome.)

6. (ff. 32-36v). Consolation to Emperor Constantine on the passing of his mother, the Empress. This title, which is missing within the text itself, is taken from the table at the beginning. In the upper margin, a short note to the Emperor. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ ὥρισας, δέσποτά μου ἅγιε, κράτιστε βασιλεῦ. (Since you have determined, my holy master, most excellent Emperor.) Then follows the text of the monody. Incipit: Ἡ μακαρία καὶ ἀοίδιμος μήτηρ τοῦ κράτους σου καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάντων κυρία. (The blessed and renowned mother of your majesty and of all the Romans, mistress.) In the lower margin: Εὕρηται μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, αὐτοσχέδιον. (Found after the Fall, impromptu.) Published here, pp. 262-270.

7. (ff. 37-43). + To Emperor Constantine, Scholarius. Incipit: Πολλάκις προσειρηκώς σε, γαληνότατε βασιλεῦ. (Having often addressed you, most serene Emperor.) In the table at the beginning, the title of this piece is worded thus: Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον, ὅτε ἔμελλον γίνεσθαι μοναχός. (To Emperor Constantine, when he was about to become a monk.) This circumstance is recalled in more explicit terms in the following note, which is read at the top of f. 37: † Ἐγράφη, ὅτε ἀνεχώρησε τοῦ παλλατίου καὶ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Παντοκράτορος, ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὤκει κοσμικός, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Χαρσιανείτου κοινόβιον, καὶ ἡτοιμάζετο πρὸς τὸ μοναχικὸν σχῆμα. († It was written, when he withdrew from the palace and the monastery of the Pantokrator, in which he previously lived as a layman, and went to the cenobium of Charsianites, and was preparing for the monastic habit.) – On the same page, in the lower margin: Εὕρηται μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν αὐτοσχέδιον, καὶ μετεγράφη τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν. (Found after the Fall, impromptu, and this was transcribed from there.)

8. (ff. 45-51). Of George Scholarius, on the feast of the Presentation, an address: read in the Peribleptos Monastery for the first time, in the presence of Emperor Constantine, and many of the Senate [here a few words crossed out with a pen and rendered illegible, then:] εἶτα διεδόθη. (then it was distributed.) Incipit: Τὸ μὲν ὀχλῶδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων. (The multitude of people.) In the lower margin: † Εὕρηται μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, αὐτοσχέδιον τοῦτο· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ἀναγνωσθὲν τότε. (Found after the Fall, this impromptu; and this was what was read then.) Published here, pp. 161-172.

9. (ff. 53-60). Of the same, against the Simoniacal heresy or disbelief. Incipit: Τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀθέων τούτων βαρβάρων ἐπελθούσας ἡμῖν συμφοράς. (The misfortunes that have befallen us from these godless barbarians.) In the upper margin: † Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σχολαρίου. Ἐγράφη δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως: – καὶ ἐπέμφθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνω· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν τι βελτίων ἦν: († Of Gennadius the monk Scholarius. It was written two years before the Fall: – and sent to Emperor Constantine; but he was no better: –) In the lower margin: † Καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοσχέδιον εὕρηται μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πεμφθὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ τότε. († And this impromptu was found after the Fall, and this was what was sent to the Emperor then.)

10. (ff. 63-65). In the table, the following title: Letter-discourse to Despot Demetrios; in the Peloponnese. Incipit, after two lines erased intentionally: Πάλαι μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἱστοροῦσιν, ἐκ Θεοῦ τὴν σιτοδείαν προεγνωκότα. (In ancient times the Jews narrate about Joseph, having foreknown the grain supply from God.) In the upper margin, on the left: † Γενναδίου, ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Χαρσιανείτου; († Of Gennadius, in the

monastery of Charsianites;) on the right, in the corner: δεκεμβρίου κεν · ἐνα δικτιόνος της (December 25th, 1452). In the lower margin: † Ὕστερον εὑρέθη τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Καλλιπόλει. († Later this was found in Kallipolis.)

11. (ff. 68-72). + Of Gennadius, the least Scholarius, on the vain and illogical and unconscious innovation of the faith through abandonment by God: – Incipit: Τίς δώσει μοι πτέρυγας ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς. (Who will give me wings like a dove?) In the lower margin: † Εὕρηται καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Καλλιπόλει μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκομίσθη ἐκεῖθεν. († These things also were found in Kallipolis after the Fall, and were brought to us from there.)

12. (ff. 74-79). In the table, the following title: Writings on the innovation of the faith in the confirmation of Latinism. Under this general title, the following pieces have been brought together: α' (f. 74): Incipit: Τῇ κζ' τοῦ νοεμβρίου τελευταῖον, Γεννάδιος, ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλάχιστος, τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις πολίταις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἅπασιν, ἱερωμένοις καὶ κοσμικοῖς. Γνώσκετε πάντες καλῶς. (On the 27th of November last, Gennadius, the sinful servant of God and least, to all the most noble citizens of Constantinople, clergy and laity. Know all well.) In the upper margin: Ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρα, διεδόθη τὸ παρὸν εἰς ὅλην τὴν πόλιν εἰς ἴσα πολλὰ μεταγραφὲν · πρὸ ἓξ μηνῶν τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐν κθ' τοῦ μαΐου γενομένης. (On this day, the present [writing] was distributed throughout the whole city having been copied into many equal [copies]; six months before the Fall which occurred on the 29th of May.) β' (f. 76): † Τοῦτο προσηλώθη τῇ θύρα τοῦ δωματίου, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης νοεμβρίου μετὰ τὸ ἐλθεῖν τὸν καρδινάλιον. († This was affixed to the door of the room, from the first of November after the arrival of the cardinal.) Incipit: † Ὦ πτωχοὶ πολῖται, ὅλα ἐχάσατε · καὶ νῦν παραιτεῖσθε καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀσυνειδήτως. († O poor citizens, you have lost everything; and now you also renounce piety shamefully and unconsciously.) γ' (ff. 76v-78): † Τοῦτο ἐστάλη τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, τῷ μεγάλω ἐκκλησιάρχη τῷ Σιλβέστρω καὶ τῷ μεγάλω χαρτοφύλακι τῷ Ἀγαλλιανῷ, τῇ ἡμέρα ἡ ἐμηνύθησαν οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ εἰς τοῦ Ξυλαλᾶ τὸ παλλάτιον · καὶ ἦν αὕτη ἡ πρώτη φορά, μετὰ τὸ συσκευασθῆναι πάντα, ἰδίως διὰ τοῦ καρδιναλίου καὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχιερέων τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου: - τῇ ιε' τοῦ νοεμβρίου. († This was sent to the ecclesiastics, to the Grand Ecclesiarch Sylvester and to the Grand Chartophylax Hagallianos, on the day the ecclesiastics were summoned to the palace of Xylalas; and this was the first time, after everything had been arranged, specifically by the cardinal and the three archiereis of this year: - on the 15th of November.) Incipit: † Ἅγιοι πατέρες · ἐγὼ ἤθελον ἐλθεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀεὶ ποιῶ. († Holy fathers; I wanted to come, as I always do.) δ' (f. 77): Liste des divers opuscules composés par l'auteur sur l'affaire de l'union et destinée, selon toute apparence, à être annexée à la lettre au despote Démétrios que nous avons mentionnée ci-dessus, au nº 10. On la trouvera, en attendant notre édition, dans Sp. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια, τ. II, p. 129-130. (List of the various opuscules composed by the author on the matter of the union and intended, according to all appearances, to be annexed to the letter to Despot Demetrios that we mentioned above, at no. 10. It can be found, pending our edition, in Sp. Lampros, Παλαιολόγεια, vol. II, pp. 129-130.)

13. (ff. 81-93). † Of Patriarch Gennadius; on the capture of the city and the resignation of the patriarchate. Incipit: † The humble monk Gennadius; to the beloved everywhere in Christ Jesus, living according to reason and law: – Many having written to me, said that they were marveling and considering it a terrible thing. In the upper margin: † Written in the Pammakaristos Monastery in Constantinople.

14. (ff. 95-101). + Gennadius's lament; June 20, indiction 8 (= 1460) on Mount Menoikeion in the monastery of the Honorable Prodromos. Incipit: Ἰοὺ τῆς ἀδύνης ἡ μου τὴν καρδίαν συνέχει · ἰοὺ τῶν ἀναγκῶν

αἱ τὸν λογισμόν μου συγχέουσιν. (Woe to the pain that grips my heart; woe to the necessities that confound my reason.) Published here, pp. 283-294.

15. (ff. 103-113). Concerning the book of Gemistos; and against the Hellenic polytheism: – Incipit: Γεννάδιος ὁ Σχολάριος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ Θεοῦ χάριτι, τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ πάντα ἀρίστῳ κῦρ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐξάρχῳ χαίρειν. – Ἐπαινοῦμέν σου τὴν περὶ τὰ βελτίω σπουδὴν ἀεί. (Gennadius Scholarius and the rest by the grace of God, to the most honorable and in all things best lord John the Exarch, greetings. – We always praise your zeal for the better things.) In the upper margin: Ἐγράφη ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικέως τῷ πρὸς ταῖς Φερραῖς. (Written on Mount Menoikeion near Serres.)

16. (ff. 118-128). + Of Gennadius monk and patriarch of Christ's poor; concerning the only way to the salvation of men; it was also written and interpreted in Arabic, after the (before him crossed out) discussions that took place in the patriarchate; and it was given to them. Incipit: Ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον αὐτοῖς αἰώνιον τέλος. (The way of the salvation of men to the proposed eternal end for them.) The title has undergone several alterations.

17. (ff. 130-137). Concerning the difference between venial and mortal sins, brief and clear. Incipit: Ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστερος περὶ τῶν θανασίμων καὶ συγγνωστῶν ἁμαρτιῶν λόγος. (The more precise discourse concerning mortal and venial sins.)

18. (ff. 138-155v). † Concerning the first worship of God; or the evangelical law in epitome; it was issued impromptu and readily comprehensible, to a certain friend monk who requested it. Incipit: Δυοῖν οὐσῶν τοῖς εὐσεβοῦσι λατρειῶν καὶ θεραπειῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. (Since there are two kinds of worship and service of God for the pious.) In the upper margin: † Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἀποκατάθεσιν ἐν τῷ ἰδιασμῷ αὐτοῦ. († Of Gennadius the monk after his restoration to the patriarchate in his private life.) In the lower margin: Ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει Μενοικέως ςυξς' (=1458). (In the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion 1458).

19. (ff. 155v-169). Concerning divine providence and predestination: important. Incipit: Τὴν ἐξ ἀϊδίου περὶ τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων γνῶσίν τε καὶ διάταξιν. (The eternal knowledge and ordering concerning things that are and are becoming.) Published pp. 390-412.

20. (ff. 170-180). Concerning predestination a second time. Incipit: † Τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς, κυρίῳ Ἰωσὴφ τῷ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, Γεννάδιος μοναχός: ἐνδικτιόνος ιε' Ἰουλίῳ (= 1467). – Κλινοπετὴς ἐδεξάμην σου τὴν ἐπιστολήν. († To the most honorable and most holy among monks, lord Joseph in Thessaloniki, Gennadius the monk: indiction 15, July [1467]. – Being bedridden I received your letter.) In the lower margin: Ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικέως. (In the monastery of the Honorable Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion.) This note and the title are in Scholarius's hand; but the copy of the treatise is in another hand. Published pp. 412-426.

21. (ff. 180v-189v). Concerning divine predestination, a third time. Incipit: † Τῷ αὐτῷ τιμιωτάτῳ ἐξάρχῳ καὶ ὁσιωτάτῳ πατρί, Γεννάδιος μοναχὸς ὁ Σχολάριος. – Πολλὴν οἶδά σοι χάριν, ὁσιώτατε πάτερ καὶ ἀδελφέ, ὅτι καίτοι πεπεισμένος ἀρκούντως. († To the same most honorable exarch and most holy father, Gennadius the monk Scholarius. – I know much grace to you, most holy father and brother, because although being sufficiently persuaded.) Published pp. 427-439.

22. (ff. 190-194). In the table, the following title: Chronography from Adam up to the divine economy; both from the Old Scripture and from other most accurate records. Corresponding to this title within the

volume are various opuscules, of which it is appropriate to reproduce the subscriptions, despite their length. α' (f. 190): This chronography is taken from the Old Scripture, up to Cyrus; but from there it is added from the Greek histories, up to the divine economy; which we intend to chronography, having collected the times from Adam up to it. Incipit: Ἀδὰμ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος. (Adam the first man.) β' (f. 193): Another note from most accurate records; differing indeed from the previous one in the kingdoms and the years of the kingdoms, but arriving at the same end, and in the same measure, defining the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ; namely, in the five thousand five hundred and sixth year from creation. Incipit: Ὁ Ἀδὰμ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ διαδοχῆς, ἔτη Ολ'. (Adam led the men born from him by succession, 30 years.) [Note: Ολ' represents the number 30 in Greek numerals.] γ' (f. 194): Note: Incipit: Ἡ βασιλεία τῶν χριστιανῶν, ἥτις καὶ βασιλεία τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦν. (The kingdom of the Christians, which was also the kingdom of the Romans.) Under this enigmatic title are found curious comparisons between the first and the last emperor of Constantinople, between the first and the last of its patriarchs, between the foundation and the capture of the capital of the empire. In the upper margin of f. 194, this date, in Scholarius's hand: ἐν ἔτει ζωωπω: † Since it corresponds to the year 1472, it provides us with proof that Scholarius lived at least until this time. [Note: ζωωπω represents the year 6586 AM (Anno Mundi) which, according to the Byzantine reckoning, corresponds to 1472 AD.]

23. (ff. 195-197v). Title in the table: Necessary notes from the book of the blessed Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, which is entitled: Cure of Hellenic Maladies. Inside the volume, the title is worded thus: Αἱ σημειώσεις αὗται, ἐκ τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ μακαρίου Θεοδωρίτου Κύρου, ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται, Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων. (These notes, from the book of the blessed Theodoret of Cyrrhus, which is entitled, Cure of Hellenic Maladies.) Incipit: Ὅτι Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος. (That Pherecydes the Syrian and Pythagoras the Samian.)

24. (ff. 199-207). Concerning divine predestination, a fourth time. † To the Grand Economos, lord Theodore Hagallianos. Incipit: Σὺ μὲν καλῶς ποιῶν, φίλτατε, ἢ διαγράφειν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέπεις ὧν ἔπεμψας λόγον. (You indeed do well, dearest, allowing us to transcribe the discourse you sent.) Published pp. 440-453.

25. (ff. 209-212). In the table: To a certain friend, a solution to a question concerning the humanity in our Lord Jesus. Inside, no title, but this address: † Ὁ ἐλάχιστος ἐν μοναχοῖς Γεννάδιος τῷ ἀρίστῳ καὶ συνετῷ καὶ λογίῳ ἀνδρί, κυρίῳ Θεοδώρῳ τῷ Βρανά, υἱῷ ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ φιλτάτῳ, χαίρειν: † (The least among monks, Gennadius, to the best and wise and learned man, lord Theodore Branas, our dearest son in Christ, greetings: †) Incipit: Πρότριτα προσήλθεν ἡμῖν μοναχός τις τῶν φιλουμένων, καὶ ἐζήτησεν. (Recently a certain monk of the beloved came to us, and asked.) In the lower margin: Ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικέως, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τρίτης ἀνόδου βιαίας ἡμῶν · καὶ χάρις τῷ ἐλευθερώσαντι ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖθεν Θεῷ: † (From the monastery of the Honorable Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion, in the third release from our third forced ascent to the city; and thanks to God who freed us from there: †).

26. (ff. 212-218v). † Apology concerning silence: to the same. Incipit: Διεθέμεθα μέν, ἐκεῖθεν μέλλοντες ἐξιέναι. (We intended, indeed, about to depart from there.)

27. (ff. 218v-226v). Discourse on the memory of the beheading of the Honorable Prophet Prodromos and Baptist John. Incipit: Ὁ μὲν μακάριος Ἰωάννης καὶ βαπτιστής. (The blessed John also and Baptist.) In the lower margin: Ἐγράφη Ἰουνίου ιε' · ἐνδικτιώνος ιδ' · ἔτους οδου (= 1466). (Written June 15th; indiction 14th; year 1466). Published pp. 212-223.

28. (ff. 227-229). Gennadius's hymn (the table adds melodious) to God with supplication: ode 1. Ὑγρὰν διοδεύσας ὡσεί: (Having crossed the sea as if:) Τολμῶντα με μέγιστε βασιλεῦ. (Daring me greatest king.)

29. (ff. 232-240). In the table: Discourse on the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, theological or etiological. Inside: Εἰς τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ. (On the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ: Of Gennadius the monk.) Incipit: Οἱ λαμπρότατοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ φωστῆρες. (The most brilliant luminaries of the Church of Christ.) In the lower margin: Ἐγράφη ἐν τὴ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Φερρῶν. (Written in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Serres.) Published pp. 223-237.

30. (ff. 240-249). In the table: Discourse on the Dormition of the most holy Theotokos; and this also theological. Inside: Ἐπὶ τὴ μεταστάσει τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου. † : Ἐγράφη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Παμμακαρίστου, καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Κοιμήσεως, ἐν τῇ τρίτη ἡμῶν ἀνόδω βιαίᾳ ἐκεῖ· τελειουμένης ἐνδικτιόνος ιβ' · ἐν ἔτει οβω (=1464). (On the Dormition of our most holy Lady Theotokos. †: Written in the Pammakaristos Monastery, and read on the feast of the Dormition, in our third forced ascent there; indiction 12th completing; in the year 1464.) Incipit: Ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἔτους ἀρχὴ τὴν γέννησιν ἡμῖν ἀνῆκε τῆς μακαρίας παρθένου. (The beginning of the year announced to us the birth of the blessed virgin.) In the lower margin: † Θεοτόκε ὑπεραγία, βοήθει τῷ δούλω σου Γενναδίω †. (Most holy Theotokos, help your servant Gennadius †.) Published pp. 197-210.

31. (ff. 250-259). Of the same Gennadius the monk, against the automatists and Hellenists or polytheists; and that God is one and creator of all, in a trinity of hypostases: ---- Incipit: Οἴεσθαι μὲν μὴ εἶναι Θεὸν ἐσχάτης ἐστὶν ἀφροσύνης. (To think that there is no God is of extreme foolishness.) In the lower margin: Εγράφη ἐν τῇ μονὴ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Φερρών : - (Written in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Serres :-)

32. (ff. 260-269). † Questions and answers concerning the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ: – Incipit: Πρὸς τῶ τέλει τοῦ μαΐου τῆς νῦν ἤδη ληγούσης ἐνδικτιόνος, στρατιώτης αἴφνης ἡμῖν ἐλθών. (Near the end of May of the now ending indiction, a soldier suddenly coming to us.) In the upper margin: ἰνδ. γ (= 1470). (ind. 3 = 1470).

33. (ff. 271-282). + Of Gennadius the monk Scholarius: solutions to certain difficulties on the divine scripture. These pieces are divided thus: a' (f. 271): Concerning the second coming of our Lord and concerning the resurrection of bodies. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν παρουσίας. (Since the things concerning the second coming of our Lord.) β' (f. 274): Concerning the denial of Peter, and the voice of the rooster. Incipit: Οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων ἐξηγηταί. (The interpreters of the holy gospels.) γ' (f. 276): Concerning the touch of the Lord's body, how it was forbidden to Mary Magdalene, but permitted to Thomas. Incipit: Πολλοί μὲν τῶν διδασκάλων ἀναγωγικὴ διανοία. (Many of the teachers [have] anagogical thought.) δ' (f. 277v): Concerning the hour at which our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified. Incipit: Περὶ τοῦ πάθους καὶ τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. (Concerning the passion and the crucifixion of our Lord.) ε' (f. 280): Concerning the trees in paradise, the tree of life and of knowledge. Incipit: Περὶ τῶν ἐν παραδείσω ξύλων πυθομένω σοι φίλτατε. (Concerning the trees in paradise having asked you dearest.)

34. (ff. 283-283v). † Onomatopeia of the formation of man: – Incipit: Τὸ ἁπαλόν, βρέγμα λέγεται. (The soft part is called bregma.) This piece is not in Scholarius's hand, and as it is not mentioned in the table, it is unlikely that he is the author. On f. 284, this indication from some librarian: Γεωργίου Σχολαρίου τοῦ

μετονομασθέντος Γενναδίου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ λόγοι καὶ ἄλλα συγγράμματα τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάφορα τὰ πλεῖστα θεολογικά. *no* 139. (Letters and discourses of George Scholarius who was renamed Gennadius and other various writings of the same, mostly theological. no. 139.) Then follows, on a pasted paper, a formula without interest repeated three times in succession.

2. Parisinus 1294. 15th century. Paper. 21x14 cm, of 189 numbered folios, plus 6 flyleaves at the beginning, the last of which is marked A, and 6 others at the end; but the first two of this second series are part of the last quire of the volume. Folios 48, 49, 64v, 174v, 175, 189 have been left blank. The titles are in red. There are generally, as in almost all of Scholarius's autographs, twenty-eight lines per page. Folio A and folio 1 bear old shelfmarks, the origin of which we are unable to explain. They are, in the first case, these: Nº 28, sextaedecimae, and below; XXVIII; in the second case, these others: DCCCXVII. 889. 2959. This last number is the one that the manuscript had in the royal library, in Renaudot's time. Before moving on to the enumeration of the treatises contained in this volume, we must examine more closely the initial folio A. On the recto appears, transcribed by a 15th-century hand, the eulogy of Scholarius that had been inserted, immediately after the person's death, in the synodikon of the Sunday of Orthodoxy. This piece therefore has an official character; so we think we should reproduce it here in its entirety, but amending the punctuation. † Τὸ ἐν τῷ συνοδικῷ γεγραμμένον μνημόσυνον Γενναδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως: † (The commemoration of Gennadius, the most holy patriarch of Constantinople, written in the synodikon: †) Γενναδίου τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου, τοῦ ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾶ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν φωστῆρος λάμψαντος δίκην, μέγιστον δὲ κράτος ἀραμένου ἐπὶ σοφία παντοδαπεῖ καὶ δυνάμει λόγων ἀνυπερβλήτῳ, καὶ λαμπρὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀγωνισαμένου καὶ λόγοις καὶ συγγράμμασι καὶ διαλέξεσι καὶ διδασκαλίαις, παρρησιασαμένου δὲ τὴν εὐσέβειαν πολλάκις ἀπαραμίλλῳ ψυχῆς γενναιότητι ἐνώπιον βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ λαῶν καὶ δήμων ὅλων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίαν καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀναδιδάξαντός τε καὶ ἀποδείξαντος καὶ κήρυκος παντὸς ἀνακηρύξαντος γεγωνότερόν τε καὶ εὐσημότερον, εἶτα τὴν ἡσύχιον ἀντὶ πάντων ἀσπασαμένου τε καὶ ἑλομένου διαγωγὴν καὶ τὸν βίον ἐν αὐτῇ μεταλλάξαντος ὁσίως καὶ μακαρίως καὶ οὕτω τὴν πολυειδῆ ἐπισφραγισαμένου (ἐπι sup. lin.) ἑαυτῷ ἀρετὴν ἀοιδίμως, αἰωνία ἡ μνήμη: - (Of Gennadius the most holy and ecumenical patriarch, who in our generation shone with virtue like a luminary, and acquired the greatest power in all kinds of wisdom and unsurpassable power of words, and fought brilliantly for the orthodox faith both with words and writings and discussions and teachings, and proclaimed piety many times with unparalleled magnanimity of soul before kings and rulers and peoples and whole communities, and simply above all taught and demonstrated and proclaimed as a herald more loudly and clearly the sacred confession and truth of the Christian faith, then having embraced and chosen before all the quiet conduct and having changed his life in it piously and blessedly and thus having sealed his manifold virtue memorably, eternal be the memory: -) On the verso of this same folio is found the table of contents under this title: † Τάδε ἔνεστι τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷδε μοναχοῦ Γενναδίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου συγγράμματα. († These are contained in this book the writings of the monk Gennadius Scholarius.) It comprises thirteen articles numbered in Greek letters from α' to ι', then on three successive lines, these three phrases: : Οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἰσχυρόν, ὁ τῷ φθόνω μέχρι παντὸς ἀντέχει. (: Nothing of good is so strong, that withstands envy until the end.) : Νῦν ἐμοὶ καλὸν τὸ θανεῖν, ὅτι μου προτέθνηκεν ἡ ἀλήθεια. (: Now it is good for me to die, because the truth has been proclaimed by me.) : Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμα μου. (:

Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.) A fourth sentence has been completely erased. These three lines, as well as the table, are all in Scholarius's hand. This is what a 16th-century reader had suspected, who wrote at the bottom of the page: † Οἶμαι τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον γεγράφθαι χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Γενναδίου Σχολαρίου: † († I think this book was written by the hand of Gennadius Scholarius himself: †) Therefore, there is no need to take into consideration the reflection that a more recent reader thought he should make about this by adding below the line that we have just transcribed: Οὐκ ὀρθῶς· ἕτερα γὰρ συγγραμμάτων περὶ *προορισμοῦ* ἀντίγραφα καὶ ἄλλων τῶν τοῦ Σχολαρίου ταύτῃ τῇ χειρὶ γεγραμμένα εὑρίσκεται, κεκαλλιγράφθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγράφεως μυρίαις ἀσχολίαις θορυβουμένου, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἡγοῖτο. (Not correctly; for other copies of writings concerning predestination and of others of Scholarius written in this hand are found, but no one would think them to be beautifully written by the author troubled by countless occupations.) Without dwelling further on this small anonymous discussion, let us see the content of the manuscript:

1.(ff. 1-40v). † Of Gennadius the monk Scholarius: † Refutation of the present Jewish error both from Scripture and from events and from comparison with Christian truth, in the form of a dialogue; drafted in the city by me Gennadius, when I was forcibly brought there for the third time. Then, in the margin: καὶ δόξα τῷ ἐλευθερώσαντί με θεῷ, τρίτον ἤδη. (and glory to God who freed me, now for the third time.) Incipit: Χριστιανός: Βούλει διαλεχθῶμεν ἐφ' οἷς περὶ ἀλλήλους διαφερόμεθα. (Christian: Do you wish that we discuss the things about which we differ with each other?) In the lower margin: † Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σχολαρίου †. († Of Gennadius the monk Scholarius †.) Folios 18-47 are not in Scholarius's hand, who contented himself with making a few corrections here and there.

2.(ff. 41-47v). From the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, the clearest are placed here, there being very many in all the words of the prophets. Incipit: Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα, οὐδὲ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ. (A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his loins.) Treatises 1 and 2 are combined in the table under a single title thus conceived: α'. Κατὰ Ἰουδαίων διάλογος· εἶτα καὶ *προφητικῶν* ῥητῶν ἐξηγήσεις. (α. Dialogue against the Jews; then also explanations of prophetic utterances.)

3.(ff. 50-61). † Of Gennadius monk and patriarch of Christ's poor, Scholarius according to the world; concerning the only way to the salvation of men. It was also written and interpreted in Arabic and given to those who requested it, after the discussions in the patriarchate the second (these last two words in the margin and in the same hand) = 116.

4.(ff. 61-64). This was given a second time in Arabic; to those asking for something briefer and clearer concerning the chapters about which the discussion also took place, that is, concerning our faith; and it was composed as clearly as possible, and easily acceptable to the uninitiated: Incipit: Πιστεύομεν, ὅτι ἐστὶ Θεὸς δημιουργὸς πάντων. (We believe that there is a God creator of all.) In the table, numbers 3 and 4 are classified under a single and same number in these terms: β. Περὶ τῆς μόνης ὁδοῦ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ ἕτερον σύντομον περὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς πίστεως κεφαλαιώδες· ἃ καὶ ἀραβικῶς ἡρμηνεύθησαν· καὶ ἐδόθησαν μετὰ τὰς διαλέξεις, ζητήσασιν. (β. Concerning the only way to the salvation of men; and another brief summary concerning the Christian faith; which were also interpreted in Arabic; and were given after the discussions, to those who asked.)

5.(ff. 65-88). Concerning the first worship of God, or the evangelical law in epitome; it was issued impromptu and readily comprehensible, to a certain friend monk who requested it. = 118. In the upper margin of f. 65v: Ταῦτα ἐγράφησαν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατριαρχείου ἀποκατάστασιν· ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου τῇ

ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικέως. (These were written after the restoration to the patriarchate; in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion.)

6.(ff. 83-97v). Concerning divine providence and predestination; of the same Gennadius in the same monastery. = 119. In the lower margin: Ὦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με, τὸν δοῦλον σου Γεννάδιον. (O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me, your servant Gennadius.)

7.(ff. 97-106). Concerning divine predestination, a second time. Η Γεννάδιος μοναχὸς ὁ Σχολάριος, τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ ἐν μοναχοῖς κυρίῳ Ἰωσὴφ τῷ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη χαίρειν. (Gennadius the monk Scholarius, to the most honorable and most learned among monks lord Joseph in Thessaloniki, greetings.) = 120.

8.(ff. 106v-115). Concerning divine predestination, a third time: to the same most honorable exarch, Gennadius the monk Scholarius. – 121.

9.(ff. 115-125v). To the same, concerning the book of Gemistos, and against the Hellenic polytheism: Gennadius Scholarius and the rest by the grace of God, to the most honorable and in all things best lord Joseph the exarch, greetings. = 115.

10.(ff. 126-135v). † On the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, on the 25th of December; written in the monastery of the Honorable Prodromos on Mount Serres; in the year 1467. = 129. In the lower margin: † Κύριε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν οἰκτρὸν σου δοῦλον, Γεννάδιον μοναχὸν τὸν Σχολάριον ἐλάχιστον †. (Lord our Jesus Christ son of God, have mercy on me your wretched servant, Gennadius monk the least Scholarius †.)

11.(ff. 136-144v). Discourse, on the Dormition of our most holy Lady Theotokos. Written and read in the patriarchal monastery of the Pammakaristos, in our third forced ascent there: indiction 12th: (= 1464.) (ἀνόδῳ - β in the margin) = 130. In the lower margin: † Δόξα τῷ ἐλευθερώσαντί με ἐκεῖθεν Θεῷ, διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου, τρίτον ἤδη, τὸν εἰκτρὸν μοναχὸν Γεννάδιον: († Glory to God who freed me from there, through the intercessions of the holy Theotokos, now for the third time, the wretched monk Gennadius:)

12.(ff. 145-154v). Of the same Gennadius the monk; concerning the time and manner of the existence of the rational and immortal souls, that is, of human souls, given to a certain friend who requested it. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνῃ, τιμιώτατε καὶ φίλτατε ἡμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφέ. (Since you inquire, most honorable and dearest to us in Christ brother.) In the upper margin: Τοῦτο, πρῶτον ἐστὶ περὶ ψυχῆς· ἐξέθετο γὰρ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ δεύτερον, καὶ τρίτον. (This is the first concerning the soul; for he set forth after these also a second, and a third.) In the lower margin, five lines that have been entirely erased. Published pp. 461-480.

13.(ff. 154v-166v). Of the same Gennadius, concerning the one God in Trinity, creator of us and of all things that are; and against atheists or automatists, and against polytheists. = 181.

14.(ff. 165v-166). Appendix to the first treatise on the soul (no. 12). The place it should occupy in the treatise in question is marked on f. 154 by the sign that is reproduced here at the head of f. 165. Incipit: Ἡ μὲν λύσις τῶν εἰς τουναντίον ἐπιχειρήσεων αὕτη προχείρως. (The solution of the opposing arguments is this readily.) Published pp. 477-480.

15.(ff. 167-174). Gennadius's lament. † ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικέως: Ἐγράφη Ἰουνίου κ'. ἰνδικτιόνος ὀγδόης (1460.) († in the monastery of the Honorable Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion: Written June 20th. indiction eighth (1460.)) = 114.

16.(ff. 176-189). Title in the table: Concerning the fact that miracles do not happen now, as before. Here as a title: † Γενναδίου ἐλαχίστου καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ ὄρει γραφὲν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου: († Of Gennadius the least and this also written on the mountain in the monastery of Prodromos:) Incipit: Ζητοῦσί τινες διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν πρόσθεν χρόνον. (Some seek because the former time.) In the lower margin: 2 κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν δοῦλον σου Γεννάδιον διὰ μόνους τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου: - (2 Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me your servant Gennadius through your mercies alone: -) It should be noted that the order of nos. 15 and 16 is inverted in the table placed at the head of the volume.

3. Parisinus 1292. 15th century. Paper. 20x19 cm, 306 folios. Folios 3-110 are in a hand that we are unable to identify; folios 111-190, 226 and 246 are manifestly in Scholarius's hand; folios 227-241 are not by him, but bear marginal notes written by him, so that they can still be considered an original. The rest of the volume comes from several copyists. Let us also note that the material arrangement of folios 111-190 clearly shows that we are here in the presence of a register, on which our author had taken care to transcribe his treatises before sending them to their respective recipients: an observation which allows us to attribute particular authority to this part. This manuscript corresponds to the old Regius 2958, often cited by Renaudot in his study on George Scholarius. As the first piece of this volume is truncated at the beginning, that the following pieces uniformly begin with the formula τοῦ αὐτοῦ (of the same), and that the second half of the collection undoubtedly belongs, almost in its entirety, to Scholarius, Renaudot had believed he could also attribute to our author all the treatises of the first part: a manifest error, which all the bibliographers have since repeated, without excepting Mr. H. Omont, in his Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale. It had, however, been pointed out a long time ago by two anonymous readers in two notes inscribed on the flyleaf, concerning the truncated discourse, with which the volume now begins. It is said in one: Immo Marci Eugenici de Purgatorio. V. Cod. 2502 (the current 1327); and in the other: Quae hic tribuuntur Gennadio orationes de Purgatorio, leguntur sub nomine Marci Ephesini in codice 2963, the current 1218. This point is put beyond doubt by the recent publication that we have given, from several other manuscripts, of these first three discourses of Parisinus 1292; and even in the absence of this publication, the not meticulous, but simply summary inspection of the other manuscripts containing the works of Mark of Ephesus should have opened the eyes of the compilers, if they had taken the trouble to compare these manuscripts with 1292 of Paris. These reservations having been made, we must analyze this first part with the same care as the second, because of the unfortunate intrusion that has been made of it until this day in the bibliography of Scholarius.

1.(ff. 3-16), first discourse of Mark of Ephesus on purgatory, incomplete at the beginning. Incipit: Καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ ἐλεημοσύναι, (And prayers and almsgiving,) = L. Petit, op. cit. p. 40, l. 2-60.

2.(ff. 16-45), second discourse of Mark on purgatory = op. cit. p. 108-151.

3.(ff. 45-56), third discourse of Mark on purgatory = op. cit. p. 152-168.

4.(ff. 56-57) τοῦ αὐτοῦ (Μάρκου) σύντομον κατὰ τῆς δόξης τῶν Λατίνων. (of the same (Mark) a short [writing] against the doctrine of the Latins.) Incipit: Ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ προσηγορία. (The appellation of the Son.) This is the 38th chapter of Mark's Capita syllogistica. Cf. L. Petit, op. cit., vol. XVII, p. 405.

5.(ff. 58-62) τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς τὴν Ἀργυροπούλου γνώμην ἀντιφερόμενον. (of the same concerning the angels in opposition to Argyropoulos's opinion.) = Sp. Lampros, Αργυροπούλεια, Athens, 1910, pp. ρχ'-ρχε', under the erroneous name of Scholarius.

6.(ff. 62-66v) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· εἰς τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητόν, τὸ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπου γενόμενος, καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος" (of the same; on the apostolic saying, "he emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in appearance as a man") = Jason, in the Σωτὴρ, XIII (1890), 65-71.

7.(ff. 67-75) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· περὶ ἀναστάσεως. (of the same; concerning the resurrection.) Incipit: Τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως δόγμα. (The dogma of the resurrection.)

8.(ff. 75v-78v) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· θεωρία εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ εὐαγγελικῇ παραβολῇ ταλάντων. (of the same; contemplation on the number of talents in the evangelical parable.) Incipit: Ὁ τὰ πέντε τάλαντα πεπιστευμένος. (The one entrusted with the five talents.)

9.(ff. 78v-82) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· πρὸς τὸν τιμιώτατον ἱερομόναχον χῦρ Διονύσιον περὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ καὶ θείου αἵματος. (of the same; to the most honorable hieromonk kyr Dionysios concerning the dominical and divine blood.) Incipit: Ἐζητημένον ἤδη τῶ μεγάλω πατρὶ Γρηγορίω τῶ θεολόγω. (Already sought by the great father Gregory the Theologian.)

10.(ff. 82-87v) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· λύσεις ἀπορι̃ων. (of the same; solutions to difficulties.) α) (ff. 82-84) Incipit: Εἰ αἱ Σοδόμων πόλεις, Τύριοί τε καὶ Σιδώνιοι. (If the cities of Sodom, both Tyre and Sidon.) – β) (ff. 84-87v) Incipit: Πολλήν τινα δοκοῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμοι. (The laws of Christ seem to be of some great [importance].)

11.(ff. 87-92) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἑτέρα ἀπορία. (of the same; another difficulty.) Incipit: Εἰ καὶ ἡ σμικροτάτη πίστις. (If even the smallest faith.)

12.(ff. 92-94) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀπορία. (of the same; difficulty.) Incipit: Εἰ διὰ τὸ αὐτοκίνητον ἡ ψυχή. (If the soul [exists] because of self-movement.) Published in the Εἰκοσιπενταετηρίς of C. Kontos, pp. 395-397.

13.(ff. 94-97) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· περὶ τῶν ἐμφερομένων τῇ θείᾳ εὐχῇ ῥημάτων, ἤγουν τοῦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με". (of the same; concerning the words used in the divine prayer, that is, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me".) Incipit: Ὅση μὲν ἡ τῆς εὐχῆς δύναμις. (How great indeed is the power of prayer.) Treatise published in Modern Greek without an author's name in the Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν.

14.(ff. 98-98v) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· περὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ πνεύματος. (of the same; concerning the fruits of the spirit.) Incipit: Οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ πνεύματος εἴρηνται μὲν διὰ τὸ δηλωτικόν. (The fruits of the spirit are said indeed because of the indicative.) = Jason, in the Σωτὴρ XIII (1889), 341-342.

15.(ff. 99-101) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἔκφρασις: Μάρτυρες στεφανίται. (of the same; exposition: Martyrs crowned.) Incipit: χαρίεν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀγωνιζομένους. (It is indeed pleasing to see even those contending.)

16.(ff. 101-103v) τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἐφραὶμ ὁσία. (of the same; Holy Ephraim.) Incipit: Καὶ νεκρὸν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας. (And it is possible to see here the dead even those still living.)

17.(ff. 104-110) † τοῦ σοφωτάτου διδασκάλου κῦρ Γεωργίου του Σχολαρίου, μετέπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀοιδίμου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κῦρ Γενναδίου· μονῳδία ἐπικήδειος ἐπὶ τῶ μακαριωτάτω πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλω κῦρ Μάρχω τῶ Ἐφέσου κατὰ κόσμον Εὐγενικῶ. († of the most wise teacher kyr George Scholarius, later also renowned patriarch of Constantinople kyr Gennadius; funeral monody on the most blessed father and teacher kyr Mark of Ephesus according to the world Eugenikos.) Incipit: Φεῦ νῦν, ὦ παρόντες ἡμῖν, αἱ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδες οἴχονται πᾶσαι. (Alas now, O those present with us, all the hopes of good things are

gone.) After this piece begins the autograph part of Scholarius. It bears at the head, at the top of f. 111, this general title: Ἐκ τῶν Γενναδίου : συγγραμμάτων ταῦτα, τῶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει συντεθέντων τοῦ Μενοικέως. (From the writings of Gennadius: these, of those composed on Mount Menoikeion.) Published pp. 247-254.

18.(ff. 111-124). Περὶ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως τῶν νοερῶν καὶ ἀθανάτων ψυχῶν, τουτέστι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων · φίλῳ τινὶ ζητήσαντι ἐκδεδομένον. (Concerning the time and the manner of the existence of the rational and immortal souls, that is, of human souls; given to a certain friend who requested it.) – 212.

19.(ff. 124-131). Concerning how the divine energies are distinguished both in relation to each other and to the divine essence, of which they are energies. Incipit: Περὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐνεργειῶν πρὸς τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν διακρίσεως. (Concerning the distinction of the divine energies both in relation to each other and to the divine essence.)

20.(ff. 131-142) Concerning the one God in Trinity, our [God] and creator of all existing things; and against atheists or automatists; and against polytheists. – 181.

21.(ff. 142-148v) Concerning those who do evil, whether they do [it] unwillingly or willingly, a difficulty and solution. Incipit: Ζητητέον ἂν εἴη, πότερον ἑκόντες τὰ φαῦλα ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄκοντες. (It would be necessary to inquire, whether they do evil willingly or unwillingly.)

22.(ff. 148v-153v). How divine providence and divine predestination do not negate the usefulness of prayers. Incipit: Ὁ περὶ τῆς θείας προνοίας λόγος πολλὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐτάκτως γινομένων. (The discourse concerning divine providence [takes] much [evidence] from the things that happen in order.) Published pp. 453-460.

23.(ff. 153-157). Concerning the humanity in our Lord. Incipit: Ζητοῦσί τινες πῶς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς. (Some inquire how our Lord Jesus.)

24.(ff. 157-167v) On the feast of the most holy incarnation of Christ according to the flesh of our Lord = 129.

25.(ff. 168-176): From the metrical prayers, of the same. α' : Prayer to God and Father. Incipit: Ὦ πάτερ ἄμβροτε. (O immortal Father.) β' (f. 168v): To our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Ἄναξ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ βροτῶν. (Lord Jesus of mortals.) γ' (f. 170): To the most holy Theotokos, prayer. Incipit: Ὦ μέγα παρθενίης. (O great [one] of virginity.) δ' (f. 171): To the honorable Cross. Incipit: Ὅπὸ κρυφίοισι λόγοισιν. (With hidden words.) ε' (f. 171): To the holy John the Prodromos and Baptist. Incipit: Ὦ Χριστοῦ ἄνακτος κῆρυξ. (O herald of Christ the king.) ς' (f. 171v): Prayer to the holy apostles. Incipit: Ὁ Χριστοῦ βασιλῆος λάτριες. (The servants of Christ the king.) ζ' (f. 172): From the other prayers: to the Lord Helios Jesus Christ, at the beginning of the night. Incipit: Ὦ Λόγε Θεοῦ · τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἀγεννήτου πατρὸς μονογενὲς καὶ συναΐδιε Λόγε. (O Word of God; only-begotten and co-eternal Word of the eternal and unbegotten Father.) η' (f. 173): Another morning prayer. Incipit: Δέσποτα ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ · Λόγε ἀΐδιε τοῦ ἀνάρχου Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρός. (Master our Jesus Christ; eternal Word of the unoriginate God and Father.) θ' (f. 174): Prayer to the most holy Theotokos. Incipit: Ὦ μακαρία Μαρία, ἐν γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος. (O blessed Mary, among women from eternity.) ι' (f. 175v): To all the blessed, whether angels or men. Incipit: Ὦ πλῆθος ἔνθεον. (O inspired multitude.)

26.(ff. 177-183). Homily on the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. Incipit: Τὸν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας κρημνόν. (The precipice of pride.) Published pp. 61-71.

27.(ff. 183-190). Homily on the parable of the Prodigal Son; and concerning repentance. Incipit: Ὁ τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ γραμματέων γογγυσμός. (The grumbling of the Pharisees and scribes.) Published pp. 71-80.

28.(ff. 191-203). † Homily of the most blessed and renowned patriarch kyr Gennadius, delivered on Holy and Great Friday in the palace, while he was still in the lay state. Incipit: Ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν φεῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. (Our Master alas on the cross.) Published pp. 137-149.

29.(ff. 203-204). † Replies of Secundus the Pythagorean Athenian to the questions of King Hadrian. Incipit: Τι ἐστι θεός; εἶδος ἄπλαστον. (What is God? A form unformed.)

30.(ff. 205-225). † Discourse of Theophanes of Media demonstrating that when the human seed is cast without a soul, but by its spermatic power it forms the embryo in the womb, God infuses the soul into it. Incipit: Τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἦν εἶναι, καὶ πόθεν ἥκει. (Of the soul the being, and whence it comes.) – Nikephoros Blemmydes, Epitome of Logic (Leipzig, 1784), appendix, pp. 49-76.

31.(f. 225). Note on ἐντελέχεια (entelechy).

32.(f. 226). Autograph note of Scholarius to Theophanes of Media to announce the sending of his second treatise on the soul. Incipit: Πανιερώτατε · μετὰ τὸ ἀποσωθῆναι τὸ παρόν. (Most holy; after the present [writing] was saved.) Published p. 486.

33.(ff. 227-241). † Of the most blessed and most holy father kyr Gennadius, to the most holy of Media kyr Theophanes: concerning the rational and human soul, a second time: (in the margin, in a later hand: ἤγουν δευτέρα ἔκθεσις, that is, second exposition). Incipit: Ἐδεξάμεθά σου τὸ σύγγραμμα · καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστήσαντες ὡς ἠξίους. (We received your writing; and having paid good attention as was fitting.) F. 232 bears an autograph note of Scholarius. Published pp. 486-504.

34.(ff. 242-245). From the first [treatise] concerning the soul, of the same. Incipit: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγορίου τῆς Νύσσης, ἀρκεῖ μὲν πρὸς ἐξαιτίασιν αὐτοῦ. (But concerning the blessed Gregory of Nyssa, it suffices indeed for his defense) = Cf. 214. Published p. 481-486.

35.(ff. 246-246v). Of the same, from the third of the theological [treatises]: before the Fall. Incipit: Οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, διότι ὁ ἅγιος Αὐγουστίνος οὕτως εἶπε. (For it is not necessary, because Saint Augustine said thus.)

36.(ff. 247-262). Fragments and various opuscules of St. Basil, proverbs of Solomon, of Cicero (Dream of Scipio) and of Psellus.

37.(ff. 262-271). † Monody on the Autentopoula kyra Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Despot kyr Demetrios. Incipit: Ἰου · Ἰου · οἷα δεδύνηται ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων συνεργῶ τὸ χρόνω χρησάμενος. (Woe! Woe! What things the envious demon has been able to do, using time as a collaborator.) Without an author's name. Ducange attributes this piece to Scholarius, and everything leads to believe that it is his. Published p. 270-277.

38.(ff. 271-306). Letters of Theophanes of Media, homily of Saint John Damascene on Holy Saturday, extracts from Theodoret.

4. Pantocratorinus 127, Athos 1161 of Sp. Lampros's catalogue, on paper, 22 x 15 cm, of 353 numbered folios, with full pages of 28 lines each. Folios 10, 36, 37, 81, 82, 83, 84, 91, 92, 98, 99, 133, 181, 189, 210, 211 have been left blank. This manuscript actually has only 343 folios, because the numbers 170-179 have been skipped in the numbering. Folio 353 is detached from the others; it contains the index written by Scholarius himself under the following heading, partly illegible, as often happens for the other titles of the volume written in red ink: Πίναξ τῆς παρούσης βίβλου ... ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Φερρῶν. (Table of the present book ... in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Serres.) The treatises indicated in this index bear an ordinal number that does not always correspond to the one marked in the margin inside the

manuscript, at the beginning of each piece. This is the case, for example, for the prayers indicated in the table under this single number: Ξ Εὐχαὶ ἔμμετροι καὶ ἁπλαῖ (60. Metrical and simple prayers), while inside each of them bears a special number. Other pieces are not preceded, in the table, by any number, because they were marked there afterwards, not in their regular place, but in the spaces left empty during the first drafting. In order to restore the concordance without harming clarity, we have, in the enumeration of the prayers given further on, replaced with Greek letters the numbers put by Scholarius at the head of each prayer. As a result of a deplorable mutilation, numbers 2 and 3 of the table no longer appear in the body of the volume, from which they were detached at a time and by hands equally unknown. It was therefore necessary, in these two cases, to limit ourselves to reproducing the wording of the table. For the other pieces, it is not the title marked in the table that we give below, but the one written in red, inside the manuscript itself; the two versions differ moreover only by insignificant variants; we will take care however to point them out when they offer some interest. The last treatise of the manuscript bears neither number nor title in the table, but its incorporation into the rest of the volume is indeed the work of Scholarius, as he himself recalls in the following note, which is read at the bottom of the page containing the πίναξ (table): Τούτοις τοῖς συγγράμμασι συνεδέθη ἑπομένως τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πρὸς Λατίνους· εὑρέθη γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐν Καλλιπόλει, καὶ ἐκόμισεν ἡμῖν τῶν φίλων τις ἐν τετραδίοις ἀσυνδέτοις· εἶτα συνεδέθη νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις. (To these writings was subsequently bound the [treatise] concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit against the Latins; for it was found after the Fall in Gallipoli, and one of our friends brought it to us in unbound quires; then it was now bound with the others.) This piece added afterwards is the only one in the entire volume that is not in Scholarius's hand; it was copied by his former secretary, George Galesiotes, as far as we can conjecture from the examination of other manuscripts of this calligrapher that have subsequently passed through our hands. It would be necessary, to transform this hypothesis into certainty, to establish comparisons with the help of some photographic specimens; unfortunately we were unable to bring any back from our last visit to Athos. These observations having been made, here is the content of the volume.

1.(ff. 1-9v). Concerning the book of Gemistos; and against the Hellenic polytheism. – Gennadius monk Scholarius to the most honorable among monks and most learned lord Joseph the exarch, greetings. 115. The text stops, mutilated, at f. 9.

2.Concerning the things that happen to souls after the separation from bodies; and concerning the quality of the bodies that will be resurrected; further, concerning the dead who appear incorruptible. As there is a hole in the table after περί (concerning), only the end of the word ποιότητος (quality) is legible. The restoration of the word is not doubtful, given the content of the treatise.

3.Concerning the time and manner of the existence of human souls. = 212.

4.(ff. 10-20). Concerning the one God in Trinity, our [God] and creator of all existing things; and against atheists or automatists, and against polytheists. – 181.

5.(ff. 20-26). From the metrical prayers. α': Prayer to God and Father. Incipit: Ὦ πάτερ ἄμβροτε, οὐρανίων ὑπερήμενε θώκων. (O immortal Father, dwelling above the heavenly thrones.) β': To our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Ἄναξ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ βροτῶν σῶτερ γένους. (Lord Jesus, savior of the race of mortals.) γ' (f. 22): To the most holy Theotokos, prayer. Incipit: Ὦ μέγα παρθενίης κλέος, εὔχος τε στέφανός τε. (O great glory of virginity, both boast and crown.) δ' (f. 22v): To the honorable Cross. Incipit: Ὁπὺ κρυφίοισι λόγοισιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆθεν σημανθείς. (Which was signified from the beginning with hidden words.) ε' (f. 23): To the holy John

the Prodromos and Baptist. Incipit: Ὢ Χριστοῦο ἄνακτος κῆρυξ, παὶ Ζαχαρείου. (O herald of Christ the king, son of Zacharias.) ς' (f. 23): To the holy apostles. Incipit: Ὁ Χριστοῦ βασιλῆος λάτριες ἀγγελέες τε. (The servants and messengers of Christ the king.) ζ' (f. 28): From the other prayers: To our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Κύριε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, σὺ ὡς μὲν Λόγος Θεοῦ καὶ υἱὸς ἀΐδιος. (Lord our Jesus Christ, you as Word of God and eternal Son.) η' (f. 25): To the most holy Theotokos. Incipit: Ὢ μακαρία Μαρία, ἐν γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεχαριτωμένη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. (O blessed Mary, among women from eternity graced by God.) θ' (f. 26): To all the blessed, whether angels or men. Incipit: Ὢ πλῆθος ἔνθεον καὶ μακάριον τῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀσωμάτων καὶ νοερῶν οὐσιῶν. (O inspired and blessed multitude of the incorporeal and rational beings in the heavens.)

6.(ff. 27-36). On the feast of the most holy incarnation of Christ according to the flesh of our Lord. – 129. At the bottom of the page, this note in red ink: ἐγράφη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Προδρόμου ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Φερρῶν. (Written in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Serres.)

7.(ff. 38-49). Of Gennadius the least monk: Concerning the only way to the salvation of men. = 118. This title had another line and a half that has been completely erased. At the bottom of the page, this autograph note: ζητηθὲν, ἐγράφη ἐν τῷ δυστυχεῖ πατριαρχείω, καὶ ἐδόθη ἑρμηνευθὲν ἀραβικῶς. (Having been requested, it was written in the unfortunate patriarchate, and given having been interpreted in Arabic.)

8.(ff. 49-51). The title, not registered in the table, has become absolutely illegible due to the fading of the ink. Lampros, in his catalog, gives the following formula, probably invented, because it is impossible to recognize it in the manuscript: Ὁμιλία περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ ἀληθοῦς πίστεως τῶν χριστιανῶν διαλεχθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς σοφιστὰς Πέρσας τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν προτροπὴ τοῦ μεγάλου αὐθέντου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. (Homily concerning the correct and true faith of the Christians spoken to the sophists Persians of the Hagarenes at the urging of the great ruler before him.) Incipit: Πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἔστι Θεὸς δημιουργὸς πάντων ὅσοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι. (We believe that there is a God creator of all who are from non-being.) At the bottom of the page, this autograph note: β' ἐδόθη τοῦτο · ἐζητήθη γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πρώτου, συντομώτερον καὶ σαφέστερον = 24 (this was given a second time; for it was requested instead of the first, a more concise and clearer [version] = 24).

9.(ff. 52-59). Concerning how the divine energies are distinguished both in relation to each other and to the divine essence, of which they are energies, and in which they are. The words ἧς εἰσιν - ἡ εἰσιν (of which they are - in which they are) do not appear in the table, which adds, on the other hand: Κατὰ Ἀκινδύνου. (Against Akindynos.) Incipit: Περὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐνεργειῶν πρὸς τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν διακρίσεως. (Concerning the distinction of the divine energies both in relation to each other and to the divine essence.) At the bottom of f. 52, in red ink: Ὢ Κύριε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν σὸν δοῦλον Γεννάδιον – 319. (O Lord our Jesus Christ, have mercy on me your servant Gennadius – 319.)

10.(ff. 59-63). Concerning the humanity in our Lord Christ. Incipit: Ζητοῦσι τινὲς πῶς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς, ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνω αὐτοῦ. (Some inquire how our Lord Jesus, in his human [nature]...) 328.

11.(ff. 63-67v). How divine providence and divine predestination do not negate the usefulness of prayers. Incipit: Ὁ περὶ τῆς θείας προνοίας λόγος πολλὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν εὐτάκτως γινομένων. (The discourse concerning divine providence [takes] much [evidence] from the things that happen in order...) – 322.

12.(ff. 68-74v). Homily on the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. Incipit: Τὸν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας κρημνόν. (The precipice of pride.) At the top of the page, this prayer almost illegible due to the fading of the

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ink: Ὦ Κύριε ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν σὸν οἰκτρὸν δοῦλον Γεννάδιον τὸν Σχολάριον. (O Lord our Jesus Christ, have mercy on me your wretched servant Gennadius Scholarius.)

13.(ff. 74v-81). Homily on the parable of the Prodigal Son; and concerning repentance. Incipit: Ὁ τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ γραμματέων γογγυσμός. (The grumbling of the Pharisees and scribes.) At the bottom of the page: Ὦ Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ἐλέησόν με τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν Γεννάδιον. (O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy on me the sinner Gennadius.)

14.(f. 85). † The least Gennadius, to the most honorable and most pious among hieromonks and spiritual fathers, Laurentios; in the monastery of Dionysiou, greetings in the Lord. Incipit: † Τιμιώτατε καὶ ὁσιώτατε πάτερ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφέ, ἐπιστείλαντί σοι. († Most honorable and most pious father and brother in Christ, having written to you.)

15.(ff. 85-90v). What words the blessed Peter might have said to himself, in weeping after the denial. Incipit: Ὦ δείλαιος ἐγώ, οὐαί μοι τοῦ δεινοτάτου πτώματος. (O wretched I, woe to me for the most terrible fall.)

16.(ff. 93-97). Concerning the holy entrances. From the things written before the Fall. The words ἐκ τῶν – τῆς ἀλώσεως (from the – of the Fall) are omitted in the table, which adds on the other hand after εἰσόδων (entrances) these other words: ἐν τῷ ἑσπερινῷ, καὶ ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ. (in Vespers, and in the Liturgy.) Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσόδων διαφορᾶς. (Since concerning the difference of the holy entrances.)

17.(ff. 100-111). Concerning the rational and human soul; a second time. Incipit: † Ὁ ταπεινὸς Γεννάδιος τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ πάντα ἀρίστῳ μητροπολίτῃ Μηθείας Θεοφάνει. († The humble Gennadius to the most holy and in all things best metropolitan of Media Theophanes.) – Ἐδεξάμεθα σου τὸ σύγγραμμα καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστήσαντες ὡς ἠξίους. (We received your writing and having paid good attention as was fitting.) In the index, two words have been erased, in the title, after δεύτερον (a second time), then the wording continues in these terms: τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἐν ἄλλῳ βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένον ἐστιν. (but the third, is written in another book.)

18.(ff. 111-114v). From the first [treatise] concerning the soul, of the same. Incipit: Περὶ δὲ τοῦ μακαρίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Νύσσης ἀρκεῖ μὲν πρὸς ἐξαιτίασιν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ μικροῦ νῦν εἰρημένα. (But concerning the blessed Gregory of Nyssa, the things said a little while ago now suffice for his defense.) This piece is not a simple extract from the first treatise on the soul, as the title would seem to indicate, but a completely reworked version of the last part of the treatise in question. Apart from the beginning and some variants, it is identical to 214.

19.(ff. 114v-115v). Of the same, from the third of the theological [treatises]: before the Fall. Incipit: Οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη, διότι ὁ ἅγιος Αὐγουστῖνος οὕτως εἶπε, καὶ οὕτως ἔχειν. (For it is not necessary, because Saint Augustine said thus, and thus it is.) This piece is not mentioned in the table, nor is the preceding one.

20.(ff. 116-122). That the angels do not progress in blessedness after being confirmed in it; and what they receive is [the fruit] of progress. Incipit: Δόξειε μὲν ἄν, τοὺς μακαρίους ἀγγέλους. (It would seem indeed, [concerning] the blessed angels.)

21.(ff. 122-132). Concerning human souls, what happens to them after the separation from bodies: to a friend who requested it. Incipit: Ὁσιώτατε πάτερ Σαββάτιε, ἐπήλθομεν ἀκριβῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν. (Most pious Father Sabbatios, we have accurately approached the [subject] concerning human souls.) Published pp. 505-519.

22.(f. 132). From the patristic book called Evergetinos from the ninth (first) hypothesis in it. Incipit: ἄον Ὁ μακάριος Γρηγόριος ὁ Διάλογος φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον: – βον Ἐν τῷ βίω τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου τοῦ θηβαίου γράφεται. (First: The blessed Gregory the Dialogist says to Peter: – Second: In the life of Saint Paul the Theban it is written.) These extracts were indeed taken by Scholarius from chapter IX of book I of the Evergetinos. Published pp. 519-520.

23.(ff. 134-147v). On the feast of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. Incipit: Ἡ μὲν ἰδία τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπόθεσίς τε καὶ πρόφασις. (The proper subject and reason of the feast.) Above the title, in ink yellowed by time and almost erased: ἐγράφη καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη δυσὶν ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως. (It was written and read two years before the Fall.) At the bottom in the margin: Εὑρέθη σὺν ἄλλοις μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν. (It was found with others after the Fall.) After folio 147, there were formerly two others, now cut off; they had undoubtedly remained blank. Published pp. 102-122.

24.(ff. 148-164). Solutions to certain difficulties on Holy Scripture. Under this general title, which appears alone in the table, are found the following pieces, each having a special title: α' (ff. 148-150): On the evangelical saying "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" Incipit: Οἱ τῆς ῥήσεως ταύτης ἐξηγηταὶ νοοῦσι μὲν τὸ ἐγκαταλειφθῆναι. (The interpreters of this saying understand indeed the being forsaken.) β' (ff. 150-152): Concerning the touch of the Lord's body; how it was forbidden to Mary Magdalene, but permitted to Thomas. – 138 γ. γ' (ff. 152-154): Concerning the denial of Peter and the voice of the rooster. – 180 β. δ' (ff. 155-157v): Concerning the hour at which our Lord was crucified. – 188 8. ε' (ff. 157v-161v): Concerning the second coming of our Lord; and concerning the resurrection of bodies. – 188 α. ς' (ff. 161-164v): Concerning the trees in Paradise; the tree of life and [the tree] of knowledge. – 188 ε'.

25.(ff. 165-181). Concerning those who do evil, whether they do [it] unwillingly or willingly; a difficulty and solution. – 321. Incipit: Ζητητέον ἂν εἴη πότερον ἑκόντες τὰ φαῦλα ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄκοντες, οἱ ποιοῦντες. (It would be necessary to inquire whether those who do evil do [it] willingly or unwillingly.) At the bottom of the page, in another ink, but still in Scholarius's hand: ἐμοῦ Γενναδίου καὶ τοῦτο. (This also [is] of me Gennadius.) – Let us recall here that ff. 170-179 were omitted by error in the numbering. Consequently, all the numbers that follow should be advanced by ten; but in order not to complicate [things], we leave them as they are.

26.(ff. 182-186v). Concerning the works according to virtue; without which, faith is fruitless to those who believe. Incipit: Πίστις ἐστί, κατὰ τὸν θεῖον ἀπόστολον, ὑπόστασις πραγμάτων οὐ βλεπομένων. (Faith is, according to the divine apostle, the substance of things not seen.)

27.(ff. 187-189). The sevenfold prayer with exposition; which was taught by our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· κραταιὲ μεγαλοθύναμε Κύριε, δημιουργὲ ἡμῶν. (Our Father who is in the heavens; mighty, great-in-power Lord, our creator.) Between ff. 189 and 190, there was another one that was cut off, undoubtedly because it had remained blank.

28.(ff. 200-210). † Questions and answers, concerning the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ. – 182. Above the title one reads: Γενναδίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ τιμίου Προδρόμου. (Of Gennadius monk Scholarius in the monastery of the honorable Prodromos.) Then, a little higher, the siglum: No y, that is, indiction 3, which corresponds to the year 1470. It is therefore at this date that the opuscule was composed.

29.On the verso of f. 211 is found the short preface of Scholarius to the first treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, which occupies the rest of the volume. It is not in Scholarius's hand.

30.(ff. 212-352). Of George Scholarius, concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit in six sections. First section, concerning the causes of the schism by way of introduction, etc. Incipit: Τὸν θεῖον λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφορον τοῦ παρόντος προστησάμενος λόγου. (Having set forth the divine word as guardian of the present discourse.) Only the title is in Scholarius's hand; the work itself is in another hand. A modern reader has numbered in ink, in the margin, the chapters from 1 to 62, without taking into account the division of the work into six sections. At the bottom of f. 212 recto this note in red in Scholarius's hand: †: Τοῦτό ἐστι τῶν πρὸς Λατίνους τὸ ἄον · καὶ δεύτερον γὰρ καὶ τρίτον τῷ αὐτῷ συγγέγραπται ἕτερα: - (†: This is the first of those against the Latins; for a second and a third have also been written by the same [author]: -) Below, still in Scholarius's hand, but in black: συνεγράφη τοῦτο, ὀκτὼ ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως: τρισὶ δὲ ἔτεσι πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐγένετο Γεννάδιος μοναχός: (This was written eight years before the Fall: and three years before the Fall Gennadius became a monk:)

31.(f. 353). Index to be placed at the head of the volume.

5. Ms. Renaudot. This manuscript, often cited by Renaudot during his study on George Scholarius, is today lost, and this loss is all the more regrettable as, judging by the dates added here and there to the titles, it must have been an autograph. This consideration has led us to reproduce here the notice that Ducange gave of this precious manuscript in his Glossarium mediae et infimae graecitatis, pp. 1281-1282).

1.Of the most wise and most holy Lord Gennadius to King Constantine on the repose of his renowned mother, a consolatory [discourse]. Incipit: Ἡ μακαρία (The blessed one) = 16.

2.This was written to the spiritual [father] kyr Sabbatios who came to us from Sinai, concerning the disposition of souls after the separation from bodies, a confirmatory writing, which Sabbatios himself brought forth of the blessed of Thessaloniki kyr Symeon. Incipit: Ὁσιώτατε (Most pious) = 421.

3.Gennadius to John, January 19th, in the monastery of Prodromos on Mount Menoikeion. Incipit: Ἥδιστα μὲν (Most gladly). Published pp. 521-531.

4.To the most honorable kyr John the Just of Thessaloniki Gennadius sends greetings, concerning purgatory. Incipit: Αὐτοσχεδιάζω (I improvise). Published pp. 532-539.

5.Of Gennadius monk Scholarius concerning the time and manner of the existence of the rational and immortal souls, that is, of human souls, given to a certain friend who requested it. Written on Mount Menoikeion. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ (Since) – 212.

6.Of Gennadius concerning the Simoniac heresy. Incipit: Τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀθέων (The [things] from the impious) – 19.

7.Epitaph for the blessed Theodore the Sophian, buried in the holy monastery of Vatopedi, which his divine [relative] Gennadius the monk spoke extemporaneously at the tomb in September of the year 1456. Incipit: Ἀλλὰ ζῶντος (But of the living). Published here pp. 277-283.

8.Of Gennadius the monk on the memory of the beheading of the honorable prophet and forerunner and Baptist. Incipit: Ὁ μὲν μακάριος (The blessed one indeed) = 17.

9.Of the same on the incarnation according to the flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Οἱ λαμπρότατοι (The most brilliant) = 129.

10.Of the same concerning the one God in Trinity, our [God] and creator of all existing things, and against the impious, that is, automatists, and against polytheists. Incipit: Οἴεσθαι μέν (To think indeed) = 181.

11.On the Dormition of our most holy Lady Theotokos; written and read in the monastery of the Pammakaristos in our third forced ascent there. Incipit: Ἡ μὲν τοῦ ἔτους (The of the year indeed) = 180.

12.Homily on the parable of the Prodigal Son, and concerning repentance, of Gennadius the monk. Incipit: Ὁ τῶν Φαρισαίων (The of the Pharisees) – 327.

13.From the homilies which we delivered in the unfortunate palace on Friday in Great Lent, found after the Fall; they were written after having been delivered extemporaneously, at the request of friends; this one was delivered on Lazarus Friday. Homily concerning the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Ἐπειδή (Since). Published here pp. 123-136.

14.Homily on the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. Incipit: Τὸν τῆς ὑπερηφανίας κρημνόν (The precipice of pride) – 320.

15.Of Gennadius monk patriarch of Christ's poor, concerning the only way to the salvation of men; it was given to the Sultan who requested [it] after the discussions before him in the patriarchate which then took place, and after this another shorter [version] was given; both were interpreted in Arabic, and thus they were given. Incipit: Ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας (The way of the salvation of men) – 116.

16.Brief refutation of the Jewish error both from Scripture and from events and from comparison with Christian truth, in the form of a dialogue; written by me Gennadius in my third forced ascent to the city, and glory to God who freed me from above now for the third time – 21.

17.From the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, the clearest are placed here, there being very many in all the words of the prophets = 22.

What can console us for the loss of the Renaudot manuscript is that, with the exception of nos. 3 and 4, we have found in other autographs all the pieces that composed it. No. 7 (Funeral eulogy of Theodore Sophianos) has its autograph copy in codex Vindobonensis philosophicus 192, ff. 1-5. As for nos. 3 and 4, they are preserved in codex 35 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, in Constantinople, from which we have taken them. This manuscript, of mediocre value, transcribed in 1672 for the use of Dositheus, patriarch of Jerusalem, contains, along with other pieces, most of those that the Renaudot manuscript possessed, with the same titles, which suggests that the copyist had before his eyes this very manuscript or its like). Let us also mention among the autographs that appear here the Paris. Suppl. grec. 681, which has given us the Fragment of the panegyric in honor of Saint Demetrius, and the Vaticanus gr. 1823, from which is taken the Justificatory Discourse against the accusation of Latinism. The first, pap. of 110 ff., is a volume of miscellanies of several hands and of various eras. These are unfortunately only fragments from every provenance. Here are those that can interest us:

1.(f. 12). In the upper margin, in a recent hand, this note: τοῦ Σχολαρίου Γενναδίου φαίνεται τοῦτο. (This appears to be of Scholarius Gennadius.) Truncated at the beginning. Incipit: καὶ Ἀμμόριον, καὶ Γάβαλα, καὶ Σόλοι. (and Amorium, and Gabala, and Soli.) Extract from a discourse on the vicissitudes of cities and empires, of which Christians should not be surprised. The attribution to Scholarius is very doubtful; perhaps it is a fragment of the apology of Manuel II Palaiologos.

2.(f. 17). Extract from a letter where the author recounts a storm endured during a navigation around Tenedos. Incipit: καὶ νὺξ τὸ φῶς διεδέχετο. Εἴθε μὲν οὖν τωτότε ἐξὸν λιμένος ἐν Τενέδῳ τυχεῖν. (and night succeeded the light. If only then it had been possible to find a harbor in Tenedos.)

3.(ff. 19-21). Letter to the metropolitan of Athens Theophanes. Incipit: Σοφὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν · εὕρεμα τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν. (Truly wise and of wise men; the invention of letters is.)

4.(ff. 23-26). Fragment. Incipit: Σίδηρον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἴσους δεῆσαν ὑπαλείφον ἀγῶνας. (Iron, and preparing contests against equals.) Autograph extract of a panegyric pronounced by Scholarius on St. Demetrius.

5.(ff. 28-33). Autograph fragment of Scholarius. Incipit: τι ἀνεπαχθὲς παραινέσω σοι · τοῦ ἑσπερινοῦ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆς ὕμνου. (I will advise you something not burdensome; do not omit the evening hymn.)

6.(ff. 35-46). Autograph fragment of Scholarius directed against Bessarion's discourse on the union. Incipit: ἀνάγκης, ἐξ ἧς εἶπετο μὴ ἐνοειδῶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τὸ Πνεῦμα προάγεσθαι. (of necessity, from which it followed that the Spirit is not proceeded in a single manner from both.)

7.(ff. 48-50). Autograph fragment of Scholarius consoling a friend for the loss of a child. Incipit: οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἁπλῶς ἀθεράπευτον καὶ πάσης ἰατρικῆς ἀνθρωπίνης καὶ θείας κρεῖττον καὶ βιαιότερον. (not however also simply incurable and stronger and more violent than all human and divine medicine.)

8.(ff. 51-58v). Of the same, concerning the first worship of God, evangelical law in epitome: issued in the monastery of the Prodromos, which is on Mount Menoikeion. Incipit: Δυοῖν οὐσῶν λατρειῶν καὶ θεραπειῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ. (Of the two existing worships and services of God.) Autograph of Scholarius; the treatise is incomplete at the end; it stops at the 5th line of § XVI = 118.

As for Vaticanus gr. 1823 (on paper, of the 15th century), it is also a volume of miscellanies, in the midst of which is found a quire written entirely in Scholarius's hand, and probably detached, thinks Mgr. G. Mercati, from another manuscript of the Vatican. In the upper margin of f. 211v, the initials "B. A.", that is, Mgr. Mercati conjectures further, "Bartolomeo Aristofilo", as Manfredi, custodian of the Vatican from 1481 to 1484, liked to call himself. The same sigla are found on several other collections of opuscules against the Latins. Be that as it may, the quire in question occupies ff. 211-218 of the manuscript; it bears neither title nor author's name, and Mgr. Mercati, who was the first to point it out, has very rightly entitled it autoapologia (self-apology).

Non-Autograph Manuscripts.

We will not dwell on describing in detail the non-autograph manuscripts that have provided pieces for this volume. For most of them, indeed, the work has already been done by the authors of catalogues, and the reader can easily refer to their works. We will make an exception for codex 16 of the Rossiana library, currently in the Vatican collection, because it is little known and provides us with the date of the first treatise on Providence; and for codex 248 of the Athonite monastery of Iviron, which contains by itself twenty-six pieces of Scholarius and happens to be currently the unique source of the three sermons on fasting, on almsgiving, and on the holy Apostles.

The Rossianus 16 (no. 986 of the current catalogue), paper, om 21.9 × 14.8, of the 15th century, has 391 ff. (folios). Folios 380 ff. are in another hand; folios 152 and 211 are blank. For details, see C. Van de Vorst, in Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, XXIII, pp. 501-508. We will indicate only the pieces belonging to Scholarius.

Introduction

1.(ff. 284-286): Of the most wise and most holy patriarch of Constantinople kyr Gennadius, supplication to our heavenly Father and King God for the salvation of the Peloponnese; which has the acrostic: Ἀρχαῖον οἶκτον πέμπε παισί σοι πάτερ· ἐν δὲ τοῖς θεοτοκίοις, Γενναδίου. (Send ancient pity to your children, Father; and in the Theotokia, of Gennadius.) Incipit: Ἀρχαίων θαυμάτων σου. (Of your ancient wonders.)

2.(ff. 286-288). † Of the same, prayer to the unoriginate Father and heavenly King; for the salvation of the Peloponnese. Incipit: Βασιλεῦ μεγαλοκράτορ· ὕψιστε παντοκράτορ. (King great in power; highest almighty.)

3.(ff. 294-306). Of the most philosophical George Scholarius; homily delivered on Holy and Great Friday. Incipit: Ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν φεῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. (Our Master alas on the cross.)

4.(ff. 307-307v). To the most noble and filled with all virtue from God, kyra Simonis Palaiologina Asanina. Incipit: Εὐγενεστάτη καὶ φρονιμωτάτη κυρία μου. (Most noble and most prudent my lady.) Explicit: † ὁ ἐλάχιστος Γεννάδιος. († the least Gennadius.)

5.(ff. 308-308v). † To the most noble according to God and most honorable my lady and sister of the most high queen, kyra Sophrosyne, the most pious and venerable among nuns. Incipit: Εὐγενεστάτη καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτη, καὶ τιμιωτάτη νῦν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν. (Most noble and most glorious, and now truly most honorable.) Explicit: † ὁ δοῦλος τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Θεοῦ, Γεννάδιος. († the servant of the children of God, Gennadius.)

6.(ff. 309-333). † Of the most wise and most holy patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadius; concerning the first worship of God; or evangelical law in epitome. Written after the resignation, on Mount Menoikeion near Serres. Incipit: Δυοῖν οὐσῶν λατρειῶν καὶ θεραπειῶν. (Of the two existing worships and services.)

7.(ff. 333-354). † Of the same; after the resignation; concerning providence and predestination. Written in the monastery of the Prodromos, on Mount Menoikeion near Serres; in the year 6969 (= 1459). Incipit: Τὴν ἐξ ἀϊδίου περὶ τῶν ὄντων. (The [knowledge] from eternity concerning beings.)

8.(ff. 354-357). Of the same, necessary questions. This is the title given in the table of contents; it allows us to attribute to Scholarius the authorship of these short fragments, numbering five, whose elements are borrowed, for the most part, from his opuscules.

The Iberitanus 248, formerly 388, corresponds to Athos 4508 in Sp. Lampros's catalogue, vol. II, pp. 122-138. On paper, of 981 folios. According to a note left at the end of the volume by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, in the month of June 1910, the manuscript was towards the end of the 16th century on the island of Chalki, in the monastery of the Trinity, now the Theological School. The fact, says this paleographer, is attested by a Greek catalogue published by Richard Foerster. It is obviously a matter of the dissertation: De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis Constantinopolitanis commentatio, published in Rostock in 1877; but we have found nothing there that confirms this assertion. Whatever its provenance, this enormous volume contains a certain number of opuscules of Scholarius, which we must mention, referring to Sp. Lampros's catalogue for the treatises foreign to our subject. As the numbering of the folios has been modified since Lampros's work, our numbers refer to this new numbering, and not to the old one. The initial letters, which were to be put in red, are often missing; we add them without warning the reader.

1.(f. 2). To the [one] of Ephesus, Gennadius. Incipit: Ὤφθη καὶ ἡμῖν πολλῶν διαφυγόντα χεῖρας τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς ἁγιότητος. (The letters of your holiness, having escaped the hands of many, have also appeared to us.)

2.(ff. 151-152). Monody on the death of kyr Mark of Ephesus. – Of Scholarius. Incipit: Φεῦ · νῦν, ὦ παρόντες ἡμῖν, ἐλπίδες. (Alas! Now, O those present with us, hopes.)

3.(f. 152). Verses of the same. Incipit: Μάρκου τὸ σεπτὸν ὠδ᾽ ἐνεκρύβη δέμας. (Mark's venerable body is thus hidden here.)

4.(ff. 337-346). Without author's name. Incipit: ᾽Αλήθειαν μελετήσει ὁ λάρυγξ μου. (My throat will meditate on truth.) These are extracts taken by the copyist from an old Iviron manuscript, which has since become Parisinus 1273, and containing the abridgement made by Scholarius of the Summa contra Gentiles of St. Thomas Aquinas.

5.(ff. 532-543). Of Scholarius to Theophanes metropolitan of Media who asked concerning the soul. Incipit: Ὁ ταπεινὸς Γεννάδιος, τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ, καὶ πάντα ἀρίστῳ μητροπολίτῃ. Ἐδεξάμεθά σου τὸ σύγγραμμα, καὶ καλῶς ἐπιστήσαντες ὡς ἠξίους. (The humble Gennadius, to the most holy, and in all things best metropolitan. We received your writing, and having paid good attention as was fitting.) Incomplete at the end.

6.(ff. 535-536v). Of the same on God's just abandonment. Incipit: Τίς δώσει μοι πτέρυγας ὡσεὶ περιστερᾶς. (Who will give me wings like a dove?)

7.(ff. 536-538). Of the same concerning the trees in Paradise, the tree of life and [the tree] of knowledge. Incipit: Περὶ τῶν ἐν παραδείσῳ ξύλων πυθομένῳ σοι φίλτατε. (Concerning the trees in Paradise to you asking, dearest.)

8.(ff. 538v-541). Concerning the difference between forgivable and mortal sins. Incipit: Ὁ μὲν ἀκριβέστερος περὶ τῶν θανασίμων καὶ συγγνωστῶν ἁμαρτιῶν λόγος. (The more precise discourse concerning mortal and forgivable sins.)

9.(ff. 541-542). Against the Simoniac heresy or disbelief. Incipit: Τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀθέων τούτων βαρβάρων ἐπελθούσας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς. (The calamities that have come upon us from these impious barbarians.)

10.(ff. 574-579). Of Gennadius the patriarch. Incipit: Ἐμοὶ δὲ λίαν ἐτιμήθησαν οἱ φίλοι σου δι Θεός. (But your friends were greatly honored by me through God.) This is the panegyric of the holy Apostles, published here, pp. 172-187.

11.(ff. 579-581). On the first Sunday of Lent; concerning fasting. Incipit: Ὅτι κρείσσον τὸ ἔλεός σου ὑπὲρ ζωάς, φησὶν ὁ θεοπάτωρ Δαυίδ. (Because your mercy is better than lives, says the God-bearing David.) Published here, pp. 81-91.

12.(ff. 582-585). Concerning almsgiving. Incipit: Οὐ ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν νηστείαν ἐξελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ ποίαν; (I have not chosen this fast, but what [kind]?) Published below, pp. 91-102.

13.(ff. 585-588). Concerning the mystical body of our Lord Jesus Christ. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἐγκρατείᾳ. (Since by the abstinence of these holy days.) Published pp. 123-186.

14.(f. 651). Exposition of Scholarius in Florence, which was read publicly. Incipit: Ἐπειδὴ ὑπελαμβάνομεν πρότερον ἡμεῖς οἱ Γραικοί. (Since we Greeks previously supposed.) Published p. 375.

15.(ff. 666-669). That this difference is ancient, and from the Third Council, and what those fathers of the council thought concerning this; but also from the First Council. Of Scholarius. Incipit: Οἱ περὶ οὐσίας τε καὶ ὑποστάσεως τότε γεγενημένη καὶ νῦν οὖσα διαφορά. (The difference concerning essence and hypostasis then having occurred and now being.) Simple extracts from chapter I of the first treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

16.(ff. 735-738v). Of Scholarius. Concerning how the divine energies are distinguished, both in relation to each other and to the divine essence, as they are energies, and in which they are. Incipit: Περὶ τῆς τῶν θείων ἐνεργειῶν πρός τε ἀλλήλας καὶ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν διακρίσεως. (Concerning the distinction of the divine energies both in relation to each other and to the divine essence.)

17.(ff. 738-739). Of the same. Concerning that the most holy Theotokos is incomparably more glorious than the Seraphim. Incipit: Ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον ὕμνῳ. (Some say, in the hymn to the most holy Theotokos.)

18.(f. 739). Proof, that Saint Paul is greater than all the saints. Incipit: Ἴδετε πηλίκοις ὑμῖν, φησί, γράμμασιν ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί. (See with what large letters, he says, I have written to you with my own hand.) Without author's name, but probably of Scholarius, like the preceding and the following piece.

19.(f. 767v). Concerning the morning and evening knowledge said to be in angels. Of Gennadius. Incipit: Πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τῆς θείας προνοίας περὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον οἰκονομιῶν. (First indeed of the dispensations of divine providence concerning human life.)

20.(f. 767). Of the same in his third forced ascent to the city. Incipit: Ὁ Θωμᾶς θεμέλιον τῆς λατινικῆς προσθήκης ἡ χωριζόμεθα αὐτῶν. (Thomas [is] the foundation of the Latin addition by which we are separated from them.)

21.(ff. 768-800). Theological annotations. Without author's name, but of Scholarius: they were copied, like the two preceding pieces, from Parisinus 1273, ff. 194-287. These are moreover only simple extracts from the summary of the Summa contra Gentiles of Saint Thomas.

22.(ff. 823-826). Of Gennadius Scholarius. First to the glory of God, then in obedience to the great Sultan, as the inscription had it. Incipit: Ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον αὐτοῖς αἰώνιον τέλος. (The way of the salvation of men to the proposed eternal end for them.)

23.(ff. 826-826v). Another homily to the same. Incipit: Πιστεύομεν ὅτι ἔστι Θεός, δημιουργὸς πάντων ὅσα εἰσίν. (We believe that there is a God, creator of all that exists.)

24.(ff. 896-900). Evangelical law in epitome or concerning the first worship of God. Of Scholarius kyr Gennadius. Incipit: Δυοῖν οὐσῶν λατρειῶν καὶ θεραπειῶν. (Of the two existing worships and services.)

25.(f. 924). Of Scholarius. From the discourse on the Dormition of the most holy Theotokos. Simple extract.

26.(ff. 973-974). † The humble monk Gennadius by the mercy of God patriarch in Constantinople of all Christ's poor to all those who will encounter the present [writing]; blessing from the source of God's blessings, and knowledge of our [affairs], so that by the prayer and zeal of all the things of Christ's church, with his assent, by our pity may be provided for. Incipit: Εἰ ὁ λαός μου ἤκουσέ μου, φησίν. (If my people had hearkened unto me, he says.)

Introduction

The Sermons and Panegyrics.

What we have been able to find of the oratory works of George Scholarius has been collected in the present volume and divided into three sections: 1st The sermons and panegyrics; 2nd the funeral eulogies and monodies; 3rd the discourses delivered in Florence on the religious question, to which has been added the justificatory discourse on the reproach of Latinism, not that this piece was written or delivered in Florence, but because it is related by its content to the problem raised by Scholarius's attitude at the unionist council. Of these three sections, the first is by far the most extensive and fills no less than 246 pages. It comprises sixteen pieces, of roughly equal length, except for the first, which alone occupies 61 pages. We have arranged them in chronological order, except for the Lenten discourses, for which we have followed the liturgical order. Scholarius, indeed, has left us a veritable Lenten series, unfortunately incomplete, composed of seven discourses, and even eight, if one includes the discourse for the feast of the Annunciation, which almost always falls during Lent. The first Sunday of Lent or Sunday of Orthodoxy is represented by two sermons, which obviously were not delivered in the same year. This is why we have separated them by the Sermon on Almsgiving, which followed, a week apart, the first of the two, treating of fasting.

Of the three Marian homilies that appear in our collection, the earliest is certainly the long homily for the feast of the Annunciation. It was until now unpublished. Three manuscripts have preserved it for us: the Escorialensis III. 4. 15, of the 15th century, an excellent copy, which we have taken as the basis of our edition; the Palatinus 214, also of the 15th century, a less good copy, with which the third manuscript, the Monacensis 10, of the 16th century, is closely related, as can be seen by the variants. It is a work of youth, as it emerges: 1st from the name of Κουρτέσης (Courtesis) which is read in the superscription of the Escorial manuscript; 2nd from the allusion that Scholarius himself makes to it in the homily on the Assumption (p. 197, 25-27); 3rd from a passage of the discourse itself (p. 60, 29 sq.), which allows us to date it almost certainly to the very year when the Greeks left Constantinople to go to Ferrara, that is, from March 25, 1437, or from the Friday that preceded this day. The orator makes a clear allusion to the union of the Churches, which is being prepared and which he desires: "Λυθήτωσαν πᾶσι μὲν χριστιανοῖς ἐμφύλιοι στάσεις καὶ ταραχαὶ καὶ θυμοῦ πλησμονὴ κατὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ... Εἰρήνην πάλιν ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησία λαβέτω, καὶ διαιρεθεῖσα κακῶς, καλῶς συναχθήτω" (Let civil strifes and disturbances and fullness of anger against those of the same race be dissolved for all Christians… Let the Church of Christ again receive peace, and having been badly divided, let it be well reunited) (See also p. 59, 15 sq.)). The piece is very carefully crafted in substance and form, and constitutes a true treatise of theology on the primitive state of man, original sin, the divine plan of the Incarnation, the divine motherhood of Mary. From page 36 to page 50, the orator makes a beautiful commentary on the Angelic Salutation. On pages 51-53, he summarizes his discourse. There follows a long peroration on the excellence of the feast of the Annunciation with prayer to the Virgin and allusions to the unionist negotiations. To treat the subject, Scholarius had illustrious predecessors. He was especially inspired by Nicholas Cabasilas and Demetrius Cydones. As brilliant as the first in form, he is as solid as the second in doctrine.

The two other Marian homilies: On the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and on the Assumption had already been edited, the first by S. Lampros and M. Jugie, the second by M. Jugie. The present edition gives some important variants coming from a more attentive reading of the autographs. The homily on the Presentation in the Temple, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Εἰσοδίων (on the feast of the Entry [of the Theotokos]), delivered

before Emperor Constantine XII and the Senate, in the monastery of the Periblepte, must be dated to November 21, 1449. In the peroration, the orator, who is still a layman, adjures the Byzantines to renounce definitively the union concluded in Florence, for which the new emperor undoubtedly shows some sympathy; and he announces in veiled terms his imminent retirement to a monastery: "ἄμεινον γὰρ εἰλικρινεῖ καρδίᾳ συζῆν κατακλείσασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἢ σκότῳ λαβυρινθώδει ζητήσεων καὶ πράξεων ἀναχρώννυσθαι" (For it is better to live with a sincere heart having shut oneself in than to be consumed by the labyrinthine darkness of inquiries and actions) (p. 170, 21). Now, as we have seen, it was three years before the fall of Constantinople that Scholarius realized his vow to embrace the monastic life. We know moreover that Constantine did not appear in Constantinople until March 12, 1449. It must therefore have been on November 21 of the same year that he heard the discourse in question. In November 1450, Scholarius was already retired in the monastery of Kharsianites. In this homily, which presents nothing very striking, Scholarius, commenting on the Savior's response to the woman who extolled Mary's physical motherhood, insists on the personal holiness of the Virgin, and shows in her the model of the perfect life, a model more accessible than the life of the God-Man to human weakness. As for the homily on the Assumption, it bears its date in the superscription of the Paris. 1289, autograph: It was written and read in the monastery of the Pammakaristos, residence of the patriarchs in Constantinople, on August 15, 1464, during Gennade's third forced return to the city. The orator develops there, but with more amplitude, the same theme as in the homily on the Presentation: Mary reached the summits of perfection by continuous progress and reproduced in herself the very life of Jesus. He affirms and exalts in terms as precise as they are eloquent the privileges of the Mother of God, and especially her immaculate conception and her glorious assumption. The peroration is marked by a deep melancholy; Gennade alludes to the calamities that brought about the disappearance of the Byzantine empire, and he begs the Virgin to take him out of this world as soon as possible.

Of the seven Lenten sermons, the first two (Sermon on the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican and Sermon on the Parable of the Prodigal Son) are the least ancient and were delivered on Sunday (p. 62, 31, and p. 72, 5), probably in the Prodromos monastery, on Mount Menoikeion. In the first, the orator gives his listeners the name τέκνα (children) (p. 69, 15). Both are of ascetic content, as was fitting for a monastic audience. Four of them are part of the series of Friday sermons preached in the imperial triclinium. The matter is clearly indicated by the orator. The orator develops sometimes a moral and ascetic subject (Sermon on Fasting, on the Friday before the 1st Sunday of Lent; Sermon on Almsgiving, on the Friday before the 2nd Sunday of Lent); sometimes a subject of dogma (Sermon for the Feast of Orthodoxy, delivered on the 1st Sunday of Lent; Sermon on the Eucharist, on Lazarus Friday, which precedes Palm Sunday; Sermon for Good Friday). The two most remarkable are the Sermon for the Feast of Orthodoxy and the Sermon on the Eucharist. The Sermon for the Feast of Orthodoxy was written and delivered in 1451, as we learn from the Pantoc. 127. There are several allusions to the Catholic doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the polemical spirit against the Latins is evident in several places. One feels that the orator is already launched into the anti-Latin controversy, although he maintains a certain reserve, commanded by imperial policy. He reviews the various heresies, as the feast of the day invited him to do. The properly Byzantine heresies posterior to Photius are noted. John Beccos, Barlaam, and Acindynos are not forgotten. Gregory of Cyprus and Gregory Palamas receive magnificent eulogies.

Introduction

The Sermon on the Eucharist, the only one of the Lenten series that had been published until now,, is particularly famous and important. It served, at the beginning of the 18th century, as an apodictic argument for Catholic theologians to demonstrate to Protestants that the Greek Church did not reject the doctrine of Transubstantiation not only in what it presents of strictly dogmatic, but also in its most commonly received philosophical explanation. This explanation, George Scholarius fully makes his own with the very terms of the School. One will not find here the second piece on the Eucharist published by Renaudot, which he had borrowed from the Ἀντίῤῥησις κατὰ τῶν καλβινικῶν κεφαλαίων (Refutation against the Calvinist Chapters) of Meletius Syrigos, first because it is not a homily but a dogmatic response to a question; second, because the piece is apocryphal, as we will prove elsewhere.

The Sermon for Good Friday is also of dogmatic content. It repeats a good part of what had been said in the Sermon for the Feast of the Annunciation on the primitive state of man, original sin, and the divine plan of the Incarnation. In this discourse, as in most of the others mentioned so far, the orator is visibly inspired by Saint Thomas Aquinas.

It is difficult to assign a precise date to the Sermon for the Feast of the Transfiguration, which Scholarius found in Thessaloniki, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. Let us be content to know that it was read in the imperial palace, under Emperor John. The orator expresses there a discreet Palamism and insists especially on the reasons that pushed the Savior to manifest his glory to the three preferred disciples.

The Panegyric of the Holy Apostles, as we have already said, was delivered on June 29, 1456, in a monastery of Athos, shortly after Gennade's resignation from the patriarchal office. Under the still fresh impression of the cabals of which he had been the witness and also the victim, in Constantinople, the orator insists with emphasis to his audience on fraternal charity, and condenses in two or three pages the teaching of the apostolic epistles on this subject. He draws a moving picture of the temporal and spiritual disasters caused by the domination of the Infidels, and declares that the end of the world is approaching. He concludes by exhorting his listeners (hieromonks and monks) to the works of spiritual and bodily mercy, to confession—and on this subject, he reminds the priests of the obligation to keep the secret of confession—to the practice of monastic virtues.

No. 12: On the regrets of Saint Peter after his denial (pp. 187-197) is not, strictly speaking, either a sermon or a panegyric, but a piece of pious rhetoric, where Gennade, probably already retired to Mount Menoikeion, to please an Athonite monk called Laurentios, strove to express the sentiments that must have pressed in the heart of the Apostle Peter, after his triple denial. The piece is of beautiful inspiration. The author shows himself to be as good a theologian as an excellent writer. One will note especially the passages on the primacy of Peter, the necessity of grace, and the mystery of divine prescience.

The Sermon for the Feast of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, of which Chrestos Papaioannou had given, in 1900, a very poor edition in the Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια (Ecclesiastical Truth), vol. XX, pp. 385-388, 430-434, was written on June 15, 1466, on Mount Menoikeion, to be read, not to be preached (p. 212, 5). It is a tribute of recognition to the holy Forerunner. Its content is of a historical and ascetic order.

The Sermon for the Nativity of Our Lord, which has come down to us in five autograph manuscripts, was composed on Mount Menoikeion, in 1467. It is edited here for the first time. It is a dogmatic discourse of very rich content. The influence of Western theology is particularly noticeable there. The author makes his own the Augustinian theory of the Trinity (p. 227, 21; 236, 15; 237). He speaks successively of the origin and

destiny of the human soul, of the primitive state and the fall, of the messianic preparation, of the fittingness and the realization of the mystery of the Incarnation.

From the autograph fragment of the Panegyric of Saint Demetrius, it emerges that the piece was delivered in Thessaloniki, after the capture of Constantinople (pp. 245, 246). The orator quite sharply reproaches the Thessalonians for their lack of fervor in attending services, their exaggerated fear of the Infidels, their drunkenness. He develops this idea that the brilliance and the value of martyrdom depend less on the torments suffered than on the inner dispositions of the sufferer.

The sixteen pieces that we have just rapidly reviewed obviously represent only a small part of the sermons and panegyrics composed by Scholarius. For several years, indeed, he preached every Friday, in the imperial palace. He also preached during and after his patriarchate. He also happened to write discourses on religious subjects, without having proposed to deliver them before any audience whatsoever. A good number of the sermons that he gave at the court must have been lost, as well as many other writings, during the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. In the Sermon for Good Friday (p. 138, 23), we read that in the year when it was delivered, the orator had taken as the subject of his instructions the exposition of the Symbol (Creed), and that he had arrived at the 5th and 6th articles. Nothing of these preceding sermons on the Symbol has come down to us. Likewise, in the Sermon for the Feast of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist, he mentions a lament on the holy Forerunner, θρῆνος (threnos), (p. 212, 7) that he had composed before this discourse; and in the Sermon on the Assumption (p. 198, 1), he speaks of the numerous Marian homilies delivered between the sermon on the Annunciation and the one on the Assumption: μετὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῇ μεταξὺ προσενηνεγμένους (after many others offered to her in between). Now of this voluminous collection in honor of the Virgin, we have left only the Sermon for the Feast of the Entry into the Temple. Whatever the value of the lost sermons may have been, we can however affirm that most of those that we possess constitute choice pieces, which the author took care to carefully revise and transcribe himself in the last years of his life. We can therefore judge with full knowledge of his genre and his talent.

Introduction

Funeral Orations and Monodies.

In this section of oratory works, we have six pieces particularly interesting from a historical point of view, namely five funeral orations and Scholarius's Lament on the misfortunes of his life. This last piece, as well as the Funeral Eulogy of Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the despot Demetrius, had not yet been published.

The Funeral Eulogy of Mark Eugenikos, Archbishop of Ephesus (1444), has come down to us in numerous manuscripts, which are indicated, as well as the previous editions, on page 247. Mark's death is described as the worst of catastrophes for the Orthodox. The orator accuses himself and excuses himself for certain wrongs that he had towards the Archbishop of Ephesus and those of his party: ἀλγοῦμεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξημάρτομεν ἢ σεσιγηκότες οὐ δέον ἢ τι προέμενοι σιωπῆς ἄξιον (we grieve for what we have erred, either having kept silent when it was not necessary or having omitted something worthy of silence) (p. 251, 17).

The Funeral Eulogy of the Despot Theodore Palaiologos, brother of Emperors John VII and Constantine XII, was delivered in 1448, three months after the deceased's funeral. George explains, at the beginning, the cause of this delay. At the moment when he was taken by an unexpected death, Theodore was preparing, it is said, to commit the crime of lèse-majesté. The orator rejoices that divine providence did not allow him the time to realize his sad design: which would have forever dishonored his memory.

The Eulogy of the Empress Mother Helena Dragazes, who died in 1450, is addressed to Emperor Constantine himself. It is less a funeral oration of the deceased than a letter of consolation to the emperor. Scholarius gives there, in passing, proofs of the immortality of the soul, and writes a small dissertation on the nine fruits of the Holy Spirit enumerated by Saint Paul, Galatians 5:22-23.

The Monody on the death of Helena, daughter of the despot Demetrius, another brother of Constantine XII, was composed shortly after the Eulogy of the Empress Mother (p. 276, 30). Helena was taken in the flower of her youth; Scholarius deplores this premature death in terms from which rhetoric is not absent. He excuses himself, at the end, for having lacked measure in the eulogy.

Nothing artificial, on the contrary, in the Eulogy of Theodore Sophianos, delivered at the Vatopedi monastery, on September 28, 1456. Gennade, who had given his resignation as patriarch a few months earlier and had taken refuge on Athos, lets his heart speak before the tomb of his beloved nephew. Theodore was first his very brilliant student, then his devoted collaborator in his office as judge of the palace, then his companion in captivity, after the capture of Constantinople. Forgetful of his own interests, he returned to the capital to assist his uncle, who had become patriarch, and accompanied him in his retreat to Athos. An intense emotion animates the entire piece, which is moreover very important for Scholarius's biography.

The same must be said of the Lament on the misfortunes of his life, written on Mount Menoikeion in 1460, which two autographs, codd. Paris. 1289 and 1294, have preserved for us. One can say that Scholarius owed this piece to posterity. Having seen with his own eyes the Constantinople of the basileis and that of Mehmed II, he owed it to us to compare them with each other. He did not fail to do so, and he did it with poignant emotion, as a patriot who suffers as much from the misfortunes of his country as from his personal misfortunes. The piece contains historical details on the author's life and works, and on the situation of the Greek Church in the first years of Muslim domination.

Introduction

The Discourses at Florence on the Religious Question.

Under this title, we include seven pieces of unequal length: 1st The introductory note to the assembly of the Orientals of a first discourse qualified as παράκλησις (exhortation) or συμβουλή (counsel), by which George Scholarius exhorts his compatriots to conclude the union with the Latins; 2nd This first discourse itself, which can be divided into two parts: a) Union is possible, the Latins having demonstrated that the Western Fathers and the Eastern Fathers agree on the substance of the question of the Filioque, b) Union is necessary to save Constantinople. To reject it would be a perilous inconsistency, which could not be covered by any excuse; 3rd Three other discourses (nos. 3, 4, 5) in which the problem of union is examined in itself and in all its aspects. First of all, Scholarius determines the character of the religious peace to be concluded: Union must be true, that is, founded on dogmatic truth. It is this truth that must be considered before any earthly advantage. A fictitious and purely economic union would serve no purpose and would only aggravate the situation. True union will secure for the Byzantines both divine protection and the help of their brothers, the Latins. Such a union is not impossible. The council is truly ecumenical. It is easy to show that the Fathers agree among themselves on the procession of the Holy Spirit (no. 3, pp. 306-325). The great obstacle to overcome is the shame of changing, after so many centuries of controversies. But there is no dishonor in admitting a clarification on a point of dogma that had been rejected until now out of prudence. The Greeks have no innovation to reproach themselves with: Let them only despise vain glory, and all will be well: ὑμᾶς δεῖ μόνον κενῆς δόξης καταφρονῆσαι, καὶ πάνθ' ἕξει καλῶς (you must only despise vain glory, and all will be well) (p. 322, 10). Where is the dishonor in accepting the decision of the infallible Church, represented by the five patriarchs? The ancient councils defended only additions contrary to the faith. They themselves made additions, and they could not deprive future councils of the power to make them in their turn. Therefore, even if the Latins do not require the Greeks to add the Filioque to the Symbol (Creed), this addition must be made, for one must confess one's faith outwardly (no. 4, pp. 325-345). As for the means to be employed to arrive at agreement, they are easy to find. One has only to consult Scripture and the Fathers. No true contradiction either in the former or in the writings of the latter, but sometimes simple apparent contradictions, which vanish upon reflection and by the application of the rules of interpretation dictated by good sense. It must be noted, moreover, that all the Fathers are not equal in talent and in knowledge. Some have received more from God, others less. Some have explicitly taught a point of doctrine that others have passed over in silence out of prudence or incompetence, or that they have expressed only in an implicit and equivalent manner. To be silent is not to contradict. One will easily reach an agreement, if one applies these rules to the question of the Filioque. Let one only start from the incontestable principle that the Fathers taken as a whole could not contradict each other (no. 5, pp. 346-372); 4th Scholarius's opinion in favor of union: In accordance with what he has just declared in his last discourse, he recognizes that the Greek Fathers and the Latin Fathers have taught the same doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit by employing different formulas; he proclaims the identity of the two Greek and Latin formulas in almost the same terms as the decree of union of the Council of Florence, which he regards as truly ecumenical (no. 6, pp. 372-374); 5th The formula of conciliation proposed by Scholarius and sent to the Latins prior to the preceding declaration. It coincides in substance with the latter, but it is less explicit in the terms: this is why it was rejected by the Latins, who wanted to avoid all ambiguity (no. 7, p. 375).

Introduction

Such is, briefly summarized, the content of these seven pieces, which have been preserved for us: the first six by three excellent 15th-century manuscripts, the last by Sylvester Syropoulos in his History of the Council of Florence, of which the Paris. 427 is the autograph copy. The three manuscripts: the Laurentianus 3 dei Conventi soppressi, the Ambrosianus 252 (D 77 sup.), the Parisinus 422, are closely related to each other, as will be seen by examining the variants. They are almost entirely filled with the Acts of the Council of Florence written by Dorotheus of Mytilene, one of the Greek bishops who attended the council, and present no trace of interpolation. The first is an autograph of John Plusiadenus, who became unionist bishop of Methone under the name of Joseph. The veracity of Dorotheus's account has never been seriously contested by critics. This account, much more complete than that of Syropoulos, whose tendentious character escapes no one, generally agrees with him and contradicts him nowhere. As regards, in particular, the attitude of George Scholarius at the council, the agreement between them is perfect. Doubtless, Syropoulos does not give the text of George's discourses, any more than he reports so many other perfectly authentic discourses, which were delivered in the meetings of the Orientals; but besides the fact that he has preserved for us the text of the formula of conciliation drawn up by Scholarius and adopted by the majority of the Greeks, he shows us in him a decided partisan of the union, who, before the departure of the Greeks for Ferrara, exhorts them to go to the council and gives them excellent advice on how to conduct the dogmatic discussions, and who, at the moment of beginning the debates on the Filioque, is of the opinion to begin with the dogmatic question. Moreover, far from denying the authenticity of the discourses in question and doubting George's public adherence to the union, he seems to affirm both one and the other in an implicit manner.

For the rest, we do not need Dorotheus or Syropoulos to know that Scholarius was a unionist before and during the council, and that he delivered discourses there in favor of religious peace. He tells us so himself quite clearly in several places in his works. Let one reread his letter to Pope Eugene IV, which is prior to the council. It testifies to a singular deference towards the Pope. We have pointed out above the unionist sentiments expressed in the homily for the feast of the Annunciation. As for the famous discourses to the Fathers of the council, they are, in our opinion, clearly indicated in this passage of the Response to the letter of Mark of Ephesus, written during the summer of 1440: Πολλά μοι μετεμέλησεν ἄχρι νῦν πολλῶν παρὰ καιρὸν εἰρημένων, ἐξ ὧν οὐδενὶ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος, σκανδάλου δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγοις αἴτιος οἶδα γεγενημένος, οἳ τῶν ἐμῶν λαβόμενοι λόγων καὶ πρὸς τὸ σφίσιν ἀρέσκον ἕκαστος ἑκλαβόμενοι, καμὲ διπλῆν τινα καὶ ποικίλην περὶ τῶν θείων γνώμην ἔχειν ἐνόμισαν Οὐκ ἤδεσαν διακρίνειν οἰκονομίαν τε καὶ ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τούτων ἑκατέρους καιρούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς εἰδόσι διακρίνειν ἐμέμφοντο Ἡ δοκοῦσα πρότερον εἰρήνη πόλεμος ἦν δήπου καὶ στάσις καὶ σύγχυσις (I have greatly regretted until now many things said out of season, from which I know I have been the cause of scandal to not a few, who having taken my words and each interpreting them according to what pleased them, thought that I held a double and varied opinion concerning divine things. They did not know how to distinguish between oikonomia and akribeia and the respective times of these, and because of this they blamed those who knew how to distinguish. The peace that previously seemed [to exist] was indeed war and strife and confusion). In this response, George is preoccupied with justifying his conduct at Florence and with clearing himself of the reproach of versatility, which the Archbishop of Ephesus addressed to him. Four years later, in delivering the funeral eulogy of Mark, he will make a more sincere, albeit more veiled, confession; he will say: Ἀλλὰ νοῦν ποτε λαβόντες, ἀλγοῦμεν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐξημάρτομεν ἢ

σεσιγηκότες οὐ δέον ἢ τι προέμενοι σιωπῆς ἄξιον (But having at last come to our senses, we grieve for what we have erred, either having kept silent when it was not necessary or having omitted something worthy of silence) (p. 251, 17). Similarly, in the polemical dissertation Against the addition to the Symbol and against the Council of Florence, written after the death of Emperor John VII, he seems indeed to place himself among those who accepted the union: Ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ τὸ δεινὸν ἐξειργασμένοι ὅσοι περίεσμεν, ἀνάγκην ἔχομεν δουλεύειν μέχρι παντὸς οἷς σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσι, καὶ εἴ τις ἡμᾶς ἐπαναγκάζει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πολέμιος τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δήπου κριθήσεται (But neither do we who have perpetrated the terrible deed, as many of us as remain, have the necessity to be enslaved forever to what we know we have erred ourselves, and if anyone forces us to do this, he will certainly be judged an enemy of our salvation and his own).

Before all these concordant testimonies, we find no solid reason to doubt the authenticity of the discourses whose text Dorotheus of Mytilene has preserved for us, and we make our own the judicious judgment of Mgr. Petit: "At Florence, Scholarius had taken rank among the moderates, or, to put it better, among the resigned. Holding the union to be an imperative political necessity, he had delivered an exhortation and three remarkable discourses to invite his compatriots to submit to it as a combinazione, an inevitable accommodation. It has pleased certain modern critics to deny the authenticity of these discourses, read by Scholarius not in public session, but in those private meetings that the Orientals held almost every day, sometimes at the emperor's, sometimes at the patriarch's. But these critics are wrong, unless they make a clean sweep of the multiple testimonies of the manuscripts, some of which were written during Scholarius's own lifetime. We also have as subsidiary proof the transactional formula proposed by him to put an end to the debate relating to the procession of the Holy Spirit, a formula which corresponds well to the general inspiration of the three discourses. Finally, there is Mark's letter, of indisputable authenticity, and which would have no sense if Scholarius had not maintained, even after his return to Constantinople, a reserved, almost conciliatory attitude. And if a last proof were needed, we would find it in Scholarius's reply, conceived in very lively terms, by which he tries to justify himself to Mark)."

It is not easy to determine the place of these discourses in the sequence of the conciliar debates. Dorotheus's account contains confused data on this point. He tells us, first of all, that Scholarius presented his discourses on the Tuesday after Thomas Sunday (Sunday in Albis), that is, on April 14, 1439, after Bessarion's great discourse on union: "Μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁ Σχολάριος κύρις Γεώργιος προσέφερεν ἡμῖν τρεῖς λόγους συμβουλευτικοὺς περὶ ἑνώσεως, συμβουλεύων καὶ παραθαρρύνων ἡμᾶς ἑνωθῆναι" (After this discourse also Scholarius kyr George presented to us three advisory discourses concerning union, advising and encouraging us to be united). But further on, he brings in the same Scholarius, on Saturday, May 30, who comes to make his public profession of faith and says, among other things, addressing the emperor: "Ἄριστε καὶ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, ἧς μὲν γνώμης γέγονα καὶ εἰμὶ περὶ τὴν προκειμένην τῆς ἑνώσεως ὅλην, ὁ πρὸς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερὰν ταύτην σύνοδον σχεδιασθεὶς μοι καὶ πεμφθεὶς λόγος δηλοῖ, ἐν ᾧ πρός τε τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν τῶν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πραγμάτων τοὺς ἱεροὺς τούτους προετρεπόμην πατέρας· μαρτυροῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰ δύο βιβλία, ἅπερ πρότερον συνθεὶς, νῦν ἐγχειρίζω τῇ παρούσῃ συνόδῳ, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐστι συμβουλὴ περί τε τῆς ἑνώσεως καὶ τρόπων αὐτῆς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτην ἁρμόττει τὴν ὅλην, τὸ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος πραγματεύεται, σκοπὸν ἔχον δεῖξαι τοὺς διδασκάλους τῆς Ἐκκλησίας συμφωνοῦντας ἀλλήλοις" (Most excellent and most powerful emperor, of what mind I have been and am concerning the whole proposed matter of union, the discourse composed and sent by me to this holy synod of ours shows, in which I exhorted these

holy fathers both to the union and to the aid of the affairs in Constantinople; and the two books also bear witness, which having previously composed, I now deliver to the present synod, of which one is a counsel concerning both the union and its ways and whatever other things pertain to this whole [matter], and the other treats concerning the question, having as its aim to show that the teachers of the Church agree with each other). We have there the exact description of our four discourses. But the first, with the note that accompanies it, was sent to the synod of the Greeks prior to the three others, probably on April 14, after Bessarion's discourse. As for the δύο βιβλία (two books), which contain nos. 3, 4, 5, they appear only on May 30, unless one says, like Fromann, that they were deposited on the table of the synod as early as April 14. These latter discourses, moreover, were not all three read on the same day to the assembly of the Orientals. The second (Obstacle to religious peace, no. 4) was given only the second day after the reading of the first (no. 3) As for the formula of conciliation proposed by Scholarius and reported by Syropoulos (no. 7), it was presented on May 2.

Introduction

The Justificatory Discourse against the Accusation of Latinism.

We place after the discourses delivered at Florence this autoapologia (self-apology), of which codex Vatic. 1823 has preserved for us the autograph copy. As Mgr. G. Mercati, who was the first to study the piece closely, conjectured, this must have been written before the council. Because of his knowledge of the Latin language, his translations of Latin works, his friendships with certain Western scholars, Scholarius is suspected by some malevolent or envious minds of being in league with the Latins and of being more or less favorable to their erroneous doctrines. This is why he is placed among the κακόδοξοι (heterodox). It is to defend his reputation for orthodoxy that he takes up his pen. He challenges his enemies to say what his true thought is on the questions disputed between Greeks and Latins for the good reason that he has not revealed his intimate sentiments to anyone. As we have already said, this apology is to be compared with the Letter to his disciples, where he also alludes to the attacks of which he is the object, because of his Latin associations.

Introduction

The Treatises on Providence and Predestination.

The five short treatises on Providence and Predestination have all come down to us in autograph manuscripts, the first three in codd. Paris. 1289 and 1294, the fourth in Paris. 1289, the fifth in Pantocrator 127 and Paris. 1292. They had already been published and gathered in volume CLX of Migne's Patrologia Graeca, where the second, the only one accompanied by a Latin translation, precedes the others by nearly 600 columns. One will see that our edition was not useless, by perusing the numerous variants that it presents with that of the Patrologia Graeca, marred by several false readings of the autographs. Scholarius wrote these dissertations in the order in which we give them. The first three were addressed to Joseph of Thessaloniki, qualified first as a monk (2nd treatise), then as exarch and most holy father (3rd treatise). The first dates from the year 1459, the second from July 15, 1467; the third followed the second closely. The fourth, addressed to Theodore Agallianos, who was then grand economos of the Great Church, came some time after the third. The fifth is a short complement added by the author to the four others, without being, it seems, solicited by anyone. All must have been composed on Mount Menoikeion.

The question of Providence and Predestination, a veritable wrestling ground for philosophers and theologians, φιλοσοφίας καὶ θεολογίας ὥσπερ γυμνάσιον (of philosophy and theology as a gymnasium) (p. 438, 34-35), is approached in its entirety in the first treatise, the longest and most important. The four others clarify particular points already touched on in this first. To fully grasp the author's thought, one must read them all attentively. The terminology, indeed, goes on becoming more precise, and the doctrine, without changing, takes on new forms that render it more and more limpid. The question of Providence and Predestination being connected to that of divine prescience and to that of the relations of grace and freedom, Scholarius is led to explain himself on these various points. The key passages are: in the first treatise, paragraphs 18-19, pp. 404-407, where the case of Herod and Saint John the Baptist is studied, by way of example; and in the third treatise, paragraphs 11-14, pp. 437-438.

From all eternity, God knows as present, ὡς παρόντα (as present), all that has been, all that is, all that will be, including the determinations of free creatures and their most secret thoughts. He knows these things not in themselves, since they do not have an eternal existence, but in himself, in whom all pre-exists ideally. How does he know them in himself? Scholarius is content to say: in the manner proper to him, τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τρόπῳ (in his own way); by the infinity of his knowledge and the abundance of his wisdom, τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστήμης, σοφίας περιουσίᾳ (by the infinity of knowledge, the abundance of wisdom); insofar as he is the unique and first cause of all, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὡς μιᾷ καὶ πρώτῃ πάντων αἰτίᾳ (in himself as the one and first cause of all). Not only does he know all in advance, προγινώσκει (foreknows), but he predetermines all, προορίζει (predetermines). Nothing in the divine plan of the world is left to chance: all is fixed in advance. But, at least when it is a question of fixing the fate of free creatures, prescience precedes predetermination or predestination, προορισμός (predestination). Predestination is divided into predestination properly speaking, ὁ κυρίως προορισμός (the predestination properly so called), which concerns the elect, and reprobation, ἀποδοκιμασία (reprobation), which concerns those who miss the ultimate end. It is with his gaze fixed on his prescience that God predestines and reproves. And his prescience itself has as its cause the determinations of the free will, which God foresaw from all eternity, because of the abundance of his wisdom: "Ἔστι δὲ τάξει προτέρα μὲν ἡ πρόγνωσις, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ εἰδικὸς οὗτος κυρίως προορισμός, καὶ προϋποτίθησι τὴν πρόγνωσιν ὁ προορισμὸς ὡς ἀρχὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τάξει προηγουμένην.. Διὰ τοῦτο προγνοὺς αὐτοὺς διὰ σοφίας περιουσίαν,

ἑπομένως προώρισε δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν ἀγαθότητος, καὶ προορίσας ἐκάλεσε, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ἀκολούθως Οὐκ ἔστιν οὖν αἰτία προηγουμένη τῆς τῶν σῳζομένων δόξης ὁ θεῖος προορισμός· ἔχει γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ προηγουμένην τὴν πρόγνωσιν, ἧς ἄνευ οὐκ ἂν προορισμὸς εἴη. Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἡ πρόγνωσις προηγουμένη ἐστὶν αἰτία, ἀλλ' ἐπείπερ ἔμελλε, κατ' ἰδίας ἀφορμὰς τῶν αἱρησομένων τὸ ἀγαθόν, συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ τοιούτοις οὖσιν ἐπακολουθοῦν τὸ τέλος, διὰ τοῦτο προέγνω ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὸ γενέσεως αὐτῶν" (p. 436-437) (And by order, prescience is indeed prior, and second is this specific predestination properly so called, and predestination presupposes prescience as its beginning and prior in order… Therefore having foreknown them through abundance of wisdom, consequently he predestined them through exceeding goodness, and having predestined he called, and the following things accordingly. Therefore divine predestination is not a prior cause of the glory of those being saved; for it has as prior to itself prescience, without which predestination would not be. But neither is prescience a prior cause, but since it was going to happen, according to the proper initiatives of those choosing the good, that the end consequent to those being such should also happen to them, therefore he who knows all things before their birth foreknew).

Neither prescience nor divine προορισμός (predestination) harms human freedom at the moment when the free act occurs in time. This eternal prescience and predetermination in no way influence this act: "Οὐδὲν πρὸ τοῦ ἐλέσθαι τὸ βελτίον ὠφελεῖ ὁ θεῖος προορισμὸς τοὺς προχρημένους, εἰ μὴ ὅσον προώριστο τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει κοινῶς τὸ δεῖν κατὰ λόγον τε καὶ νόμον βιοῦν" (Nothing before choosing the better benefits those who have chosen, except insofar as it was predetermined for human nature in general to live according to reason and law) (p. 407, 28-30). For all impetus, all initiative towards good or evil comes from the created will: "ἡ δὲ πᾶσα πρὸς τἀγαθὸν ἢ τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμὴ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεται" (But every impulse of the soul towards good or evil comes from itself) (p. 403, 15-16). Doubtless the grace of God is absolutely indispensable to perform good: From God comes to us both the will and the willing and the doing, when it is a question of good; and when it is a question of evil, the subtraction of grace, ἡ τῆς θείας χάριτος ἀναχώρησις (the withdrawal of divine grace), concurs, συντρέχει (concurs), to the production of the bad act (p. 403, 2 sq.). But God did not force John to choose this or that; he only cooperated, συνήργει (cooperated), so that he would rather will the good by his grace, which dwelt in him. And that grace dwelt in him, John was the cause, having shown himself worthy, "ἦν καὶ ἐνοικισθήναι αὐτῷ καὶ αὐτὸς αἴτιος ἦν, ἄξιον αὑτὸν παρασχόμενος" (he was also the cause of it dwelling in him, having presented himself worthy) (p. 405, 16-18). Similarly, God did not force Herod to take this or that side with regard to John. He freely chose what he wanted. And if he did not receive the grace that would have helped him to will the good, if this grace was taken away from him, it is because of the bad disposition of his will, because the light of grace cannot dwell with the darkness of voluntary wickedness, "διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι τῷ σκότει τῆς ἑκουσίου κακίας τὸ φῶς τῆς χάριτος συνοικεῖν" (because the light of grace cannot dwell with the darkness of voluntary wickedness), and those who have freely chosen to be darkened must not be illuminated against their will (p. 406, 23-26). The choice of John and that of Herod were foreseen by God from all eternity as well as the conduct that God would hold with regard to each of them. And this was not only foreseen but predetermined according to this prescience. And this was realized in time, in accordance with this plan (p. 406, 20-22; cf. p. 437, 5-20). "As things were going to happen and as it was of the nature of each of them to happen or to act, so God foresaw and predetermined them, ὡς ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι καὶ ὡς ἐπεφύκει ἕκαστα γίνεσθαι ἢ ποιεῖν, οὕτω προέγνωστο τῷ Θεῷ καὶ προώριστο" (p. 408, 4-6). Grace is said to go before, προηγεῖσθαι (to go before), because of the

native impotence of the creature; it is said to follow, the free will having the initiative, because it does not violate; thus it is with light and he who can or wants to see by it, "ὡς ἔχει ἐπὶ φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος ἢ θέλοντος βλέπειν αὐτῷ" (p. 406, 35-37). In reality, grace and free will act conjointly and at the same time: it is a *συνεργία* (synergy). But God provides his cooperation for the good only to those who first have freely turned towards the good; just as he does not give his cooperation to evil, but abandons to their will those who choose it: "συνεργεῖ δὲ μόνον πρὸς τἀγαθὸν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῦτο προελομένοις, ὥσπερ πρὸς τοὐναντίον οὐ συνεργεῖ μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐγκαταλείπων τοὺς οἶκοθεν ἀπεστραμμένους τοῦ τέλους ἐᾷ φέρεσθαι" (p. 437, 27-30).

The Byzantine theologian, as we see, leaves all the mystery in divine prescience to highlight the freedom of the creature. He thus remains well within the line of Greek theology, although, in several places in his exposition, the influence of Western theology, and especially that of Saint Thomas, is manifest. For him, he declares himself in agreement with the great doctors of the Church: Dionysius the Areopagite, Athanasius, the three luminaries of the universe, that is to say, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene (p. 439, 5-7; 440, 17-21). He has, on the contrary, only a mediocre esteem for Anastasius the Sinaite, and recognizes no authority in Diodore of Tarsus.

Treatises 2, 3, and 4 especially aim to demonstrate the universality of divine providence against certain errors, or certain inexact formulas, which were current in the Byzantine world, from the patristic period. This question was posed, in particular: Has God fixed from all eternity, by a well-established decree, the mode and the moment of each man's death, or has he abandoned this event to the chance of circumstances and to the mechanism of the laws of nature? Divergent solutions had been given, in the course of the centuries. While Saint Basil had affirmed very clearly that nothing in the world was delivered to chance and that the term of each one's life was fixed by God, Diodore of Tarsus and after him Anastasius the Sinaite had denied the existence of such a decree. Recently, Mark of Ephesus had, in his turn, approached the problem in a letter to a certain monk Isidore? He had extricated himself by saying that the words of Saint Basil did not have a general scope, but a restricted one; that the holy Doctor had not expressed himself with the rigor of a theologian, but had spoken approximately (or: in passing) and for the purpose of edification. In reality, only the death of the elect is predetermined, *προωρισμένος* (predetermined); the death of other men is physical, *φυσικός* (physical), that is to say, abandoned to the play of natural laws. It is against this interpretation of the text of Saint Basil that Scholarius's second treatise is directed, although the Archbishop of Ephesus is not named there. The latter's name appears only in the third treatise (p. 427-428), where Scholarius gives interesting details on Mark's writing, and applies himself especially to refute the thesis of Diodore of Tarsus, much more radical than that of the Archbishop of Ephesus. The fourth treatise, addressed to Theodore Agallianos, also touches on the same question. George teaches with insistence that nothing in the divine plan of the world has been left to chance; that all has been not only foreseen but predetermined, fixed in advance; that providence extends not only to the good, but also to the wicked, and that the mode and the date of the death of both, as also the whole fabric of their life, have been determined from all eternity and are realized in time in accordance with this eternal plan. There is moreover a special providence for the elect. God takes care of them with particular care, because he has foreseen that they would make good use of his grace and would attain the blessed end. Strictly speaking even, the terms *προορίζειν* (to predetermine), *προορισμός* (predestination), apply only to them; they designate providence insofar as it concerns the elect. The divine

decree insofar as it concerns the reprobate is called ἀποδοκιμασία (reprobation) (See §7 of the 4th treatise, pp. 444-445, where Scholarius fixes the terminology to be employed to designate the various aspects of divine government).

One can affirm that these treatises on Providence and Predestination, the fruit of full maturity, constitute the theological masterpiece of George Scholarius. One had not yet seen in Byzantium a theologian of this stature soaring with such mastery and serenity over the highest peaks of sacred science.

Introduction

The Treatises on the Soul.

The treatises on the origin of the human soul and its ultra-terrestrial destinies are no less remarkable than the treatises on Providence. They are also five in number, the first two being devoted to the origin of the soul, the three others to the last ends. All must have been written at the Prodromos monastery, on Mount Menoikeion, as they all bear the name of Gennade. They are therefore also the work of full maturity. For the first three, we have autographs. Codex 35 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople is the only source that we have found for the last two. None of them, in the superscriptions of the manuscripts, bears a precise date. The fourth was written on a January 19th, but we are not told of which year. The order in which we publish them seems to correspond well to the historical order of composition. The first was addressed to a friend, who is not named; the second to Theophanes, bishop of Media, who had composed a treatise on the origin of the soul and had sent it to Gennade through an intermediary, soliciting his criticism (p. 487, 5-6). The third was written for the hieromonk and confessor Sabbatios, of the Sinai monastery who, passing through the Prodromos monastery, presented to Gennade the Responses of Symeon of Thessaloniki to Gabriel of the Pentapolis, drawing his attention especially to the fourth, treating of the fate of souls after death. The last two respond to questions posed by a certain John, qualified as vicar, δίκαιος (dikaios), of the archbishop of Thessaloniki. Of the five, only the second had been edited until now as an appendix to a work that quickly became rare. This is why it does not appear to have been noticed by Western theologians.

We will not dwell on length analyzing each of these dissertations, which all deserve the attention of theologians. The first, written in the form of a classic thesis, and of which the last part has been revised and augmented in a second edition, establishes by arguments borrowed from philosophy, Holy Scripture, and Eastern and Western patristic tradition, the thesis of creationism and mediate animation: The human soul does not come from the parents: it is created immediately by God and infused into the already sufficiently organized embryo, that is to say, around the fortieth day after conception. The reasonable soul has been preceded by a vegetative soul, then by a sensitive soul, which have disappeared to give way to it and to let it alone inform the body. The author responds at length to the objections that can be formulated against the creationist thesis, and shows that this is confirmed by the mystery of the Incarnation of the Word. Apart from the question of mediate animation, which may find contradictors, all the rest is solid and well conducted. One will note, in particular, the development of the scriptural proof.

It is the same doctrine, the same proofs that are found in a less didactic and abbreviated form in the second treatise, addressed to Theophanes of Media. At the end, the author gives the reasons for the virginal conception of Jesus, and affirms very clearly the immaculate conception of the Mother of God (p. 501, 22-30).

Inspired by a short response of Symeon of Thessaloniki on the fate of souls after death, Gennade exposes, in the third treatise, written for the monk Sabbatios, his doctrine on the last ends. He clearly distinguishes three categories of souls: 1st the souls of those who are perfectly pure: They go immediately to heaven in the company of Christ, where they enjoy natural beatitude, while waiting to receive, on the day of the general resurrection, supernatural beatitude, consisting both in the glorious resurrection of the body and in the immediate and face-to-face vision of the divinity; this is the crown of righteousness of which Saint Paul speaks in the Second Epistle to Timothy, IV, 8; 2nd the souls of those who die in a state of mortal sin: They are immediately dragged into hell by the demons; but their torment is only begun before the last

judgment; it will be complete after the resurrection; 3rd the souls of those who die in charity, but with venial faults and without having sufficiently done penance for their sins: for these the entry into heaven is delayed more or less long. The prayers of the Church and of the living help to shorten the time of their trial and to deliver them entirely. Where do they go and what do they suffer? Questions that Gennade considers of little importance, μικρὸν διαφέρει (it matters little) (p. 513, 15). Symeon of Thessaloniki sends them to the terrestrial paradise, in the company of the good thief. The Latins place them in purgatory, a brazier situated at the point of junction of air and ether. He, Gennade, prefers to give them as a dwelling the region of the tollhouses, that is to say, this part of the air infested by a special class of demons called τελώνια (telonia) or tax collectors of the afterlife. There, they suffer not the pain of fire, but rather moral pains, of which the demons, by their vexations, are the principal agents.

It is manifestly under the influence of Symeon that Gennade, in the present treatise, grants to just souls, before the last judgment, only a natural beatitude. Elsewhere, and notably in the last two treatises of which it remains for us to speak, he clearly teaches that the just soul is fully happy naturally and supernaturally immediately after death, and that its felicity, on the day of the resurrection, will not be increased in itself. It will simply be completed, in the sense that the body will share in the soul's happiness and will be clothed with special privileges. The soul of Saint Paul received, immediately after its separation from the body, this crown of righteousness that the great Apostle awaited (See p. 522, 12-23; 526, 20-25; 536, 6-10). Similarly, the punishment of damned souls will not vary on the day of judgment, except insofar as the body will be associated with the pain.

With this last difference aside, it is the same doctrine that we find summarized in the fourth treatise, addressed to John, vicar of the archbishop of Thessaloniki. But Gennade deals there with two other questions: that of the quality and integrity of the resurrected bodies, and that of the conservation of certain bodies in the tomb. Against a certain wise man, who is not named, he affirms that the resurrected body will be integral and that, therefore, sexual differences will not be suppressed. On the conservation and non-dissolution of certain corpses, he gives a very judicious response. He is not unaware that, in the opinion of the common people, the conservation of the corpse is taken as a sign of holiness, if it is desiccated, as a sign of malediction, and notably an effect of excommunication, if it is swollen. According to him, this simplistic criterion is very subject to caution, and one must guard against judging the holiness or reprobation of certain persons according to this single sign, which can be, in certain cases, a purely natural effect due to various causes.

In the last treatise, addressed to the same John, the question of purgatory is examined ex professo, insofar as it constitutes a divergence between the Roman Church and the Eastern Church. This divergence, according to Gennade, is reduced to very little, and agreement between the two Churches exists on the substance of the dogma. The Orientals do not admit for the souls of Purgatory a purifying fire, but a temporal punishment of an interior and moral order. Gennade rejects the interpretation that the Latins give of the famous passage of Saint Paul, I Corinthians III, 12-15, and adheres to the exegesis of Saint John Chrysostom. He admits a certain passing mitigation of the pains of the damned by the prayers of the Church and of the living, and believes possible, on a wholly exceptional basis and by derogation from the order established by God, the deliverance of some damned, basing himself on certain accounts that circulated in the Byzantine world since the High Middle Ages. He concludes by enumerating the other divergences that

exist between the Roman Church and the Eastern Church: namely the question of the azymes (unleavened bread), the addition of the Filioque to the Symbol (Creed) and the doctrine that it expresses, the communion of the laity under one species only, a recent Latin innovation, against which no polemical treatise has yet been written by the Orientals.

Works of George Scholarius.

A. Oratorical Works.

I. Sermons and Panegyrics.

1. Sermon for the Feast of the Annunciation.

† Discourse of George Courtesis Scholarius on the Annunciation of our most holy Lady, Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary.

1.And while to all other beings is implanted the desire for being and living, and while of these some do not even comprehend this very thing, and others do not have the ability to communicate the pleasure to others, man rejoices so much more than they in being, inasmuch as this is by no means hidden from him, and he knows that he is better off than all the others and lives more pleasantly than according to those, and, to say everything, as it was necessary for him who was made a little lower than the angels; and being so exceedingly pleased, he lacks none of those things by which he could communicate the pleasure and publish the joy, but there are in him very many things capable of this, both words and deeds and movements, by all of which his vehement and almost manic longing for life is demonstrated, or rather, kindled. And indeed, not only in the times when he indulges and luxuriates and lives in ease, but also in those when he labors, he makes clear the indwelling pleasure; for most toils that men bear conduce to this simple thing, to exist and endure, even if many contend beyond necessity, as if they were going to live forever, or as if each one of them would need so many things as all men together need; and when the day returns in cycles, which each one knows as the first happening to him both living and counted among those who exist, there everyone would see the truly life-loving man; for now each of us defines the feast of his own birthday by mere memory of the event and bare pleasure of thoughts and solemn words about the day; but there was a time when, along with many other customs, we spared nothing for it, but each one became wholly of this day and honored it with all that he had and gave up many things collected with toil, preparing beforehand as for some wondrous procession. But time, doing well, removed those things; but the honor of the day, in smaller and more solemn [ways], nevertheless remained, so that through all things it is most clearly shown that this common and natural desire for life exists in men above all things and truly surpasses in these. Therefore, to those to whom simply to be and to live is so desirable, how much more would one provide pleasantness and joy in being well? And how much more pleasant than a life that is immediately dissolved is that which never ceases, and how divine and lofty is it, and which, wherever one might say, is naturally easier for one wanting to receive than this so laborious and lowly one? But if even being so exceedingly zealous we had to honor the day from which we hastened into this life, how much more is it fitting to reverence that which restored to us the paternal inheritance, against which he who had waged war against him before the others plotted, and which opened to us heaven and the life there, closed from the very seeds of our race, unless someone should deem us,

rejoicing in the lesser goods, to overlook the greater and, considering living to be a great thing, not to make an account of living well as much as was necessary?

2.Therefore, as it is necessary to rejoice and exult much more in these things and to celebrate the day that proclaimed these, and if any of these goods has befallen us, to repay and honor this with all that we have and to owe the greatest gratitude, none of those having sense would contradict; but of these goods indeed it is not possible to find either what cause we have before the Virgin after God, or what beginning in time is more genuine than that day, of which the present is an image; for the Mother of the Word became for us, as from some starting point of this day, the means to put off the garment of slavery, and to put on the robe of adoption, and to pay outside the penalty of self-will, and to receive crowns instead of this, and to leave the earth, and to be raised into the heavens, and to flee the bonds of the tyrant, and to approach the table of the master and of all the best things together. Therefore, it is always necessary for us to honor the Virgin in words and deeds because of these things and to repay the grace of what we have enjoyed from her, as far as it concerns us, if indeed we have set this before ourselves as a goal throughout life, not only because, these things being many and great, by which she then first benefited human nature, no one in all life will be able to repay the fitting gratitude by trying, on account of which it would indeed be terrible if someone, falling short of the worth even if he used all his power, while owing to bring in all that is possible, does not even bring this in willingly, but also because it would not be just or grateful to repay with limited honors her who never ceases to benefit, and while she sets no limit to her gifts, for us to endure giving the grace once and this being very small; for the Virgin, not having laid down the grace once, has remained quiet for the rest, but has stood as a treasure of goods and a never-failing source of graces for us, so that the goods from her are somehow close to a riddle; for she opened through herself the entrances of life to the whole race, so as to be able for a child to partake from the father both of nature and of the graces towards her; and nonetheless the beauty of those choosing is and the purity of those born is not sufficient for boldness for those not yet purified; and thus the achievement of each becomes, as if no one else had brought it in beforehand, and the grace descends to each from the Virgin, as if there were no one to whom it has come before this. Thus she not only cared for the best things from the beginning and for those by which it was not possible to be honored with better, but also always makes the care new, and opens the gates of the kingdom so well to each of those choosing, as if she had undertaken that service for him alone; but if she has not yet even now ceased thus benefiting both the common and each one, how is it not necessary for us also to find additional ways in repayments and to add private ones to the common, and to devise additional ones for the private and to be dedicated to the honors towards her every time and word? For I think and quite certainly, if it were necessary to seek what, having chosen from all the other things throughout life, we would seem to all together to attempt the best things and to pass over none of them, except to be zealous for the things of the Virgin and to want to be pleasing to her in every possible way, we would find nothing at all.

3.Therefore, as I said before, it is always a time for words concerning the Virgin, and in this case alone one need not observe the saying of the wise man not to seek a time suitable for words; but the present day, which, having reconciled us with the Master, added the Virgin's care and began blessedness for us beyond all hope and adorned the present life, and opened the enjoyments of the future to those willing to seize them, this day we must honor much more both with words and with applause and with exultations and with the other symbols of pleasure, and moreover with correction of life and a change of choice for the better and

with whatever each one has of fitting things, at the same time doing these things for ourselves and rejoicing in the abundance of goods, and at the same time being grateful to the cause of these. For the Virgin rejoices in all these things, and even more in those more intimate and solemn to others, and welcomes what is given, even if it is very small, but proportionate to the power of the giver; and she rejoices not for herself receiving both the other offerings and indeed also the crowns from words (for she needs nothing from us more than the rays of the sun from the earth of whatever lights one might say are kindled, in order to add to their own brightness), but she wills that those who have been benefited should always remember the gifts and try to bring something in return for these, as if fearing for them, lest they also be secretly corrupted again by folly and suffer penalties of second ingratitude and that the things of service to her and of intention should have less according to them. And indeed, towards justice she knows that this brings them much benefit in other ways; for from here it is possible to grasp in mind both the first worth and the sin and what moved to this and whatever one might call philanthropic punishment and the master's compassion again and the virtue of the Virgin and all such things, and to desire the one, and to hate the other with her father, and to guard against the other by all means, and to send up glory to him who has shown so much philanthropy, and to hymn her who has served so beautifully and as it was not possible better, and to perceive the virtue as much as one is able and where it leads those choosing. Wishing us to consider all these things, from which it is not possible not to depart much better than ourselves, the Virgin receives those serving and honoring her and grants them to dwell in her mysteries and accepts the words from each one gently, of which nature itself and all the power together of her graces comes afterwards, as much as it is not even possible to say, and to touch at least the height of virtue is very far off.

4.Therefore, the present discourse indeed has its concessive character from the very things; for it is not possible to find another occasion on which it was more necessary to use words leaving these aside, and the causes of boldness it is not at all possible to fear, the greatness of the subject conquering all discourse, and the present one trying to show nothing other than only to be willing, and the philanthropy of her receiving it surpassing all men, and being likened as accurately as possible to the truly philanthropic one. And I would now pray according to time and mind to be illuminated by her and for my tongue to be sanctified, and she having granted our intention, to bring in the power itself from her in return, so that the discourse might both exist and appear not only towards her, but also truly of her. But how could one, dividing, give the grace separately to the common master, and separately to his mother? Or indeed to divide would be neither easiest nor fitting; but doing the other not to pass over even the remaining, and while hymning the Virgin to proclaim the power and philanthropy of God, while being about her to exalt her by these very things, since the Virgin would not have been able to do so many things even in the things themselves, unless God willed to save the common nature through her, and preparing her beforehand from above as she needed for these, and for the divine power and will to go out from her as from an instrument fully prepared for all that was necessary, and as from a cause not insignificant the freedom of the race if she had willed and prayed anything else. And I think that if we should also mention all the things concerning us, making the beginning of the discourse from the very beginning of all beings, no one would be angry with us, if there will also be some more pleasure from remembering the misfortunes from which we have been delivered, and for safety from this very thing, and it is likely that the discourse would thus be more pleasing having been moved by God and the infinite and supernatural goodness and for the power of the day to appear better.

5.When of beings there was not even one nor even being itself when (for this also would want to say something), but God alone was, so that I might speak thus humanly and humbly and use the words of weakness; who being good by nature and an infinite sea of goodness, when the potential and completely imperfect had been driven out from the divine nature, deigned also to show the goodness to others and not only to be good, but also indeed to appear; of which he himself needed nothing, being self-sufficient and doing nothing from necessity, but it was somehow necessary for those about to be generated from non-being, which would not even have been produced at the beginning, the goodness turning in itself and about itself, if it is necessary to speak thus. Therefore, he makes this visible world and the incorporeal essences, either before this, or immediately with it; and he makes not then first having willed it, or having willed it long ago, but then only having been able to (for neither is the power imperfect in him nor does the new have a place in his will), but always both having been able and having willed this, but then having willed it to happen once, when he himself knew it to be better; for it is not impossible for both to always will something to happen and to will it to happen sometime to coincide. But how it was then better, it is not possible to learn, but also to seek it is very superfluous, lest I say it has an appearance of madness, since for all the other things it is possible for us to give causes from the very results contributing and making use of the agreed-upon principles for this, even if thus we nonetheless fall short of perfect knowledge about these things, but having arrived at the divine knowledge and will, the matters lie henceforth impassable and it is not possible for anyone having sense to attempt these.

6.Since the purely incorporeal nature of the angels was going to be completely without communion with the matter serving generation, it immediately received its multitude not from succession, so much surpassing, as I think, the number of human souls, as the all-encompassing sphere surpasses in magnitude the remaining bodies; for just as in bodies there had to be some superiority according to magnitude, so also in the incorporeal there had to be one according to multitude; and having received the rational and intellectual, it immediately had the good of self-mastery following; then (for it was not readily possible in such a multitude for the freedom of the mind to be perfected) the chief of the angels desires from arrogance to be likened to God, and he desires not according to equality of nature (for this was completely impossible even to conceive), but according to some likeness of power, since for blessedness and the ultimate perfection, which he had to receive as a prize of submission, he thought his own power would suffice and he hoped to arrive at that worth with the natural goods, to which, unless God gave it, it was not otherwise possible to ascend. Therefore, he who was so shamefully maddened through arrogance falls more shamefully from that glory, and many of the lesser ones fall with him, having been perverted in mind as by some derangement not by necessity, and an army of wickedness and an alien and God-hating order is formed, and they stand apart from God, and instead of light they become darkness, and they darken the mind, and they pervert the will, and falsehood and deception and guile and every kind of wickedness are thence devised by them; for having denied the simplicity of truth, they rolled into the indefiniteness of falsehood; and they then receive this misty air as a place of punishment, so that just as by the ministry of the good angels, so also by the exercise through the evil, the affairs of men might be governed and not even the evil of sin having been introduced among beings might be altogether unprofitable to the common good, and sometimes they will also receive Hades with similar men and the torments there.

7.Thus were the things of the angels; but since it was also necessary for man to be produced, the time of his creation did not follow the order of nature, but he who is second by nature after the angels is created last of all; for it was necessary that heaven and earth having been made, and plants and animals and all the other things, which were devised for the sake of man, but have been wrought more generously than according to need, thus also man should come to use these prepared things. But that the bodily creation adorns human life and all tends towards this, I think not even one of those having sense would be unaware; for the movement of heaven serves all things in generation and corruption, but these have man as their end and are ordered towards him. But if also the greatest part exceeds human need, it is not necessary to wonder; for also everyone would thus see man's body not only completed with the necessary things, but also something brought upon for the sake of adornment; for it was not necessary for the infinite power to be confined to needs alone as doing all things from necessity, which is not even possible to see among men, when they themselves undertake something to be created. Therefore, God makes man last of all as some center of all things, towards which all nature tends and in which all things are mingled together, not as those who make the circumferences of circles, positing the point first; for thus I think he also declared earth and heaven before, least needing a foundation for the roof or a center for all the parts of the circumference preserving the same principle. And he composes this one from both body and soul, different forms coming together into the same, or rather form being joined to matter and somehow forming this common form man, and he mixes in him the corporeal with the incorporeal and the sensitive and irrational part with the rational and intellectual, so that the one might bring life to the connatural body and share in the beauties with it, and the other might grant to the co-dwelling soul the knowledge of the sensible and connatural, which it was not possible to receive unless being initiated through it, and thus dwelling on the earth he might traverse the upper world, and while delighting in the beauty of the sensible he might also have communion with the intelligible, and he might rejoice together in all the visible, but again by the comparison of these to the intellectual pleasure he might despise and transfer all desire towards that and receive prizes of this so beautiful and temperate desire, which were greater than the given and with which it would be fitting to repay God.

8.But let everyone see here also the infinite wisdom of the master. For as he was already about to bring forth all this, first he revealed heaven and earth and all the bodily creation together, and he stored up the time after these for the best of all, showing the superiority also in this how it is with him towards those and signifying beforehand the beginning over those, which he was about to entrust to him shortly, thus also man having been produced as needed, he defers the soul, the leader, the charioteer, the pilot, the eye, and I dare to say, somehow the image of the very one who made him, but he prepares the body that will serve this, and on this he first lays the creating hand, at the same time showing the magnificence of the body towards the remaining bodies and even more the brilliant and conspicuous of the soul, at the same time educating the one thus produced; for thus he showed him to have life well, if he is as much as possible in harmony with generation, and just as the body was produced for the sake of the soul, so also he himself as it is necessary for one living for its sake should use things and should not be zealous for the things of the body except all necessity.

9.Therefore, he first makes the body so beautifully equipped by the harmony and blending through all things, as it was necessary for that which had come to be from God and for the sake of such a need; for

indeed heaven and earth and everything bodily it was necessary to offer as some first-fruits of the precious things among them to him who had bestowed these with exceeding generosity. But since these were not sufficient for the work, the master perceived the need and borrows the contribution and again in return for this brings in the grace to use the things given, as each one of those who contributed should choose; for each one is not more zealous for the things in him than for not appearing at all incomplete even for this small world. And the earth gives the greatest part of the whole, taking water along (for this is the clay); but fire and air contribute the greatest of power, the life especially established in them, and the simplicity of the heavenly bodies that they cannot suffer anything from the contraries, being exceedingly in harmony with each other, so that if someone said that man was taken from these, in order that he might know all these things, or not be ignorant of any of them, because he is composed of so many, this one would have spoken the truth. Not only by the contribution from all did he thus make the body perfect, but he also gave it the best disposition and prepared it sufficiently for all things together, both limbs and parts and their connaturalities and joinings and the noble ascent of the body and the mingling of the senses both towards each other and best naturally towards the whole habit of the body, and all such things, of which there was need for the activities of the soul, he devises and from all sides thus prepares the house brightly for the bright one; this having come to be, he already establishes also the soul itself, having brought it into being from nothing, not as he borrowed the body from more or used the angels for this, as some have foolishly supposed; for they only serve those coming to be from change, but the soul is from non-being; for nothing would change into it, being incorporeal neither of the corporeal nor of the incorporeal, which do not know change according to form, and he immediately bestows on it having come to be the rational and intellectual, these very things the distinguished things of the angels, and he houses the subordinate powers, these very ones common towards the body, with which it uses as interpreters and teachers of the things here, and thus from both body and soul, of which he fashioned the one, and breathed in the other, he completed this small world, the confluence of the precious things from each, the common generosity of beings. And indeed to him having come to be he bestows immortality, having declared the soul simply immortal, but having given to the body a power of being preserved and enduring, as long as the soul preserves all that is according to reason; for even if it was composite in itself and it was necessary for it to suffer dissolution, and there was nothing in it by nature by which it might stand against corruption, but the infinite power of the one who fashioned it was going to grant it permanence, since just as it was not possible for the instrument of the soul to be otherwise, with which it was necessary to use for the perceptions of the sensible, so also it would have been superfluous for the indestructible soul to be united with a body soon to be dissolved.

10.But since it was necessary for him also to be assigned a place fitting to the state, immediately this paradise of delight was, having been generated for his sake, illuminated by pure air and surrounded by ever-flowing rivers and crowned with the flowers of plants and luxuriating in unfailing graces and a place simply fitting for an immortal, which it was necessary to cultivate without toil and only for the exercise of nature, and for him to guard himself and to watch in every way, lest someone secretly plot against him and take away so great a wealth. Therefore, he had paradise and luxuriated in the graces there. But since it was necessary for a multitude of men to come forth from him, but he himself did not have how he would suffice for the divine purpose and appear a father of many similar ones, he immediately receives the helper, having come to be from him, so that both they might be more joined to each other and it might happen very much for those

from them to be united being all referred to some simple beginning, but from a rib, so that she might neither cause faction by putting forward equality, nor think something completely fallen and worse than fitting the portion and partner of life; and she having been added, there was no need of anything else for the generation of men, just as form having been mingled with matter, nothing difficult immediately to undertake the composite nature according to these things, but it was necessary first for them having managed all the things according to themselves and having been perfected in this way, thus also to look to the succession, which remained, so that they might impart to those from them not only of nature but also of their other habit. But there was need for a demonstration of gratitude for any matter and for a law regulating life for them and imposing some necessity on the free ones. Because of these things a law is placed for them by God very light and neither difficult to understand nor to guard nor to accomplish, at the same time being placed with all the freedom of the mind (for how could someone even show coming spontaneously to anything or judging each thing soundly, all things having been entrusted or equally forbidden?), at the same time also adding the supernatural blessedness to them, which it was not possible to receive even having contended in anything; and this law gave to eat of every other tree in paradise and to use all things with authority, but forbade only of the one of knowledge, which similarly using and not using was going to bring the knowledge of good and evil; for it was not possible to abstain from it, not knowing very well to obey the one who commanded, and wanting to use it, it was impossible not to learn by experience that disobedience does not bring good things.

11.Therefore, the things from God were thus sufficiently for the seeds of nature; but it was necessary for them both to contribute their part to the need and to the fulfillment of the world, and just as of these the one is from nothing, and the other from one, thus again from these two more should spring forth in a passionless way and considering only the common good, and at the same time to demonstrate gratitude towards the master by holding very strongly to the commandment, and thus for them to receive blessedness as a prize and having departed from the psychic life in paradise to be led up at least to the spiritual life in the heavens, the deficiency of the body towards this being filled by the divine power, and for those from them similarly to serve until generation and to give proof of the other gratitude having spent time in paradise, then also for these to ascend to the same crowns, and this continuously, until men come to be from men. O of that blessed state, thus flourishing with so many and great goods, thus having to lead most easily to blessedness and the most perfect life; O of many of the then present goods, and of much more of the things expected after these; O of a life completely passionless and painless and likened to the angelic; for if it makes life pleasant to use labors as little as possible, to need none of the things to be acquired by labor, not only to live free, but also to oversee many other things, not to be ignorant of any of the co-ordinate things, both to be with God and to have communion with the incorporeal essences, for those giving of the existing goods to others themselves to have to proceed to much greater, all these things were to them and none of these was lacking, and just as the life after these is nothing that escaped difficult, so it is not possible to find what pleasant thing was absent from the former.

12.Therefore, the things concerning them were thus brilliantly; but he of arrogance having used it so badly, so as not only himself to become wretched instead of blessed, but also to stand as a teacher of wickedness to the others, so that also more than wicked and an enemy to the purpose of the one who made him and thus the addition of wickedness to him becomes an addition of punishment, did not endure not to share the defilement also with men, since he was not able to with the angels, his wickedness having been

proven and the penalty which he had to suffer following, and those having immediately become immovable from the good by the grace of God, since they did not choose to apostatize together; for he considered it completely terrible, if someone should rejoice in his goods before him, and these so much falling short by nature, and he having lost heaven should have the mist and the darkness instead of what he wished to be exalted having been humbled, and for him having been taken from earth it should happen to receive heaven and the dwelling there. Therefore, he sets in motion every device and takes the serpent as an instrument of deception and through it pours out the venom of wickedness, and attacks first the woman as weaker and makes the trial twofold, since also twofold was him to whom he brought her, and he stirs up towards sin from both sides; for he suggests to them both the likeness of divinity and the unmixed wisdom and sets before them the forbidden tree for food; but they alas are ignorant of the trial, they do not know the deception, making the counsel unsuspected of the animal (for how, he says, would it have dared to deceive the master?), they desire to be likened to God disorderly and before the time, they are winged by the desire for wisdom, they are overcome by the virtue and the beauty of the tree, of which they were in no way turning before entrusting the vote to the judgment of the lawgiver. What need is there to say much? They disregard the commandment, they work out the counsel in body and soul, and they fall into a double precipice, having partaken by will and belly of what was not allowed; and thus nothing pure remains to them of sin and the good of order is taken away and all is confused and overturned and all similarly stand apart from God, the reason having served the irrational powers, which God set over it as leader and governor, and the body having seized the authority in no way fitting, and she having been given as a helper, having shown the things of the enemies and not only herself having suffered the alienation, but also having caused the partner to apostatize, and he having forgotten his own worth, having been subjected together to the weakness of the woman and having been persuaded by her commanding, whom he had received to rule.

13.And here one might very much perceive the wisdom of God; for since it was necessary for a law to be laid down for those about to live according to reason, he having anticipated secured from all sides those about to undertake its guarding, so that it might neither be easiest to deviate, nor any apology might remain to those carelessly betraying it, and he has made the guarding of the law to be in agreement with the order through all things, but for the one transgressing the law for all order to be immediately overturned to follow. Whence man knew both the commandment and all proceeded well, and willingly being ignorant of this, at the same time he confused also the harmony through all things; or rather he did not have how he would sin, not having moved all that was established, although, even if he was ignorant of his own order towards the master, by which it was necessary neither to consider the good one envious nor to despise the lawgiver, but at least it was necessary for him to perceive and consider his own towards him and towards the partner, if neither of these the thing being dared would oppose. But none of these restrained him and none of the so many helps was able to extinguish the intoxication of arrogance; so great is arrogance an evil and thus it plots against all good things, taking the beginning from the truth, but devising falsehood and persuading those captured to dare all things for its sake; for here also while hiding the truth, it was taking its substance from falsehood, since neither the things that their eyes would be opened having eaten of the tree had completely fallen out, even if it did not turn out very much according to intention, nor was it impossible to hope to become like gods, but some such desire had been sown in them by nature, and the desire would have turned out brilliantly for them sometime, if they had not been deceived in their hopes by hastening to fulfill this.

14.Therefore, the transgression of men thus met with the most wicked one according to his intention and he already had them ensnared in the nets with which he himself having anticipated had enclosed himself, and he had wrought the drama of wickedness. And it remained for him to revel in the misfortunes of the deceived, and for them having received counsels so readily from chance occurrences the wealth of goods passed into utter poverty immediately, so that not only was there no hope anywhere of the expected blessedness, but also all things which previously adorned their life became utterly lost, and this they first gained from disobedience, to learn it and to hate it, having seen of how much misery it was to them; for they are immediately cast out of the paradise of delight, since it was a place fitting only for the impassible, and they are barred from the tree of life, cherubim and a flaming sword terrifyingly turning about the entrances. For what need was there also for the earth to sustain those thus fruitless of virtue living immortally by eating of the tree of life? And the woman inherits the unpleasantness concerning childbirth, both the other and which she undergoes needing to give birth, and she receives servitude instead of communion with the man, servitude indeed instead of what she attempted to rule, but grief and pain instead of what she chose to proceed to conceptions with pleasure, not having greatly cherished impassibility, with which she was going to go forth similarly to all; and the earth is made barren, and of necessity toil comes upon him, unless he is about to be destroyed by famine; for it was no longer possible to reap the fruits spontaneously and without toils from paradise. And he thus toils, and the earth as exacting penalties of ingratitude towards the master brings forth thorns and thistles instead of seeds; then they are ashamed indeed at the battle of the flesh against the spirit (for this was the nakedness), and they are reproached for the sin by God and are rebuked very bitterly, and they receive the memory of death as pain through all life, having been taught both to be from earth and to arrive at this, and they receive the leather garments as a covering as a symbol of mortality.

15.If therefore the terrible things stood only up to these two, perhaps shame would have been brought also to those born from them to have wicked fathers and to the parents themselves, if while the children were prospering they alone were suffering, but nevertheless the terrible thing would have been less; but now, as befits seeds, they provide not only nature but also its weakness to those from them, and thus the misfortune becomes transmissible and the shame of sin descends to the descendants, and double is the terrible thing for the causes of all these things, if they have betrayed not only themselves but also all those from them by negligence. Therefore, this world is filled with men having taken the aforementioned beginning and having used time as a co-worker; and it is filled no less with impurity, and just as nature has increased into multitude, so also the measures of wickedness have increased in this way; for one thing, the race having already been established, rolled into alien opinions and not even in agreement with themselves, not to say with the true ones (and this was truly the greatest part of men), and another thing, what seemed to be piety did not hold to the faith securely, but they were not difficult to change to the madness of others even with a small pretext, nor did they do the things of the pious, but with blood and murders and anger against each other and all together the worst practices they corrupted the reputation for piety; and there was no desire anywhere for true blessedness, but some defined human blessedness by pleasures, others by honors, others by wealth, others by another of the corruptible things. And all these were shoots and fruits of the first sin happening to such seeds.

16.Therefore, life here was thus completely confused for all and proceeded contrary to the divine purpose; but since it was necessary for the one to depart from lives, and for them to arrive immediately at the

second and last, all things were much worse than the former, unless someone turning back should say well that life here is in every way and altogether worst (for even if it seemed venerable to those choosing, it was hostile and completely averse to God), but the one following this is at least in this way best, because it preserved justice very much. Therefore, the punishments immediately followed; and earth indeed had been allotted as mother to their bodies (for they had denied the tree of life and the obedience owed to the one greater than them), but Hades succeeded to the souls and alas so great a multitude of men was confined under deep darkness; for it was completely impossible for the principle to cease having become immortal, and it was not possible for them to flee the penalties in Hades, having so shamefully fled the benefactor and having denied the good one; and just as if they had held to the commandment of the master, there would have been no difficulty to be with him and to partake of the good things in any way, so also now having willingly been ignorant of the master and having shaken off his gentle yoke it was necessary for them to receive those things which befitted the wickedness of the choice, or rather just as it was impossible for those having remained in the goodwill towards the master to receive the things of the ungrateful, so for those having apostatized from that it was impossible for the things of the grateful to come.

17.Therefore, sin having been wrought in soul and body, in each of these all paid penalties, of which one was evident, that of the body, but the other, as I think, escaped all similarly, that of the soul, except those already suffering; for they did not think that men suffered penalties of the first and common sin as much as according to the soul, but each one on account of personal sin or righteousness, either received blessedness as a prize or paid the penalty the misery in Hades; but he clearly showed this who not only partook of blood and flesh with the living, but also underwent death for the dead and inhabited Hades with authority and destroyed the rule of the tyrant and appeared a savior to those already having been enslaved for so long a time. If however someone happened to be introduced by God into life having mind and the criterion not yet corrupted by sin, such as the first man immediately was, having turned himself wholly towards the human construction and the paradoxical dissolution of the composite, he would immediately have understood the things concerning men without using any teacher, both the purpose of the creator clearly from above and the sin of the creature and the following penalty, both the immediate, I mean the various needs, and the last that is the complete cutting off and division both the corruption of the body and the baseness and the darkness of the soul and the inhuman slavery under the bitter tyrant. Until then therefore the souls of all men held Hades, immediately released from their related bodies, and underwent the same penalty as the most wicked, with which the life has been completed both piously and solemnly with the body; for the vote of punishment prevailed over all, and just as the righteousness of not one of the men from Adam was strong enough to deliver the body from death and to show it stronger than corruption, so neither to set the soul free from the penalties in Hades; for the natural transgression still prevailed, the beginning of all the terrible things, and the cause still remaining, it was impossible for those ensnared by those to be outside of the things born from this.

18.Therefore, the nature of men drove itself to so great an abyss from folly, and having been enamored of things which it was not allowed, it fell upon things which it did not need or rather which it needed; but he having undertaken this by an excess of goodness hated indeed its wickedness and did not release the original punishments nor did he resolve to dissolve the votes justly brought forth against it, but he spared it even being wicked and helped it in many other ways and endured its rottenness and restrained the flowing away and always put forward pretexts of change for the necessary and did all things by which he was going both to

save it among beings and to restrain in any way the rush of evil. If therefore also some virtue that time devised in some, also this all must be given to the cares from above; but however this was rare and as one would say not even to belong to the very small part of the whole nor to be an achievement of nature, but all the rest held immovably of wickedness and none of the so many helps turned them back and the evil appeared stronger than every medicine having been confirmed by habit and time. And it was nothing difficult for God willing to change their minds and to show the wicked immediately good, and just as they introduced wickedness from themselves, so for him to establish from himself the care of virtue in them, but it was not necessary correcting a perversion of choice to take away the best of its nature and to declare slaves the free and nothing better than animals those boasting in the divine image, just as if someone crowning someone, then should take away the head, or putting a diadem around, should force them of the bought with silver to toil; for it was very fitting to the wisdom and power of God, for nature having suffered nothing nor having lost none of the things which it had to appear good instead of base and genuine instead of alien, since even before it coming to be to house in it self-mastery and the freedom of the mind, nothing would have been difficult for him willing, to declare it completely immovable towards wickedness, but not even would it itself have clearly chosen this safety, considering it better to risk with superiority than to remain in safety with so many defects; for none of the other animals has yet become wicked nor will it altogether exist, and much more of the soulless and senseless nothing; for there is not mind in them and soul and free judgment and will inclining towards either; but man adorned with all these good things, wickedness not by necessity indeed, but he chose and stood far from God, whom he would have approached more willing. But nevertheless it was no less better for him to be man by nature than any of all the aforementioned; for what is there to him altogether communion towards those? What reason would be taken of his superiority over those? And indeed it was not possible for him to receive the freedom of the mind simple and immovable towards sin; for this is of God who is good in every way and nowhere not knowing change, since also of self-mastery and all together of the good things from there having come to all are the perfections only with him, but all the others partake of these, as the nature of those receiving held. But if someone should put forward the ultimate blessedness, which it is necessary both for nature to preserve with men and to add to these not to be able to change, first they brought up to that glory will not be altogether without judgment of the good as if connatural to them, but by some judgment and freedom of mind, not according to some disposition but according to habit as thus inclining towards the good; then neither will they simply thus have the immovable and fixed towards the other things of the mind, but some supernatural grace will be bound to them, which it was necessary to have been taken along with the supernatural contemplation and glory; but for grace to come and these so great to those not yet having brought in anything even the least nor having demonstrated the benevolent, how would it be according to reason? Thus for human nature to stand such from the beginning, as to hold unchangeably to the beautiful having completely turned away towards the other, it was not fitting to the one, but it was not possible to the other.

19.Therefore, just as it was not necessary for the nature itself immediately having come to be to be deemed worthy of the ultimate things, which it was necessary to receive as a prize of gratitude, nor was it possible to show it by nature immovable towards wickedness (for either it was necessary for it to ascend simply above the nature of beings or to stand with the much worse), so also now and much more having willingly turned away it was not necessary to turn it back unwillingly towards himself; for this was altogether

to corrupt, not to save, and to strip it as from repentance of the things with which he has adorned it more than the others, and to exalt the will indeed, but to debase the nature, which were altogether incompatible with the divine purpose and with themselves. Therefore, the master did not resolve to tyrannize over them and to force their minds, but he did things by which he showed himself very much caring and providing beforehand to save and going to save at least late; for he educated by prophets and regulated by laws and drew by graces and chastened by strokes, and restrained by threats and again relieved by the hopes of the better and mixed the astringent with the gentle and soothing of the medicines. Therefore, knowing that he would accomplish nothing very much by any of these, he knowing their wickedness before they themselves came to be, but he did nevertheless both punishing in any way the immoderation of the evil and leaving no apology to anyone, and showing the excess of the good things after these about to come from his goodness alone, nothing having contributed anything worthy of it, even if then he was going no less to save those choosing. Therefore, when it happens to some of men to rule over some, when bringing every device they are powerless to correct the corrupted minds of those being ruled and the evil appears stronger than medicine, they cease indeed to provide, but they then bring on the ultimate penalties, and they are written down as harsh of inhumanity, and these being men and fellow servants and expecting a philanthropic judge for themselves; for they say that the most wicked of men should not flourish, both themselves to rejoice upon themselves and to corrupt the others besides; but the common master of all brought on of necessity the penalty to those having manifestly refused to submit to him, but he spared even thus and provided beforehand for the ungrateful, and of what they have foolishly fallen away, he himself philanthropically again deemed worthy to impart to those having demonstrated any gratitude. But since even when offered they did not wish to seize the wealth of good things, both mind and will having been completely perverted, not only did he not stand off justly, but the only medicine remained, and this he mixes; and this was, for him himself to come immediately to the protection and not even thus to force the minds of men, but rather to dispose towards virtue both by offering more divine teaching and by the examples according to himself, instead of which indeed there was need of religions and law and prophets from the beginning and of those light and bodily teachings, so that having been prepared in any way by all those, they might see the truth having shone forth more easily and more pleasantly and after many and continuous messages they might receive the master coming.

20.O philanthropy of the master; O of compassion surpassing every mind and reason; O depth of his riches and wisdom and knowledge, Paul would say; for it is no more necessary to be amazed at the goodness and the love towards the ungrateful, which the excess of their wickedness did not extinguish, than the wisdom with which he used for so great a benefaction and with which he knew to manage the salvation of men and to complete the things planned before the ages. But what need is there to wonder very much at these things, where also after so great benefactions he endures those sinning and those valuing the not good pleasures more than his wonderful legislation and releases all time for repentance? And he wills no one to sin at all, but if indeed, to heal the sin by repentance; but nevertheless also he seizes time, in which someone is found having better, and devises ways by which someone willingly unwilling might stand away from wickedness. Then who would suppose unworthy of God, for those having become no better than themselves to exact the greatest penalties by him? For he would be very far from being wise who deems these things, so as not to say the divine doing all things with reason, if he should deem the most hostile worthy of the

benevolent and should leave wickedness altogether unpunished; for equally he falls outside of the limits of justice both to overlook virtue altogether unrewarded and to deem wickedness worthy of none of the things which befitted it.

21.Therefore, so strong a pity entered the good one for those having come to be by him with a better beginning, but by their own depravity having betrayed their bodies and souls to what was not necessary and having suffered those things of which it was not even possible to devise anything worse, and he resolved to save the lost altogether and to recover the failed manifestly; and this indeed he was going to do long ago, but he willed to do in those times altogether both for some other of the things unutterable to us (for who has known the mind of the Lord? he says), perhaps also allowing wickedness to be exalted very much, so that its fall might become greater and wishing those about to be saved to ascribe the grace to him alone, having been sufficiently taught their weakness and having learned by experience, which was the truth, that not by virtue nor by wisdom from themselves, but by the compassion of God alone they were freed from the shame of sin. And indeed by the multitude of men and the ascents according to some degree and order, with which God educated men and prepared them for the knowledge of the higher things, giving law from autonomy and after that perfecting by grace and himself coming last as educator; and indeed also by the other types and symbols, which it was necessary to run before the truth confirming this and truly showing the appearing foolishness, how would it not reasonably have needed periods of long times, if no one was going to suppose these things to have happened to each other by some chance perhaps? Otherwise from storing up this salvation for the last times no penalty would have followed to those having been saved even after so many times, but much gain was going to come, both wickedness having been uprooted and men thus being able to be more wise thereafter, than if they were deemed worthy of such good things before paying sufficient penalties of wickedness and knowing this and condemning it.

22.Therefore, when the fullness of time came, Paul says, which the master of time determined for the voluntary misfortunes of men, it was no longer of shadows nor of types, but the time of realities, and it was necessary for human nature to be saved by every device and to be led back to the original glory, every obstacle having been removed; and sin of men being twofold, one indeed the first and natural, another by which the things according to each were corrupted, of which the one was as some beginning of the turning aside of each bearing fruit according to the seeds, but the other confirmed the first and made those daring the second and worse also liable to the former with justice (for it was of the same mind to dare both those and these), it was necessary for each sin to become boundless and for the therapy to be devised twofold according to twofold diseases, since it was impossible for those wearing the symbols of enmity to be deemed worthy of God's friendship and for the impure to partake of the pure and for those seized by the darkness of sin to see divine brightness. But of the first and common sin dared indeed by the first men, but justly reckoned to all those after those, this was a simple medicine, to pay penalty and any voluntary those willing to have offended and to heal the common transgression by common justice and to dissolve disobedience by persuasion and to counterweigh the disorderly desire with voluntary pains, which being small than so as to deliver nature from the accusations of ingratitude, was going to be some pretext to the divine justice only seeking whence having been moved it might recall the wandering ones; but of the sin according to each it was easiest indeed for those having been delivered from the common and greatest to despise, but however it was necessary also for some polity and order to be established in them, towards which it was necessary for them

looking to flee indeed wickedness, but to be formed towards virtue and being led towards that both by words and by deeds; for just as for none of the former men personal righteousness contributed anything towards receiving the solution of the common sin and the terrible things from this, so also after the first having been taken away, there would be no benefit to anyone living with wickedness and corrupting the common good by personal disorder. Therefore, such and so great medicines were necessary for nature, but it by itself was powerless towards each; for first neither was it possible for all the living having come to be at the same time to pay a common penalty nor much more with all these those having come to be and about to come to be, to all of whom together the spring of freedom needed to appear and whom all together the common master has known to save, nor was it possible for one and any to wish to become liable to the common penalties and only to pay these, which was of ultimate indeed philanthropy, or having wished to suffice by the responsibilities for all only instead of all, which would be of the greatest power. Then if it was also necessary for the inhabited world to be equipped both by words and by deeds for the following life and of these greater than according to man were necessary for those having proceeded to so much wickedness and having some power and strength besides the paradoxical, since also before it was possible to hear teachers and to imitate the solemnity of lives and to be educated by wonders and signs, which the long time before brought many, as many as befitted men, but they seemed base and altogether worse than so as to have them stand away from wickedness.

23.Therefore, men were so much less than having to help themselves with such things; however, these things needed to happen; for it was necessary for the inhabited world to be saved, and both indeed by one; for both were of the same will and power and of the similar preparation in every way. But indeed these things overcame also the angels and none of those very much befitted the things according to this contest, since if it was necessary for one of the angels to be established in this service and to undertake our salvation, he needed altogether to take a body, in which he was also going to live according to men and to set before the others his life as an example and to despise death and to cleanse the sins of the others by his own sufferings; but if that body was that usual to the angels, in which they fulfill none of the works of life, but wish only to appear to those whom they have, on account of which indeed also as some burden they put this away with haste, he would have accomplished nothing more; for the nature of the assumed would not have sufficed for none of the things which it was necessary to do with the body; but to come together with a true and living human body, in which he himself was going to pay the penalty owed to men and to complete all the other things well, according to hypostasis it was simply impossible not also according to nature previously united; for it is not possible to find a difference of these among the other of the creatures as among those consisting of matter and form; but to be united according to nature, it was both to be composed and to lose the angelic truth and to stand with men, to which indeed besides the other absurdities also the not accomplishing of the things sought would have followed; for reason also required one stronger than according to man about to be able those things with the need. And I omit to say, which someone might have to say, altogether considering the cause of the not undertaking of this contest even by the angelic nature.

24.Therefore, since none of beings was able to suffice for the need both to plead this on behalf of all and to dissolve the enmity and to reconcile all men to God and to leave no place to the common transgression, and to correct this human life and to regulate the morals of these and to persuade them to disregard all things here and to consider the ascent to the heavens for themselves and to leave his own life as

an example of the better polity, he immediately undertakes the salvation of men, who alone has to complete these things, and he uses himself for all, nothing being either easy or very fitting to any of the others, although someone might say confidently that even though there were many with which he was going to use as instruments of the benefaction towards human nature, he would not have disdained having surpassed all those himself to choose the service, if it was not perhaps superfluous for him to descend to the things ready to the others, and somehow it seemed to dissolve the laws of the causes established by him long ago to nature; so good is the master to us and to so much of philanthropy to him come the things towards us. And he though it was possible to save man through himself in many other ways having willed most sweetly, would have hardly abstained willing very much to benefit this one not having with which of the natures he might use for these things, but himself beginning with himself. Therefore, neither did he abstain and better than every word and better than every prayer he himself came to save us and has added grace to grace and philanthropy to philanthropy, so that we do not have to know for which things it is necessary to know grace more; for if it is great and worthy of the divine goodness to have shown philanthropy to the ungrateful so much and to have taken pity of the most wicked, what is not greater than for no other being sufficient for the work, for him to choose the order of a servant, and to use himself as an instrument and to pour forth the grace not only from himself but also through himself to all, whether to have not only been pleased with the salvation of the lost, but also to have sufficiently served this, it has a demonstration of ultimate philanthropy, what is less in the account of goodness than both to have spared the ungrateful and wicked from the beginning and to have willed to save them? But what would someone say of the emptying and the taking up of the form of a slave and the utter humility and the ultimate obedience, that is up to the cross and death, not to say all the things between? But these things later; but the discourse let it return to the beginning of our salvation and let it hymn the second philanthropy after the first.

25.Therefore, he descends to earth the one everywhere and present to all, and he does not deny indeed the worth, but he takes on humility, and he remains pure, but he comes in the likeness of the flesh of sin, Paul would say, so that in himself he might condemn our sin, and he is established as a mediator to men towards himself, having mixed his own glory and power with their weaknesses, so that he might suffer indeed the things of the weak having been likened to them, but by the power and glory with him he might prevail over all together and the beautiful things of victory might become common to those previously weak, as to him before the reproaches of their weakness. And he descends not immediately to all the earth (for he knew that to become at the same time everywhere of the inhabited world divine not human), but he stays as a man in one part of the earth, but as God he sends around the glory concerning him even beyond the ends of the earth, which someone before this introduces the heavens narrating; and he chooses a place, this indeed having been delivered from the Greek contentiousness and having been close to the truer suppositions concerning God, even if after these they showed the zeal not according to knowledge, having supposed the things they were thinking least to happen to what they were hearing, this in which he previously cast many symbols and types of his stay and with which he was more about to contend and to complete the economy, perhaps having persuaded the other men more easily even before the contests and having been honored by them, if he had arrived first with those; in which indeed also he most showed the strength of the divinity and the truth of the things having appeared in him; for he would not have been able from the smallest part of the earth to change all the world and to establish his own laws everywhere, not having been clothed with the greatest

power temporarily hidden and escaping notice under the body. But how he comes and what beginning he makes of the stay and with what partner and instrument he uses for these things and how he previously adorns it with all things with which it might appear worthy of the proposed, the discourse comes next to set forth; and I think that also with more pleasure it will use the things after these and will appear brighter than itself and much more than before fitting to the present panegyric, since the things from here are wealth of good things and excess of all beautiful things and height and greatness of glory, but the things before were some tragedy and an Iliad of misfortunes and subject of all terrible things, which even coming to memory are burdensome to those having experienced, except as much as it is able to increase the pleasure upon the better things considering from what sorts of things the matters proceeded to us.

26.But what would I become, now that the discourse leads to the Virgin and attempts to touch upon the wonders concerning her? For the things which it was fitting to say on her behalf and of the graces she partook, would not be possible for all men together having come together, since indeed I think even the nature of the angels considering the things concerning her are ashamed to fall within these; but the things which someone might say using power and extending mind and reason as it is possible towards the things beyond mind and reason, these have been hymned by many and often, but for me even to touch upon the evident themselves and having been said by many is difficult and all these things come to me afterwards, not how I have to devise anything more for contribution of which all together have found; but of the contest thus becoming difficult to me from all sides, no less is the zeal and the desire to say anything concerning the proposed. Perhaps therefore, O Virgin and Mother of God, the present discourse will also have something pleasant and will touch upon the beautiful things of the feast and will not fall at all far from the purpose, you also granting these things and breathing in strength, so to speak, and your panegyric showing not very discordant a dancer, since also I would not have undertaken the discourse from the beginning not having expected these things, but having entrusted all things to myself. But to me these things are great and carry to the greatest extent of glory and pleasure; but for me however the discourses having it to be ranked with the benevolent servants and loved ones and to receive on account of these the solution of sins, not how to be liable to penalties of the daring, this before all things to me, I pray to be adorned with these gifts; but to give a discourse worthy of the mysteries concerning you is of the most absurd to hope, but the possible, both having prayed I will pray, and having been able, I know that I will be able, and just as I am conscious to myself of nothing of the things having been said, so also in the following your grace will stand by, and so the things seeming to be from us will be from you to us in truths, however it might be, since to be silent was sufficient to those trusting only in the natural.

27.Since therefore it was necessary for God to become man and this the one doing and transforming all things thought the best way of all towards both saving men and forming towards virtue, and it was necessary for him to become true God and true man (for he was going to save true men and nothing of falsehood and phantasy was fitting to be mixed with the divine works), but also indeed to be of the same essence to all men and to refer to Adam, if indeed all men were going to be in him and to be saved and before this to suffer penalties, it was necessary for him to be born from a woman, it was necessary much more for the mother of the pure one to be pure and for the one having come to take away sin to proceed without sin both the conception and the birth. Therefore, it was fitting for him to be conceived without seed and to be born without birth pangs, as indeed he was both conceived and born, for if he was man, but also God, and if he

took away the sins of all having carried them, but he himself did not do sin nor was deceit found in his mouth, and if as man he had Adam as father, but as being better than that one in every way he came to save both him and all those from him. Whence it was necessary for such a conception and birth to happen to him; but it was necessary for her about to conceive and to give birth to receive a prize of virtue, both to be deemed worthy to give birth to God and in this way and not for her being unadorned to be adorned so much with the services; for not because it was necessary for God to be incarnate altogether, also a woman was necessary either base for glory to the one having been allotted to give birth or likely for this to happen to her by some chance, since also it was necessary for him to suffer having been betrayed by one of the disciples, if indeed the inhabited world was necessary to be saved, but the one betraying was no less wicked and hateful not only of the betrayal, but also of the wickedness from the beginning, on account of which he was allowed to proceed to the worse, and the of the economy not at all by necessity for apology to the one having chosen wickedness by no one forcing. Therefore, also the mother of the master it was necessary to appear worthy of the service in all things and for this service to become to her a prize of the choice and for the one from the virtues adornment to be added genuinely to the one from the crowns, so that all things might happen to each other, to the one the ultimate glory and honor the surpassing of the good things concerning her, to the one exceeding the honor the brilliance of life and of morals, through which she has been made familiar even before being honored, and even before being made familiar she has been honored more. Therefore, needing such a mother to such a one, he already prepares this one to be born first and previously establishes the holy earth, from which he was going to form the pure Adam, and just as previously forming man he used the most beautiful of the soulless earth, so also here having gathered all the adornment of nature into one soul and body, from here he attempts to re-form those having been formed; for it was not fitting for the one forming another to choose the more precious of the matter, but for himself to take up the flesh from the chance one.

28.Therefore, the blessed Virgin is born from good parents and those regarding virtue, even if by fortune they were otherwise somewhat humble, since it is very difficult indeed to receive virtue in wealth and glory and this was fitting to the humility of the high one, which he has honored everywhere; and she is born not simply, but as it was necessary for her to be with such great wonders and to be the cause of so many good things, so that not only after her coming to be, but even before coming to light, how much the things concerning her will appear; for a gift of prayer is given to the parents undertaking the birth as a prize of purity and her promise the parents receive through an angel, just as she afterwards the messages of the ineffable conception and both the beauty and the greatness of those gospels, and she sprouts from a prophetic root, from which the prophesied one will deem worthy to rise, and she does not deny the priestly portion the mother soon to hear of the most precious both sacrifice and victim. And she is born alone and first, and she did not dissolve virginity (for this was kept for the coming forth of the savior from her), but barrenness and old age, which are naturally at war with birth, typifying in every way the birth in virginity and foreshadowing by paradoxical birth the more paradoxical one from her, perhaps also hinting at the renewal of nature and which she was going to boast a carrying of all good things from barrenness and old age of the terrible offspring of sin. Therefore, is she born thus paradoxically and conceived and better than according to all, but does she obtain some common and usual upbringing? Or also having obtained this best, did she not show very much greater the things from her, but such as someone might find an example among men? Not at all, but the birth overcame the conception, but better than this was the nurture, but she hid all these things

with the works concerning her, and she was always becoming better than herself, and with no one being with whom she might contend for the first place concerning virtue, she competed with herself, until in all things she was unconquered and there was nothing which leaving behind she might add. For after she was born, the parents did not attend to her as a child, but as to a mistress; for they already used the previous proofs of the things about to be and considered this one to have arrived into life as a common good, not less having these to contribute to the manifested solemnity of this one; and otherwise they were going to dedicate her to the one giving and it was necessary to nurture her, as it was necessary for the one dedicated to God.

29.Therefore, they showed all care and brought in the things of servants as if being ashamed to be parents of such a one; but she still being in infancy with the good things concerning her overcame the things from those and showed needing a better diet and did not attend the mind to none of the things with those; but she remained however. But after she was already having become three years old and least indeed needing bodily care, but she was going to suffice herself in what was necessary of this and much more not even of the other providence, in so much of age having received paradoxically the perfection of the mind, she was no longer tolerable, but she sought indeed to be with God, and she desired leisure, as without which it was not possible to receive that, and she had hostilely to all the present, considering none of these worthy of her and of which she purposed, and just as later the savior being diligently sought by her and the brothers called all those present mother and brothers, for whom he needed flesh and the sufferings concerning it, so also this one considered the whole inhabited world father and mother and relatives, for which no less she was sacrificing herself to God all the following time and for which she was grieving so much time already having lost the good and having been seized by the shame of wickedness; but the best pair of parents not being able to restrain her of the wise desire nor having deemed it fitting, and at the same time considering it necessary to give back the prayers and to complete the promises, bringing they offer to God the one having been offered from her womb, leading the third year, this indeed because it is of the impossible for someone to approach God not first having well subjected to him desire and anger and reason, which all having chastened well by the helps from above the virgin in so much of age nothing prevented pure to approach the pure, this because also the mystery of the trinity already shone forth from here and the third life from her was receiving the beginning, of the one before the law and after the law, of the one long ago, of the other immediately then having been abolished.

30.Therefore, the temple held her and she was dwelling in the holy of holies, a thing then first and only having been allowed to happen; for not to any of the other virgins and of the men to the more orderly, but not even to the priests themselves except once of each year it was possible to pass to that place; for heaven immediately was fitting to her having come to be and was better in all things than to spend time with men; but since she did not have how she would be mother of God having denied the matter and having fled this life, the temple held her instead of heaven, no place was not to find upon earth more delivered from disturbances and fitting to her impassibility and purity. Therefore, she was there and the temple held a temple so much more solemn than that, by as much the master consecrated the one to himself, but the other stood, men having established; and to that the solemnity was both from the things being performed in it, which were some shadows of realities and in this way doing well yielded to the realities, and from the sacred treasures, which all typified the virgin, but to this one the adornment was virtues conquering nature and God having deemed worthy to inhabit this one, and from himself to save the creation as having rushed forth from some

east. And indeed the virgin neglected the other religion, which the mind needing much does not have to lead up, and either moves the dispositions of the coarser to the divine least having been moved by themselves, but she was always sacrificing the mind to God, of which she had the better, rather of which the whole world possessed, and bringing this up pure she was always receiving it purer, receiving the increase as a prize of the so noble and brilliant contribution, and she was wholly attached to God and the love to him and so much was the account to her of the present things, so as not for any of these to seem to her at all.

31.And indeed of all the other virtues no one would rightly say they very much befitted the Virgin; for the things concerning her were in every way greater than so as to say that she had cared to attain the matter of each virtue, since she had only God and was attached to him in every way and did not turn herself to anything else, upon which it was necessary for the beautiful according to the whole to be worked truly touching the rule; and just as giving to God of the ethical virtues those consisting in actions we least attach those concerning passions, unless by containing all goodness and leading his grace to every virtue, so conversely also to the Virgin of the virtues in actions someone would not say so much to befit, but those consisting concerning passions very much; for she had nothing to do nor to be moved to anything else and to move any of all the others except herself and the ultimate of the desirable God, but she cared only of the things concerning herself and how she might appear worthy of God and become as near as possible to his purity; not indeed already on account of these things also she was completely far from the beautiful according to actions, but there was to her also sufficient power towards those, so that even having turned once towards works, not only better than according to all men, but if this is also to say, better than according to the account of each to give back the habits in works. But if also by the exceeding of purity and chastity she was able so much to benefit men, who would reasonably dispute with her also concerning the other virtues, whom the common master took as a sharer of the graces to the race and whom he assigned as a prytaneum of freedom and of all together the beautiful things to men? Until then therefore with the other of the virtues she seemed least to excel, being less than so as to turn her mind towards themselves, but hope and love and faith adorned her life, by which by the one she had receiving the knowledge of the truth, the hope gave to her the pledges of blessedness and set the future blessedness before eyes, by the love she was attached to God and was united with some disposition of burning desire, through which she would have desired rather to be dissolved and to be with God and much more than Paul, if she did not expect in some other way to be related to him and for the uncontainable to be contained and to hold God bodily in womb for the salvation of the inhabited world and to complete all things of a mother to him, not yet purely knowing the future, but expecting the greatest things persuaded by the divine grace; and to this triad of virtues were necessarily the results of each of these, and many indeed other, but especially of the heart the purity by the faith, which is very much sought towards the knowledge of the truth, and this the one blessing those so pure that they will see God shows, but the fear of God by the hope, by the love peace and joy, with which the circle of the intellectual virtues and the wealth of the spiritual graces followed. And it was to see an acropolis of virtues the soul of the virgin, which all having come together held, for which to contend from her as from some starting point the tyrant so much time already warring with them and exiling from nature; for with none ever of the other men it was possible to find to them place, not only all together (for this was impossible and accomplished only by the virgin), but to two of them or three; for the tyrannizing one held all, not by abundance of power, but by the wickedness of the unfortunate men having been introduced into their life. But it was necessary once also for virtue to

reign with wickedness having yielded, which it was necessary to be out of the midst all the time. And indeed having seized time and a soul genuinely both desiring and seeking her, all came together together leaving nothing of her outside, even if not every part of her was bringing in the same need. And she adorns indeed the one choosing and loving, but she is adorned no less herself, not only by being honored and sought and dissolving that long wandering, having suffered this by no one the time before, but also indeed by showing her excellence and the most perfect boundary, which would have been completely ignored also after these, no man after the virgin having chosen virtue nor about to choose both all together and the way which she chose, but not even near, and besides these also by the excesses of the prizes, of which then first having been increased and only, if ever also of the greatest it was necessary to obtain, of which indeed she has obtained, if in account of recompense not even would anything greater be devised of the things having happened here to the virgin.

32.Thus with all forms of good things she adorned the soul; thus accurately she imitated the master and as much as nature held, since she heard the first man to have been formed according to his image; thus consonant to the paradoxical conception and birth and to the more paradoxical of the holy dwelling she showed her life, rather thus well she prepared herself for the future and showed all the things concerning her agreeing with the greatness of the mystery; on account of which indeed only virgin and of the beautiful of virginity to her alone of those upon earth befits. For to some indeed choosing virginity to themselves it did not happen also to be perfect in the other things; whence also having surpassed the experience of marriage and of all the things according to marriage, either by reasonings they defile virginity, or by not also having been prepared well towards the other things they dim its brilliance, or by some chance and pretext worse than the hypothesis having been led to this, they make the toils on this account unrewarded to themselves; but she not only by the exceeding of virginity and by her mind having completely stood inaccessible to the clouds of reasonings nor by no less of the remaining virtues to be present to her, but also by some judgment, with which she chose it and has arrived to this, better than according to reason she accomplished the thing of virginity and she is only virgin both is and is just to be called; for not from some chance nor for herself alone nor for praises and glory, which those thinking of the things of the flesh still yield to, but from providence and desire of God and by wishing the good things to all nature not only to her and with which someone might say with better reasonings and with which it is not even to say, she was led to that life. And someone might see the others either choosing indeed the greater things, but bringing in worse preparation, or glorifying base hypotheses of the cares on these accounts by the greatness; for it is it is truly having used less of the good things than those having undertaken the greatest to shine forth more and having set before a brilliant hypothesis to use worse than fitting the things having been undertaken; but what greater and more precious life did she not choose? How also would she have come to it better than with which she has arrived preparation? For the one was likened to the angelic in all things, even if this she had more, that with flesh; but the purity was not admitting even the stains up to reasonings and the carrying of all the good things. Whence she overcame each in each of these, by the choice of life those limping in this, by the preparation to that those proceeding to the greater things which was not fitting way, rather in each of these she overcame both in both and much more all men in both and with how much not even would someone have to say of the excess. Thus she has honored the better life, thus she has left behind none of the things leading to that, and these are all form of beautiful and the most beautiful circle of the human virtues, so that it is the same to say this one

virgin and to address with all together the names of the beautiful, or rather mother of God and to comprehend all; for just as saying God we understand that, no greater nor equal is nothing, so also calling mother of God, not after God neither greater nor equal it is to find, truly we wish to say. Whence let all the other things be yielded to the discourse; for where not even willing would someone touch upon the infinite of the things according to each, and of each of these having been accomplished better than according to every reason; but if there was ever also to hymn in words the life of the virgin before the birth, not to say the after these, and to set forth her choice from the beginning, there was need both of much time and of discourse only considering this, besides also this from above to help and to share the contest. Therefore, to all those either discourse will be given back sometime by us, she willing and persuading to be confident the contest, or silence better than baser discourses; but now let us proceed to the greater of the things appearing in her and of which neither towards the world would there be anything greater to her, nor towards demonstration of the exceeding of virtue and of the not only nothing of the things happening to have been left behind to her, but already also to have striven to surpass nature itself, and let us consider the stay of the master and let us hear the gospels, which descend from heaven to the virgin and through her to all men, and I think also to all creation.

33.Therefore, the things towards God with the Virgin were thus well and as it was not possible better, and the things concerning her were worthy of the mystery and she had God dwelling within and a lover of her beauty before he paradoxically inhabited her and she was a precinct of purity. And she had a soul contending with the angels, and a body striving to be of the incorporeal, and she was an image of God having precisely conformed herself to the example in all things which she had. And reasonably; both she having chosen the good better than according to all men and him genuinely presiding over her, and she thus supernaturally working virtue, so that all seemed to be from his providence, and he caring and protecting so much, so as for him to seem to be moved to these things of the beautiful things from her by the necessities adding nothing more from himself, rather both she being moved from within together towards all excess of beautiful things and the divine grace moving towards these and everywhere touching together, how great the things concerning her needed to appear, to what extent of glory and brilliance it was fitting for her to come. But it was not necessary only for her to be accomplished thus pure both in body and soul, but it was necessary also to receive the age which is fitting to those about to appear mothers; for although the conception and the birth were going to happen to her without a man and without cohabitation, which indeed very much befitted the most pure, none of the other laws of nature concerning these things it was necessary to fail in her, so that also in all things the one being born through her might be truly man. But if only purity was necessary and the one disposing all these things had least regard for the ordinances of nature, nothing would have prevented him even before that time to establish the flesh from her being sufficiently prepared from long ago.

34.But when the time fitting for conceptions and births arrived and the bridal chamber was prepared for the bridegroom and the palace for the king and it remained for him to arrive, for the sake of whom these things were happening, the virgin goes out indeed from the sacred places by the providence of God moving the priests and the parents to these things, but she is betrothed to a wise man and is handed over to a guardian of virginity a man, as the master provided beforehand immediately, and he makes all the world sacred, since for the future the nourishing temple was not going to suffice; for it was not possible for a virgin

carrying in womb to obtain the fitting things in that; for all the other time living by herself she least needed care and had the least account of the things according to the body; but since it was necessary to undergo the ineffable conception, it would no longer be possible to neglect herself, but it was necessary to do as is likely to mothers and to have some to care, as no longer being of herself, but of the master having been conceived in her. But none of all these things the nature of the place admitted leading leisure equally of all and not even being exposed to the sights of men themselves, even if to the virgin alone it was common the time before and all the law according to this had been dissolved; and otherwise also someone considering all the things having happened to the virgin, will find paradoxical things mixed with the usual and the laws of nature neither in all things being dissolved nor everywhere being kept. For she is born indeed from seed, but from barren and those advanced in time; and she is nurtured indeed by them, but not until long; and she is offered indeed as a gift to God, but she has been taken before being offered; and she enters indeed the temple as the virgins dedicated to God, but she alone treads the adyta; and she adorns indeed the soul with virtue, but better than according to human nature; and she is loved indeed by God on account of this and is honored, but she alone gives birth to God and she alone becomes mother to him; and she conceives indeed without seed, but as much time as the rest holds the conceived; and she gives birth indeed, but again she remains virgin, and without birth pangs, but in solitude and cave and manger. Thus therefore also now she does not take a man, but a guardian; and she is ignorant indeed of marriage, but she is given out by law of betrothal; and she goes out indeed of the temple (for this was fitting to the betrothed), but she is not at all harmed towards purity, and simply to say, in her the paradoxical things are attached to the usual, providing a greater wonder that they are attached. And indeed neither was it necessary for the one having appeared in humility to be conceived with glory, nor to escape notice all both being conceived and being born, which again was going to come around to him for glory and report, the light suddenly having shone forth and the mystery almost having been uncovered; but these things would have happened in every way, the virgin still holding the sacred places, and thus of the form of humility nothing would remain to the master, all things together being likely to the most manifest and as to a king and God attending to the appearing. Therefore, as it seems to me, the virgin departs indeed from the sacred places, but she goes away about to be shown herself a sacred place of God, and the form of the change is seemly; for it was necessary for her to be with the one having betrothed. Both together therefore the house of Joseph had her and she wondrously received the king about to dwell in the virginal treasuries; for it was no longer remaining on account of what it was necessary for him to postpone the stay, but all things together had an end. And then first immediately all things ran together to each other, with which the counsel of God before the ages concerning these things was going to come into work, he having willed so much and so great to be needed.

35.Therefore, the one deeming all things justly and wisely did not deem it worthy for the Virgin to enter secretly and to provide no perception of it and not to communicate to her the counsel by which he was arriving to partake of the flesh, but to let her just as the others thus also to receive the knowledge of the mystery from the things themselves; and otherwise if he was not going to escape notice at all by the one receiving him having been indwelt (for how, she being conscious to herself of virginity, thus safe, and thus prepared for the greatest things?), it would have been superfluous also to make the wisdom of God as far as possible from which he would have accomplished nothing more. Therefore, he decided both to announce his stay to her and by this first both to gladden and to honor her, and to arrive having been announced and for

nothing to happen between him arriving and having been announced. And Gabriel is sent the one leading the choir of the angels arriving to announce the master to the virgin, and the intellectual nature is received here no less about to be pleased and to be honored by the mediation than having fulfilled a need; for the counsel of the evil spirit, which made war the good to men and has made all things up and down, attached not only grief on behalf of the deceived, but also some reproach of the angels to the pure ones as if being ashamed by nature, that not all thought it necessary to be wise, but some of this having been corrupted, corrupted to him the most beautiful of beings. Until then therefore the one having been sent was fulfilling the need, which unless some of the heavenly spirits no one of the others was possible to bring in; for the economy needed to escape notice and all things to happen agreeing with the way of emptying and with humility, and no man was such as to be initiated so much and to hold; but if there was someone about to serve these things, but the honor towards that one would somehow have passed over to the whole nature, which it was not yet necessary to be deemed worthy of such great things; and otherwise also how was it possible for man to be taught these things by God, unless through an angel perhaps having conversed with him concerning these things? Therefore, if it was also necessary for the angelic nature to be received thus, it would have been superfluous to use more for the same gospels, it being possible to complete those by fewer; but if not everywhere thus the solemn and easier was present to the matter, but it was necessary to the virgin of the worth of the announcer not only for pleasure and adornment, but also indeed for believing completely the things being said and for not even a trace of doubt to be left behind in her soul; and otherwise also the sights of the angels from childhood were usual to her appearing to her with those having been in the adyta and disposing all the things concerning her which was fitting.

36.On account of these things therefore and such the intellectual nature underwent the message; but it being very much divided into degrees and ranks, this beautiful thing becomes of the last of the orders, the one being allotted to serve from above the gifts of God to us and to preside over all things here, much more it was necessary also to mediate in the greatest of the good things, none of the remaining orders having been received for these things; and the mystery being greatest, reasonably also the first of the angels undertakes the embassy. And indeed the other of the good things, which once descended to men through angels, was revealed through many of the between to those having carried those, the lower ones always illuminating the higher ones and sending around the divine commands up to the last ones; for this the natural order of the heavenly spirits requires, which the height and multitude of the known things knows to make their excellence towards each other. But here to the one having been sent of the so greatest things the teacher was himself immediately the one having sent, on account of which indeed also every angelic order having been taught from above the economy concerning men universally and well knowing the creator not about to overlook the image up to the end, by which it was not necessary for it to have been covered, however what it knew not yet having happened and having proceeded in part it was ignorant and it needed to learn from this last one knowing, not having to conjecture who ever is the one arriving from Edom. And it is no wonder, if not even the master has kept the laws of the angels here; for this rather agreed both with the greatness of the mystery and with the innovation of the natures.

37.Therefore, this Gabriel stands by the Virgin and addresses and greets her with both pleasure and wonder and reveals the counsel before the ages, and alone from the other angels and first having been initiated the greatest and most perfect things, to the Virgin alone and first bringing he entrusts these things

and announces God about to take flesh from her and the inhabited world about to be delivered from bitter tyrants, but about to serve a good and just king, or rather to say about to reign together; and the Virgin having received the greeting (for it was not possible to contradict), he departs himself, but the conception of God immediately followed and the salvation of men from here was receiving a most natural beginning, already the master manifestly having set himself to this. O excess of wonders! O mystery also surpassing the knowledge of the highest angels! O wisdom of God devising a resource even in the impossible! O his power also mastering the impossible! O human purity having been able so much and having resisted to the fire of the divinity! O honor, which with the Virgin also the common nature has been honored; for the one held the uncontainable bodily indwelling, having been completely captured by her beauty, but the other sent forth the thus most beautiful one.

38.Therefore, the discourse to me having been delivered from all together the other things, each of which is a contest to those having to do with discourses no less than any of the greatest, has arrived to the very capital of our salvation and the beginning of human blessedness and the spring, from which ever-flowing and deep rivers of wonders having flowed have shown all the earth rich and fertile to God instead of the previous barren and sterile, I say the greatest of the gospel days, which to all men and to discourses of contests and of pleasure matter is set forth today; but I having purposed to give a discourse by the power of the day happening by my power, these at least the worthy (for this of the most absurd to me and to all others to hope), I consider not of any other in addition to the things having been said necessarily to be needed, for which also to refer the present panegyric to some genuine beginning, and again if there is some cause of that, also to make this known and in addition to these the treasure of the good things having flowed together to us from there; for the will has been completely worked and the things of the purpose have an end, and everyone would see from the things having been said the power of the day and of this brilliant panegyric both the beginning and the end; for the feast puts forward the salvation of the feasting themselves and has this whole both cause and is adorned by this, but it descends both from the goodness of God and refers to it and makes the saved sharers of this; both these things the discourse has sufficiently hymned, as much as it comes to us. It would have been sufficient therefore to stand the discourse here and not to proceed further, the beautiful things after these being subject to other panegyrics and proper discourses, the beginning however of all these having already become manifest to the discourse and having been honored, as much as this held; but since the other of the matters they consider with much business and they spend many discourses on their behalf someone might be indignant, but of the discourses on behalf of our salvation nothing would become sweeter and more useful, and always towards this, if it is possible, both mind and tongue it is necessary to move, it would be seemly and very much agreeing with the purpose still to hold of the discourses on behalf of our salvation, until the power, rather to say the grace of the virgin dictates; and otherwise also it is necessary to hear the gospels and not by negligence to betray the most beautiful of the feast having learned on account of what the paradoxical things are about to be completed and God has arrived having been announced to the virgin through an angel, having departed unexperienced of messages of pleasure and having cared less of answers of wisdom.

39."In the sixth month," he says, "the angel Gabriel was sent by God to a city of Galilee named Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph." But how in the sixth month and which this and after which the first? It was necessary before the Word for the voice to be heard and the lamp before

the light to shine and the most intimate of the servants to run before the master and "no one greater has been raised among those born of women," so that he might prepare a people by his own teachings obedient and prepared to the master arriving; but just as his teaching and life it was necessary to appear as some preliminary exercise to men, so also his conception being paradoxical it was necessary to consider by much measure more paradoxical than that of the master. Therefore, this one is given as a prize of righteousness to pure and blameless parents and having made the law of the Lord a study through all life, having hoped nothing such (for how, in deep old age and barrenness?), but somehow having been related by lineage to the blessed virgin; for it was necessary not even this wonder to lie outside the things concerning her, of which that was a forerunner, where indeed all things were going to have proportionally and as it was fitting to the types towards the truth, virtue of parents and glory of child and conception beyond hope of mother with purity contending with the angels and beauty of the one being born beyond all the sons of men and conception conquering all mind and reason. Therefore, the womb of Elizabeth held the servant; but since it was already the sixth month to him having been conceived, also the master proceeds to be conceived, having lagged behind willingly, so that he might have the same forerunner also in the conception, having been left behind so much and having honored the perfect number here, so that also from here the perfection and the greatness might be testified to him and all things might be happening to the truths. For John preserved the type of the law and of all the prophets, because also the things according to the law if anyone else has been eager, as being himself the one placing and keeping and also the things having been prophesied to him and to all others he both saw and served in which he was commanded; but the common master of all became fulfillment of law and prophets, both having kept all the law and having surpassed, of which the one was fitting, but the other was possible to him both placing and having power to transform, having made the prophecies from above concerning him to come to pass and having shown for his sake all those things to have been said, on account of whom indeed also the thing of prophecy from there leads leisure, nothing of the greatest having been left behind on account of which someone will be possessed, rather if something greater and more divine, the master himself both foretelling this to us and clearly promising.

40.Therefore, the savior as if foreshadowing these things, is conceived according to the sixth month, perhaps also teaching us that, how indeed just as in the first bringing forth of beings he had completed all things in six days, but upon all he formed human nature, so also here all the time before both having received penalties and having shown us more wise and having hinted at the truth by many symbols and types, then he makes the re-formation of men, for which all those things happened; someone would also say by the perfect of the numbers of the opinions concerning the divine the perfection to be typified, which the master established himself to us teacher, consisting in these three capitals, both by the opinion concerning the trinity and unity and of the duality of the natures in Christ, which indeed completes the first number in the perfect. Therefore, in this sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent by God. He did not come, he says, he did not stand by, he was not seen as to Zacharias, but he was sent from God, the discourse showing I think the excellence of the virgin to the one having been sent and the honor which she was received by God; for to the others indeed whoever of the angels arrives about to teach something of the necessary or to do, he arrives being sent from God, however he also has some worth towards those receiving and with some pomp and greatness he descends minister and carrier of the divine commands, which the scripture wishing to show uses those words, which with the ministry also testifies the authority to the angels and demonstrates the power against

us; but here it did not have similarly, but just as the matter simply happened to be greater than all, which once man has enjoyed through angels, also of the one receiving herself nothing equal nor near the nature of beings brought forth, so also with much humbler form than the usual the one having been sent was completing the message and here alone ignored nature and denied the lying laws, since all things were completely being innovated; I think also that he would have yielded, if it was possible, the height and greatness of the message as if being ashamed and not having how he might sufficiently understand the account of the mystery; and how would he not, of whom the seraphim not bearing the immediate vision cover the sights, having been initiated this one about to be conceived in the womb of a virgin and about to take up the whole human nature without sin? Therefore, he says, he was sent, as only of an apostle and servant preserving order and nothing more being brought upon, as if some soldier was carrying commands of a general to one of the best of the sub-generals calling him to greater honor and friendship and participation of all things present to him.

41.And the angel having entered, he says to her: "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you; blessed are you among women." O greatness and beauty of gospels! O words few indeed and concise, but encompassing within themselves the whole mystery; for these were some greeting and became prefaces of the following gospels; however, they showed the whole hypothesis, so as to have to conjecture from there on account of what indeed the address, of what sort indeed the proposed things will have the epilogue, rather these words alone instead of all the others would have sufficed, if not the virginal caution and firmness having worked these things and increased the pleasure and grace in these. And glory to you, Virgin, and grace, not only of the secure according to yourself, but also having foreseen and having cared well for our pleasure, how we might rather be pleased and leap bringing to memory of many some and various of the things having been heard by you; for if you were not troubled at the address, if you did not seek to learn the fitting of the matter, we would not have been able to enjoy so much pleasure from the angelic words, since the discourses concerning these things no less than the matters know to charm us always turning in mind and tongue. Hail, he says, O full of grace, for it is not possible to find whence someone might greet you more nor whence better he would name, than having called full of grace and having said hail. O full of graces of God both recompensing you the choice, and you extending to the beautiful things from there; O honored now by greatest and last grace and which not even to conceive at least it is possible sufficiently; you were rejoicing indeed all the time before in yourself, and being with God intellectually and being adorned by the helps and graces from there; you will rejoice now much more, by as much you will also rather have dwelling within the lover having loved as much as he has been loved (for neither she towards demonstration of love had anything more to bring in, nor he, by which he might show more the one loving in return), but he will work much more paradoxical things on account of desire and love; for you were leading up, but he humbles himself; and he empties himself, but she is filled; and you were glorified, but he is coming about to be reckoned with the dishonored and about to undergo the things of the wicked, the high one, the full one, the one beyond all glory, the wealth of goodness. But to you so much rejoicing on account of herself there was some also of despondency on behalf of the race, both that not all completely enjoy the same things with you, you were grieving and considering it terrible, if the things according to you would not be a cause also for all others to be saved? But also on account of these things hail; behold for you God has put an end to the prayers on behalf of the race and no longer time of grief and all cause of despondency has been taken away; in every

way from this day not only your things will lie in better, but also to the other men you will be a cause of blessedness. Therefore, hail, because from everywhere to you the things of glory have been greatly raised, and having received God whom you desired, whom not even you expected way, also to all the others together you will be set forth a spring of salvation and you will impart of the good things, of which you yourself have partaken first, so much rather and more justly partaking, by as much you yourself have undergone what it will be for the others to receive, they however about to be saved by grace alone, you have brought in toils worthy of such great prizes the ones in virtues.

42.But what is necessary to say many things? The Lord is with you; for his angel, as you see, is the one speaking these things and I have come to announce to you his presence. For God is everywhere and is present to all being infinite and cause of being to all, but to human nature in some exceptional way, when not only giving to it being, but also naturally infusing some power towards knowing completely the one giving this and being present to it as to the one knowing the known; but you so much more than all men both knew and desired the good, so as not even to be possible to compare, and the master was always with you greatly loving your purity, and by as much more he was desired, so much more allowing to be known. But now he will not be with you the same way, but some foreign and new and which not only to none of the other men but also to you the most pure I now first announce (for what was necessary also to greet you with the messages of the usual and most known?), so that you will have so much better now the master dwelling within you, by as much also before rather than the others you knew and desired and by as much commonly to human nature there is better and more divine than to all others together; rather not even is it to find by how many some excesses the present things surpass you and by how much more paradoxically to you now than before the master has chosen to be mingled, if indeed also that surpasses every account and surpasses all mind, the incorporeal to be united hypostatically with flesh and the uncircumscribed to be seen and the infinite to be circumscribed and the creator to be united with the creatures. Therefore, hearing the Lord about to be with you do not hope nothing more or condemn me as if greeting you with some new and recent these indeed the usual, but knowing that this one will dwell within you bodily and you will appear mother of the firstborn of all creation, marvel indeed the infinite goodness, rejoice however the one at the honor, the other at the beautiful things of the race, to which now your birth will appear peace and calm from storm and surge and long wars; but if I also announce to you both the paradoxical indwelling of the master and the salvation of men, which he hastens both to do and to suffer, this indeed as a servant, that however as having undertaken the embassy on behalf of all, and I have come an angel of these three greatest things, reasonably also you yourself would rejoice at so much and as at the greatest of each of these. And indeed how is it not necessary for the blessed one to rejoice? How is she not such, who not only herself has completely ignored the reproaches of the first curse, but also will make the others to be outside of these? For indeed blessed are you among women, not only because you have been deemed worthy of greater than according to all gifts, but also because from the terrible things of the curse both you yourself have been released and you will be able to deliver the whole race, and just as the shame of the curse having rushed forth from one woman troubled the common nature, so also now from you the beautiful of the blessing will shine forth to all the others and you will become seed of a second life and beginning of the truly men. The one yielded long ago to the attacking evil one, but you by much exceeding have conquered this one not even up to reasonings having dared to approach, either having received this grace fitting to the one about to serve the greatest things, or a prize of

the first movements to virtue, from which it was not possible therefore being perfect to change; and she not well having desired of the tree of knowledge, also lost the one of life, but you on behalf of the divine laws also striving against nature itself, you obtained the good things beyond nature; and she is driven out of paradise, but you receive the creator of all; and she corrupts the sharer, but you save the inhabited world; and to her the judge multiplies the groans and the griefs both to the one bearing and at the very giving birth she will hear, that I may be silent the following unpleasantness, but you rejoicing indeed will conceive the judge and giving birth you will rejoice much more; but if something also grievous would meet you after these, this the economy working, but the joy after these will surpass the former grief, so as not even this to be called to be judged just now, from there such great and so great good things having sprung up. Therefore, reasonably that one has been cursed among women having suffered so much more terrible than all, by as much also she became a starting point to the others to suffer these things; but you exist blessed among women, both yourself having been led up to the greatest grace and glory and to the others from yourself as from some spring about to impart of the blessing. Therefore, hail on account of all these things, having learned from me the true and which not into long but now immediately will be; for already the time fitting to the freedom of men has arrived, both of the other and of all the things according to you having become as it was necessary and of what sort it was necessary to the mystery.

43.These things indeed Gabriel said being instructed by the one having sent himself; but since he also perceived the virgin being disturbed, not indeed at the sight (for it was usual), but at the excess of the things being said and the height and greatness of the address, and desiring to hear something clearer (for it was not safe immediately to be persuaded by the greatest things and which before this cast the impossibility to the herald of these), both having dissolved the disturbance he raises to the safe faith of the things being said and unfolds the mind of these. And indeed "do not fear," he says, "Mary; for you have found grace with God." Not looking to the greatness of the things having been heard calculate some plot and deceit of the one saying nor undergo this praised disturbance and fear; for I see you being divided in judgment and neither easily being able to place to the things conquering all mind and reason, nor enduring to contradict to which it is not possible to disbelieve. Blessed therefore is the passion and especially befitting to you and of very wise judgment and proceeding with safety everywhere having sufficient demonstration; until then therefore be of good courage and believe the things being said and banish all doubt from the soul; for if it is great and what not greater to become mother of God and has surpassed every preparation which someone might bring in, but not even the thing according to you is some light and moderate and such as might be overlooked to the things of all which someone might say greater of the best of all being sought. The master was not led to this paradoxical economy by the greatness of the purity in you, but since he willed to save the world and there was need of a woman about to conceive the likely things, he immediately saw to you alone of necessity, as it was not to take a better one upon earth, for indeed also before you showed purity of soul and desired God from the midst of this and considered all things less than the beautiful things from there; but he also loved you more than the usual and willed to you the greatest of the good things and as much as it was possible he bound to himself and showed godlike in all things guarding for this time indeed and the present need. What therefore was necessary to adorn so much and with which he had to prepare, which he was not about to use at all? Or how was he about not to use the one having appeared so great, and to prefer some other not similarly nor near prepared? Therefore, he prepared indeed as about to use, he uses now as most fitting to the

prepared one, so that all is of his grace, even if you brought in all the things according to yourself. On account of which it is not necessary to be disturbed nor to suspect the greeting, taking to mind that worst perishing counsel, which with empty hopes of deification misled your ancestors; for I do not persuade you to believe these things to yourself and to your power, so that you might also suspect some deceit and contrivance of the one wishing to raise you by the beauty of the messages and to think greatly about yourself, but I announce the greatest grace of God upon the greatest things and some foreign economy, which consider lest also you escape having rejected, insisting more than the fitting and having been moved to contend with the excess of the words; for neither to yield where it is necessary to insist nor to contend where to the one being persuaded it will be more profitable it would be safe of men and to anyone, since each of these being some excess is blamed, but to proceed equally and to be persuaded safely, but to resist with good judgment, this is moderation and virtue and obtains the greatest of the praises everywhere. Your ancestress yielding to the evil one and not having considered the counsel, that it wishes to drive her to the abyss of disobedience, nor having understood the deception gave a penalty of the simplicity and of the not praised plainness; but Zacharias yesterday and the day before not well having heard nor having been persuaded, underwent a penalty in the ears, so that both he himself and all other would cease contending in which least it is necessary. But to you being the wisest of all men it is fitting to undergo something to the things being said and to consider the true things about them, that indeed they leave all mind and reason behind, to yield however and with pleasure to agree to the ineffable things, God being the one disposing these things to the one being persuaded, of whose wisdom and power all things are less.

44.You yourself will dissolve therefore the disturbance and will cease your soul being agitated, being wise and least needing of counsel of all; but I will also make the discourse clearer to you and will uncover the power of the gospels, so as not even to have remaining on account of what you will be in doubt and what will cause to you shaking and disturbance. "Behold, you will conceive in womb and will give birth to a son and you will call his name Jesus." For these things also before he wished to say the Lord about to be with you, that by law of human conception being a virgin you will conceive the common master for the salvation of the formation having chosen to partake of blood and flesh to him and you will hold the usual time in the womb and you will give birth to this one son having become first to you and only, and you will call his name Jesus, placing the name worthy to him both of the conception and of the birth and of the beautiful and precious things which will be to the race and before all of freedom itself. "This one will be great," and having appeared humble in the beginning, he will be raised to great glory, the one great and glorious by nature and from whom all glory to all and greatness, and being truly son of you the virgin, also of God the highest he will be believed and will be proclaimed by all son, as many not attending only to the appearing wish to be dimmed towards the subsisting power in him. "And the Lord God will give to him the throne of David his father"; for whom he did not exclude from the own thrones nor envied of the equal glory, but together he imparted of all things which befits by nature a father, how will he envy of the seat of David through you and this befitting to him and the flesh about to be received from you? And if he imparted of the greatest things, how not much more will he deem worthy of the lesser? "And he will reign over the house of Jacob into the ages, and of his kingdom there will be no end." For no longer will the evil one prevail over men nor will he fight back the defeat, having been utterly outmaneuvered by the highest goodness, nor will tyranny have place from now on, the seeds of this having been completely taken away, but under one king and master all will be

ordered, so much more being related, by as much also they have been received, they did not approach, and they did not flee the wandering, but the master found the wandering having come and delivered from the wandering and used as own and assigned to them the paternal wealth; for these things will be thus and much better and more divine, even if I myself wish to show all by few words, perhaps having been pleased by the addresses alone, if not against the shaking having been formed to your soul from those it was necessary to contrive the calm from these later ones.

45.The Virgin having heard these things well, was no longer entirely of the greatness of the hypothesis nor was disturbed any longer, so as not even to have to answer anything to these, but she believed indeed, since from many places she knew this to be fitting, and to the one having believed nothing remained on account of what it was necessary to be disturbed already and as to things established to her as true and manifest to her reasonings, it was necessary also to utter a word worthy of the hypothesis. And "how," she said, "will this be to me, since I do not know a man?" I postpone to you the most opportune answer a little, he says; but since you exhorted to be completely of good courage and not to fear, you will in every way also allow to inquire of you, so that also rather having calmed the shaking in the soul, I may answer to you the necessary things. I indeed purposed to be a virgin and experience of a man neither I had nor ever outside, but without a man it is not for conception and birth to proceed, not therefore as much as among us men; but you say me about to conceive according to human law and about to give birth to a true man, of whom indeed again you testify height and greatness and boundless kingdom and all the greatest things befitting. You would say therefore, how will these things be to me? How will the most different things agree with each other? How will birth run together with virginity? How the same, being and about to be a virgin, also will I appear mother? For not disbelieving I inquire nor bringing near the things being said to the purpose and to the law of nature, not having to harmonize and to show happening in every way, I have come to this question, as if encompassing your words with the impossible and condemning some deceit and falsehood of these; but I wish to learn the way, by which these paradoxical things will happen to me; for it is not likely you to be ignorant of this having been taught from above just as also the other things. Therefore, she inquired these things, not being ignorant indeed that of the so greatest things no account and way would give back except the one the infinite power to prevail over all and itself to be unable towards nothing of the seeming impossible, but everywhere seeking the safe and perhaps wishing to receive experience of the things having been said, if it would happen to the answers, with which the elder of necessity will answer this question; but he praises indeed the safety of the virgin, but answers nothing having been differed, considering the inquiry a demonstration not of contentious judgment but of a most wise soul.

46."Not knowing a man neither will you know," he says; "however you will conceive and give birth, the spirit showing fruitful to you the virginity and the power of the highest driving away all natural weakness, of which by the one you hold the purity and the love, by the other you bring in sincere faith. Flesh will not work to you the conception just as to the others partaking indeed of nourishment, but imparting wickedness to the one being born, but the holy spirit will make your most pure flesh matter to the pure and will use indeed as having been sanctified, but will sanctify rather by using. Desire does not precede your conception, beginning of birth pangs and of grief surpassing this and much conquering the easily moved of this; but faith of these greatest and paradoxical will lead you, which most easily shows the difficult and being able to move mountains and to complete the greatest of all from a more invisible beginning. Therefore, the one being

conceived in that way is seed and offspring of sin, which once having been nurtured and having been completed and having become in awareness of all things according to itself, 'that in iniquities I was conceived and in sins my mother conceived me,' he would say reasonably and truly; but your offspring will be holy, because also it is conceived by the coming of the holy spirit and aims to sanctify all, but he will be called son of God and son of the highest on account of the power. And how was it not necessary, the one having come to take away the sin of the world to be holy, the one having come to plunder the vessels of the strong and to abolish the tyranny to be clothed the greatest strength and power? By the word of the Lord long ago the heavens were established and by the spirit of his mouth all their power. Now the highest sends the beloved son on behalf of the servants about to contend not at all nor thus having stood out from the paternal bosoms, but the consubstantial spirit being present co-toils the economy to him and co-works the emptying, from which not only to heavens and all earth and to those dwelling this, but also indeed to the angels themselves of gain and pleasure what greatest will come. Therefore, you will both preserve the purpose and will undergo the conception, and neither the things of purity will oppose to you the true and according to nature birth, nor from there you will be harmed towards the unmixed virginity; but all difficulty according to this will not even appear nowhere, the highest and his power and the spirit having made the contest common; and indeed seeking the way, if indeed what I myself also have to say and you are able to hold, you wish to learn those things, know this one also true, that all things are easy to God and all whatever someone might say, falls within his power; but if you desire to hear something also more, this the one disposing these things alone knows, to me and to you and to all creation not only to learn, but also indeed to seek completely having been forbidden."

47.Gabriel having added these things to the previous, since the blessed Virgin had no way to disbelieve, having conjectured from many places the truth of the things being said and being helped to this by the grace of the spirit, she no longer thought to be busy and to waste the time with questions, but she answered this simple and concise, rather both varied and wise and this indeed worthy of the hypothesis, this indeed befitting to the one full of the graces of the spirit: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; let it be done to me according to your word." And to the divine votes she subjected herself, to which it was not possible to contradict, but to the weak according to herself she opposed the all strengthening power and she joined faith with prayer having shown both good judgment and safety. I agree, she says, O Gabriel, to the things being said by you, rather to which our common master commands, and I indeed bring in the judgment and I subject whole myself willingly to him to use for anything whatever, and much more if he is about to benefit the inhabited world, with me co-working something; but if the things being commanded surpass every device of mind and reason and all the thing according to me is much worse than so as to be fitted to such great things, I indeed will add prayers, which alone I have upon the greatest things, but the one commanding these things knows in every way how the things being commanded will be and will add works to the words, nothing escaping his power of what he wishes to do.

48.O most wise answer, for this rather wise, because after the fitting examination of the things having been heard! O virginal boldness! Who, O Virgin, is a just servant as to be called of the Lord? To whom after you the things of this appellation will fit? All are servants of the Lord, because from him both subsists and is governed and each brings in their own need to the whole; but you subjected body and soul to the master and no longer indeed to yourself, but you belong to him. And all the other things dedicate the owed obedience to

the master by the references to more of beings, for which to be continuous all this the one having devised and seeming to be subjected to the creator serving countless others; but you having been released of all relation together, as if not having been generated and being in the all, you were with the master alone, not yet indeed seeing immediately, but immediately bringing yourself and receiving, and you were bringing not the legal and shadowy service, but the spiritual and perfect, which having received the beginning from you, greatly grew by the life and word of the one having been incarnate and distributed and held the whole world. For you, Virgin, truly are a servant of God and minister and deacon; for to the greatest it was necessary to serve the greatest in the greatest things, so I do not know whether honoring yourself and as if to say exulting in the matter or humbling yourself and being moderate, thus with pleasure to yourself you proclaimed this small great name of servitude but as it seems, neither a gift would be brought to God, by which he will rather rejoice of the truly to be subjected and to serve, nor from God to men something greater good would become than both to become and to be considered his servants, of whom the to use and to move to ministry a clear proof; for if also to the sons of men it is established in a portion of praise to bring in the things of servants to the fathers and to contradict nothing and someone having called them of the born servants seemed to benefit, how much ambition he would bring in, if someone being a servant would appear having kept and having fulfilled this very thing, which it was necessary a servant, so as to be proclaimed by the master brightly by the works. Therefore, thus also to you, God having shown the servant to all which you had, the master testifies from above the virtue, and seeking honor to you, does not find greater than the commands, which sought such great a servant; which indeed also she seeing together, you were saying to be ready to the ministry, calling servitude, which the elder was saying grace, and servant, whom he was calling full of grace; for he was saying you also before being full of divine graces then indeed to have found the greatest of all, but you also serving the time before much more to this ministry you were saying to be readily.

49.O best of servitudes, which showed her mistress and leader to the race of men! O servitude having raised the common nature to the honor of adoption, but having graced something also more than this to you; for indeed not only you were shown child of God and best of children and you enjoyed paternal good things, but also you became mother to him, to whom much more is added into account and greatness of intimacy, and you imparted of blood and flesh, which you had received from there, into so much to you, Virgin, of glory and splendor the form of unmixed servitude has proceeded; and how does that not both convict your wisdom, and to us becomes the greatest admonition? That you indeed having said yourself handmaid of the Lord, you added the prayer, but the master of all did not neglect to add the grace, but together you ceased saying these things, and the embassy was a fact and you had the master being conceived; for from these it is to learn, that neither it is necessary to pray not before having been subjected to God, nor to obtain having prayed it is possible not first having obeyed the master themselves, and in addition to these that also on behalf of the most manifest things themselves it is necessary to pray, just as you yourself did not refuse to take to pray, which was announced to you also before the prayers. Let it be so.

50.Since therefore the things of the embassy sufficiently held and the elder announced to the Virgin the indwelling of the master together with dissolving the disturbance at the messages and unfolding the things being said and well foreshadowing all the future, and she brought in whole herself both having believed and having agreed together with guarding the deception from everywhere and not to suffer something ignoble by the praises, no longer there was need of other words, but he indeed, having received the faith from the

Virgin, departed indeed from her, but to the one having sent there was no work to show the things having been done, both being present there and knowing all things and completing the embassy, but she immediately was receiving works after the words and was undergoing the ineffable conception and the Virgin was mother, nothing at all having been harmed from here to the unmixed virginity, if not also rather she herself having acquired this beautiful thing better and having testified this to herself by the works themselves; for to the impassible and pure to whom of what mother rather than of a virgin was it fitting to the one having arrived for this need on behalf of the impure? What also would have benefited equally the one having conceived and having nurtured having risked by the beautiful of virginity and having been deprived of the beauty from there? And indeed she had the master in herself, and the messages already having proceeded and all suspicion having been taken away, nothing prevented her to be pleased, mingling astonishment with the pleasures and undergoing this some passion such as mixed with joy and wonder. For she was wondering indeed having met with double the paradoxes (and these were, that both a servant bore a master and a virgin a child), she was rejoicing both herself having held the desired and not only by mind but also by body being connected in the middle and foretelling, rather knowing clearly of how many good things the present things will be a beginning; however, not also just as already having grasped the end and having obtained the greatest prizes of the contests upon the beautiful things she neglected; for how, she indeed also of the whole economy having been worked, the time until the departure alone having been left to the life, concealed the former to the latter and showed those ineffable toils, not only on behalf of the things about to be acquired after these, but also of the beautiful things which she had received, both paying back grace, and considering how she might receive worthily?

51.Therefore, she thus immediately after the conception held; but God (so that the discourse may dare something also concerning these things) was conceived in the womb of the Virgin, having subsisted the human essence and nature in himself, neither something according to her own nature having suffered by the one having taken up except of the glory and honor from there, nor disposing in any way the one having been taken up; for he holds immutably in all ways and disposes all things himself suffering nothing, but it was necessary according to truth to have been taken up and the one existing in the form of God to have taken up also the perfect form of a servant, Paul would say, and the nature having been taken up held the fullness of the Godhead in itself, neither according to some bare indwelling alone (for otherwise the emptying would not have place nor would God be said to have been incarnate), nor according to some composition and mixture of the natures, but according to one underlying subject and one hypostasis, the natural idioms of each of the natures being preserved without some alteration and confusion, but these being made common to each other through the highest and true union according to one underlying subject, so that the not same to the same not in the same way fit; but if also the fullness of the Godhead took up human nature, as of the persons according to the infinite and divine nature having been connected indivisibly to each other, on account of which we say God and Godhead to have been incarnate, but by one personal hypostasis alone the one having been taken up was united, since the divine persons communicating according to nature to each other, rather being the same to the underlying things are distinguished, but the greatest thing and name of the divine incarnation has not become according to the union in nature, but indeed the hypostatic and personal, which indeed has been driven away nothing less than the different according to essence from the divine persons. Whence just as the distinction of the natures in the incarnate God held oppositely to the identity according to

essence of this very one of the God before the ages, so also his hypostatic and according to one underlying subject union it was necessary to have been differed to the personal distinction of the divine hypostases; therefore, by the union according to the natures the fullness of the Godhead took up the nature of men, but by the identity according to one hypostasis of one own person the work of the incarnation revealed; and this is the Word of God, whom also Gabriel called power of the highest and son of God and wisdom and image and character of the Father and creator of this all with the consubstantial the words know; for this indeed through the Word all things have become, in whom the treasures of knowledge and of wisdom are hidden and the reasons of all things being and becoming, this indeed the way of our fall saw beforehand to this (for it was disorder of the Word, which in us completely preserves the image to the divine Word), it was necessary also through the Word again us having been corrupted by the sins to be re-formed; for of the same it was both to bring forth the beginning and to lead back the having become wandering and to take penalties with the just and again to forgive through goodness; otherwise also to the eternal generation it was necessary the temporal to happen and the same indeed of God to become son of man and to the Son of God the sonship to be preserved incommunicably in every way.

52.Therefore, this Word of God the womb of the Virgin already held having been conceived, at the same time with the conception of the union having become and of God having taken up body with soul, and of the soul immediately fitting to it having taken the body, and of body and soul then first; immediately in God having subsisted and having been united to each other; for neither to some incomplete and not yet having obtained of the owed perfection it was fitting the complete cause of beings to be united, nor to the union according to hypostasis it was happening, which the Word took up nature, this before having been taken up to subsist according to itself. And indeed by the small nourishments the conceived body was increasing and growing; for if immediately it had been formed and was perfect and nothing of the belonging to the organs was lacking to it, but not yet it had the owed quantity; for it was necessary of the incomplete according to the form having been filled up by the divine power, as of the highest not admitting itself perfection, in the lacking of the quantity the law of human conception to have been preserved. And what wonderful, where also having been born the savior not only by body kept the laws of nature, progressing by some degree and order, but also of wisdom the wisdom of God was little by little being filled and of spirit, so that not some prodigy he might seem, a man also such having appeared suddenly, and towards the necessity of believing all things having been driven from there, the purpose of the economy might fall through?

53.But what tongue, and what mind would be able to unfold the things concerning the divine incarnation? Who looking towards the height and greatness of the divine economy, even if Paul, even if he ascended to the third heaven, will not utter that true and genuine voice: “O depth of riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments and untraceable his ways!” For all things from God conquer all mind and reason and in the comprehension of his wisdom, with which he makes all things and proceeds to all, nothing of beings would become; but if someone would try to touch the wonders according to the economy, there it is necessary to be completely obscured and to fall away much more than those looking against the sun and trying to fly being sick in eyes and without wings; for not the sea is cut paradoxically there and comprehends preserving according to nature indeed the fugitives, but covering together the pursuers with all the army and exacting penalties of wickedness, nor a furnace having been kindled to those kindling it this itself appears becoming, having resented the madness against the righteous,

but dew to those against whom it has been kindled and a theater of piety and of ineffable pleasure and hypothesis of leaps, nor an ark stronger than so great a flood is constructed about to save the seeds to the generation and a second Eden appearing, since it was necessary wickedness to have become from the midst, but it was necessary nature to have been preserved, nor the sun stands still, this giant and never tiring by the periods, nor as many other things the divine innovated in own each and times and needs either honoring justice or punishing wickedness or something such benefiting one and more, but the one having made all those things by nod alone and will and being able both to save and to destroy this all, just as indeed he also brought forth the beginning, a sinless man becomes, about to take away the terrible things of sin from men, and he descends in dishonor of flesh, about to lead up to the greatest glory those having been dishonored for so much time already, and the incorporeal takes up matter and the bodiless becomes body and the infinite is circumscribed and the creator of the ages is completed under time and adds the bodily birth to the eternal and shows a virgin mother and innovates all things, neither standing out of the better, nor considering the worse unworthy, in which not only the way of the economy surpasses all mind and reason, but also indeed its end is great and wonderful and befitting to such great preparation; and this is removal of sin and loosing of bonds, impassibility of soul and incorruptibility of flesh and again habitation of paradise and tree of life and adoption and all good things together with excess, from which not only to those undergoing these things comes the gain, but also to all beings, of whom the misfortunes according to man touched. On behalf of such being all things what someone would say either rendering just grace or how these things proceeded considering and by words in any way consoling the things beyond all mind and reason? To me indeed both the being silenced from these is ineffable and the having been said incomprehensible, rather the having been silenced unthinkable, but the having been said remains no less ineffable. But also this all, which I now said, is less of the matter; for not of me alone is the passion, even if more than of all mine, but also of all men, nor of these alone, but in addition to these also of the angels themselves.

54.Therefore, the things according to the divine conception and birth from the Virgin either let them be bound by safety of silence or let them be stored up to the fitting time, if someone would have something to say concerning them, so as to show only eagerness and to complete nothing more; but also of which the Word having been incarnate greeted us and which of his emptying we enjoyed, of each of these there being own festival and rite, also the discourses on behalf of them it is fitting to have been divided; but to us today the day of the gospels the proposed thing was and concerning this the discourse came considering and celebrating together, as it is possible to those having been gathered together for this, which indeed also the Virgin having taken up together, it proceeded according to purpose and established the day by the power, having been carried together from many and various beginnings to this some simple end, rather having been moved from the divine goodness indeed, but again smoothly having turned back to itself; for it did not have how it might come from opposite to the matters having taken such beginning and end, he himself having used to show those things with account and order. For by the goodness of God not being we subsisted, and to those having become immediately the wealth of the good things flowed together, a place full of luxury and of all pleasure and joy, but having been delivered of all grief, a beginning genuine over the animals and all good things together upon earth, knowledge of God not yet immediate nor according to form, but of the one after the sin immediately by much the middle more perfect, knowledge of beings having been born together unfailing and safe, through which the things under us it was necessary to be governed and us

ourselves to be led to the knowledge of the higher things, purity of soul and of its powers, incorruptibility of body happening to this, freedom of judgment, the greatest of honors, a command punishing this and by this indeed securing safety to the honor, by this indeed exercising the judgment and preparing to the beyond nature life. Such to us the things from the master; then envy makes war, the first and worst offspring of pride, and puts on a mask of passionless counsel, and we immediately captives, having betrayed the weapons and the strength, with which the master prepared us to all war, we disbelieve in the truth and we place ourselves to the father of falsehood, we stand out of the established, we are carried everywhere by the disorderly desires; we seek which it was necessary indeed to receive, but it was not possible to seek, or to seek as it was fitting, by the works themselves and by holding the command. Not was the bond of the law loosened, and immediately the judgment to those having loosened and poverty of the good things succeeds so much wealth and lawlessness fills the earth, and the master is considered an enemy, but the one having fought the master enjoys the things of the master alas; then laws from God and threats and blows and honors and punishments, starting points to return, and wickedness conquering the remedies. But O of the infinite and beyond nature goodness; in excess of wickedness the things of compassion are multiplied, and the master descends to the lost earth about to seek a drachma and about to take up the wandering sheep and about to dissolve the terrible things from envy by the beautiful things from love and about to humble the proud having overthrown and by death and blood about to ransom the captives and about to impart of the life in him and about to fill indeed, which he willed to us being good, but the ones having been established obstacles to us about to exact the greatest penalties; for which these all to become, to the purest virgin of those ever having become, whom he himself kept pure to himself, he is announced to dwell through an angel and according to human law he is conceived in her, without seed indeed, but the spirit having shown her womb fruitful of the one giving life to all, and this the great mystery of the economy takes beginning.

55.Up to these things to us also concerning these things the discourse, since also with these we celebrate today; for the discourse belongs to the celebration, but the celebration belongs to the gospels, but these have such the power, as much as weakness of mind and of words to touch the greatest things and all power of mind and of word surpassing. O what mind will behold the compassion of the one having been conceived? What word will hymn the purity of the one having conceived? Who will worthily bless the ferryman of the messages and to whom the things of that truly golden embassy have been entrusted? O how much pleasure held the Virgin having heard those great things beyond expectation and almost before hearing having suffered, such as something happens to those if anything else being eager to turn these very things in mind and tongue. O of all best day, which as some statue and adornment of itself and ambition all time has brought, no longer to be honored a just cessation; for this alone both beginning of salvation and cessation of sin; this by much the middle surpasses that, according to which the nature of men has been fashioned, for then not at all having brought in (for nowhere before we were) the master deemed worthy of those good things, now also having hated the benefactor and having shown the things of the enemies; and then of the terrible things from wickedness being unknown, now however by experience having learned the difficult things; without these also both to fashion from clay the beginning, but now to re-fashion from himself of the same having partaken to us; and then remaining upon the worth to bestow so many things, now however humbling himself and descending together to honor so many things, adds much to the day of the re-fashioning towards pleasure and glory.

56.And indeed not only that day this conquers, but also towards all together the yoked to that and equal in honor it contends nobly and strives to be better than all; for not only it re-fashions man, but also transforms all creation and alone has been able the things of all; for it was necessary conversely towards indeed the man to have been fashioned the works of the other days to be sought, but towards all nature to have been re-fashioned the accomplishment of this alone to suffice. Whence since it was not yet necessary the mystery to shine forth, but it was necessary to take remaining beginning and seed and spark, and this it was fitting to have been shown to beings seed-like, of three being to which this all is carried together, of angels, of men and of this bodily creation, the Virgin alone having received held the beautiful things of the race, in time about to add to the others and about to show the treasure being hidden in her, but Gabriel alone served these things, which to all angels it was a work of prayer to see and to learn, who to them once also inquiring will answer and will dissolve the difficulty, of the master returning with trophies and of the symbols of the victory of the marks of the flesh, but time, which works out the movement of bodies and which moves the other of bodies, brought in only that day about to see, which also to all the other will be of greatest pleasure hypothesis to those having learned these things from that; rather to say, instead of all these the Virgin sufficed to the one having agreed as if expressly having been put forward by this all; for what was necessary the distinguished these natures to seek, it being possible one and the same instead of all to have been taken up, both being an angel and a man and wearing a body, and each of these with how much not even it is possible to say of the excess? Thus the day of the gospels did not only imitate those first and creators of this all, but also has conquered, not only by the multitude and greatness of the beautiful things from this, but also indeed by the alone to suffice towards all those things. Therefore, also if someone would say all the world to have become from that day and to refer the graces of God to the creation especially towards this as some genuine and first beginning, I think he will not fall far from the truth; for when the world from there what it is is called rightly, disorder previously and confusion of which, of the word having retreated from everywhere, also to enjoy the divine graces immovably has become to all from that.

57.But not only the days before it but also all the later this conquers, and having prevailed over the best in each time, also holds the remaining immediately having been subdued. For an angel once later also evangelized to women having come to the tomb of the incarnate sitting beside the stone the expected resurrection of the master and through those to the disciples and through these again to all men, but those were gospels of victory and of the master indeed having been raised, of the tyrant however having been abolished, great indeed and what not greater towards pleasure, but to those having received also before having been heard having been expected; but which Gabriel came bringing to the Virgin on that day, were gospels of peace and of unhoped-for reconciliation and of the barrier of the enmity having been removed, without which not even the contests on behalf of us the master would have entered and would have taken away that brilliant victory. Therefore, by how much the to be reconciled the master justly being angered than the to use as genuine, already the accusations having been dissolved, and to do and to suffer all things on behalf of the friends greater into account of pleasure and wonder and the appearing beyond hope of the long ago expected, by so much these of those gospels more wonderful and of the day having brought those the one having learned these and having taught.

58.But indeed also of the second coming of the savior, which he himself promised to us immediately, of the beautiful things from there what beginning someone would place before that day, according to which he

arrived the first time? For if he will come judging, of necessity he came legislating, and he would not very much demand an account of life, not first himself having been established a paradigm of life. And indeed that will have something also of necessity (for it is necessary the good indeed to have been taken up to the honors, and of which they were doing all things, of these to enjoy sometime, but the wicked to pay penalties of wickedness the wicked; for these the exactness of justice demands, but the one about to judge postponed to that day), but the first and now being honored to us is suspended of the goodness of God alone and has nothing of necessity having been yoked together; and that will call to the kingdom those having been sent as it is possible royally and will set forth the feast to those wearing a wedding garment, and to those having worked the vineyard will give back the fitting reward to the toils, and will strive something more than the worth, but this having loosed the bonds and having removed the middle wall of the enmity, assigned all those things to those willing to take with eagerness and toil, and having plucked out all terrible from the root, promised immediately the good things indeed, but set forth in hopes not at all shaming those having hoped well. And indeed the first coming of the savior had a limit the first decisions against the wicked, although by many and great things having been honored from God, for which it was necessary to be grateful, and having behaved violently no one would say it was necessary to obtain forgiveness; then however they will give the last penalties, and no longer there will be anything about to move the divine votes. How therefore not also from here someone would know, that of the greatest things the master deemed worthy men having been incarnate, and having willed to grant, he sent forth nothing greater, for which indeed also it is necessary those having been disposed in any way to these to enjoy also the last and neither to those being honored nor being punished a limit to have become; in addition to these also the master to have deemed worthy to come in humility and in form of a servant and the judge to have stood before unjust judges rather than the to return with glory and to judge the world what would not rather move to wonder? Thus this also of that brilliant day has something more of pleasure and wonder in addition to the to have become first and to preserve order of beginning towards that; this having given back the master to us and having sent forth the starting points of the good things from there, also added the providence of the Virgin, and now the Virgin is another mediator to the mediator not daring indeed on behalf of us; but not completing, of the master granting to this? Therefore, all men honor this day indeed through life, and of some good it being necessary to be reminded, to this immediately they are led by the memory, not having to what rather they would be carried; today however they do all things on behalf of it, even if nothing worthy of it; for it was necessary just as the day of the gospels, once having shown forth the beginning of the good things, not yet also now from that ceases benefiting all, thus indeed also those having suffered well by it always to be reminded of this; but especially of all days is accustomed to bear a type of that, this especially also to honor and to celebrate on behalf of the all having appeared to them and themselves becoming all things.

59.Let us therefore also celebrate according to the revolution of time and to us this greatest of celebrations having come; let us honor the day of the gospels, rather ourselves by the honors to this; let us sacrifice to this mind and word, the most precious of all things from us, nor let us spare even money; for also by these it is necessary to greet the one having become poor on behalf of us putting forward the hands of the poor; let us shake off the weight from matter and let us become light; for it is necessary us to ascend to heaven, on behalf of which the master deemed worthy to descend to earth. Let not each according to himself make so great an economy inactive being wicked also after it and being guarded to the fire; let us hate

the one having warred against us from the beginning and the lieutenant forces of that one. The master fenced off the enemy to us, having loosed the middle wall of sin, and again armed against him; therefore, not having made to him again accessible the things against us, let us not erect another middle wall separating us from the master worse than before. It is better therefore to honor the feast by the works themselves; however, it is necessary also to announce the pleasure by external symbols and by all which we have to show the venerable of the celebration and to appear completely having been captured by this. Let us leap therefore, let us dance, by height of voice and by clapping of hands let us publicize the inner joy; let us hymn the goodness of God, because of so many good things he gushed forth rivers to us, having flooded the sea of sin; let us cry out the accomplishments of the Virgin. Where indeed also the ranks of the angels will touch together with us of the dance and of the songs moving circularly and striking up a noetic melody, and just as in the very matters they were communicating the benefit to us, so also now in the memory of the matters they will share the pleasure to us and celebrate together. But also it is possible to see the seasons bringing in the most beautiful of themselves to the celebration just as also then first to the king arriving; for now already the face of the earth is being renewed and all things proceed to increase and through all things come the things of brightness putting off the gloom from the previous season. But also if some wicked nature confined by deep darkness, of the sun of righteousness having risen, also bewailing the abolition of the tyranny becomes addition of joy to those having been deceived and having been tyrannized by that, and just as that was rejoicing in our misfortunes, so also we consider its overthrow and abolition not small into pleasure, not because having become bad rejoicing, but because the justice pursued those having been perverted and having perverted and subjected to the penalties belonging to wickedness. All things co-work the celebration to us, all things rejoice together, all things leap, the one on behalf of us, the other on behalf of themselves, since also all things the master having come upon earth has benefited together with us; all things honor the Virgin, having been honored more than all by God; all things know graces to her, since also he has benefited all. Therefore, all nature leads a common celebration with us and all brings gifts to the master and to his mother the most precious things from among themselves, but we let us strive to surpass the things from all; for to us came first the grace, we also first and most of the good things enjoyed, from us to the others passed the things of pleasure and of benefit; the master has loved us so exceedingly, as also to communicate flesh to us and of passions and of insults to have endured on behalf of us and to have sent forth the soul, the greatest thing. It is clear therefore that all things from us will come after the matters, and all whatever we might devise into grace, it will have no account towards the excess of the things having been ministered; however, of the proportionate to the power it is necessary not to stand away from nothing nor to refuse the contribution, not having how we might preserve the exactness. The master demands gratitude from us; he does not need of nothing from us, who giving all things to all, nor needs indeed of this to give. He knows therefore the weakness, but the judgment of us it would be also to show to the one knowing.

60.But O what someone would name you the one surpassing all mind and word, O Virgin and mother beyond all virgins and mothers, O alone of those upon earth having appeared worthy of God and having been honored by the greatest honors by him and having astonished all nature by the paradoxes according to you? You indeed immediately from the beginning both yourself having chosen all whatever venerable and precious and having obtained the inclination from above, as without which nothing it is to accomplish, not only you made yourself intimate to the master, but also indeed you were able manifestly to save all men,

having brought in the infinite and having contained the uncontainable to all and having connected nature to the master, to whom you were connected first yourself, and of which the emptying of the Word of God became good things to us, both matter and instrument and end you yourself were seen and second after the first cause. And now we through you children of God and sons of light and of day and farmers and inhabitants of the mystical paradise, if not again recklessness stirs up the grace, for which to you also from all of us all grace is owed; for if also not at all having obtained of your holiness and purity, we would justly have been moved towards your honors both gratifying the one having honored and you and by the greatness of the virtue not enduring to envy the fitting rewards, we indeed also those having seemed to please God in any way, although of your purity as much as heaven earth manifestly being left behind, we consider shameful not to honor, where so much having granted and having given back bodies and souls to us the according to you of the holding free misfortunes had no account and us being wicked not to owe the greatest grace? And indeed to us considering the goodness of God and the compassion concerning us the things towards you the Virgin become second after the equal reverence and of the same pleasure. We are able therefore not even this to show well, that towards contribution we are not at all able, thus to us both mind and word and all things to seem to bring in something to those having benefited is naturally completely less; however, all the coming according to power becomes common to you and to the common master from us, as much into account of return and grace, thus we greet you the after God our benefactor both by the greatest and smallest the same, the one if someone would reckon the worth, the other if he would look towards the natural. These however worthless things from us to you the greatest are brought in all time, but today much more, because also today you received the gospels of the coming of the savior, from which we returned to God and to ourselves, having been established far from God and ourselves; and the discourse also is belonging to you to the mother of the Word and celebrated the salvation of us, having been able few things, but of you not manifestly helping, not even so much having been strong.

61.But if while celebrating it is not discordant also together to pray and to bring supplications to the one readily granting all things, we, O Virgin and Theotokos, neither are ignorant of the benefactor nor do we value the gift small, and we wish indeed to be saved, but many things from many places stand against us and extinguish the spark of eagerness, which the more courageous by far it is necessary to move from virtue and to persuade them to become deniers of the things having been well known, but not small to the more reckless becomes a pretext, who are the most of men, being laid together with their recklessness and placing the way towards virtue exceedingly steep. Therefore, to the other of men wishing to be saved the weakness of the flesh wars manifestly opposing the spirit, but to our race the war from many places, from the own passions, from the alien, from the external enemies, from the inner hardship, so that, of all to whom the grace of the economy shone forth both praying and wishing to be saved, it is in danger to be paltry the one about to be saved and by far much more paltry among us, whom the circumstances press more than the others; but also to have used the divine doctrines for discord and to war against each other having been set in motion from the same beginnings and the other things except one certain of the sought happening, so that to be in danger at least through these those contending to lose the capital of salvation, of the others having been established upon safe and holding the truth directly, what stone would not move to grief? Let us be silent that also of polytheism not yet having been cut by the emptying of the word, of the old and first of the human diseases, falsehood brought forth other heads by so much worse, by how much also exceedingly

absurd and in addition to the falsehood having the unreason as signs. And alas the impure seemed a prophet and the nonsense a law and the everywhere un-established things were established and to which nothing is more than of dreams, also of these having been disturbed and which it is likely to see to the deranged; and now from that the most of the earth the races of the impious distributed and as some gangrene the wandering takes pasture and makes all the world up and down both bodies and souls of those still yesterday being healthy each day spending and consuming. Nothing less than these strangles and tears those seeing, both taking some pity of the brothers, and fearing on behalf of themselves. And the truth conquers indeed and after so much opposition of falsehood, conquers however being conquered, it being necessary it to conquer in every way; for these terrible things dried up every fountain of tears by the excesses, and being seen indeed are disbelieved, but being believed cast into astonishment before to move into grief and as some stones they establish having been frozen and by silence alone and trembling convicting the passion, so that not even to have need of the divine remains to us on behalf of the deliverance of these, and this together with lamenting having completely lost by the greatness of the misfortune.

62.Are therefore to so many alone the paradoxes become to those being purely pious, but in the doctrines concerning God and the divine not at all limping, not yet however having accomplished something, if not also having fled all the world together and themselves as some plotters and enemies, and these thus exceedingly attracting, thus they would preserve all the likely? On behalf of so many of those being able this were innovated natures and paradise is opened long ago having been closed? On behalf of thus few this all of the servitude endures and not yet takes the change to the better nor arrives to the freedom of the glory of the children of God," which Paul says? By far it is necessary these to belong to the wisdom and goodness of God and to your compassion and to our hopes, as much as someone would conjecture concerning these a man of whom also the depths of the judgments of God not knowing, rather of the good things those conquering all mind and reason the others having not likely to enjoy; thus however to be some very few those having been prepared towards those and to be so much poverty of the army of Christ, this troubles our reasonings and prepares to say these things. Therefore, let us not be tyrannized thus by the matters; either let the circumstances be loosed, if also not all, at least some, or let nothing hinder us towards salvation having taken unconquerable and unwarlike the thinking and being able to suffer nothing by them. Let the pretexts towards sin be removed; let the entrances towards wickedness be closed. But some difficulty is necessary also to the acquisition of virtue, so that not the beautiful without reward; few of the difficult from many will suffice to exercise the judgment; now however it is not possible to run with so many bonds, and before to have desired the beautiful, an army of oppositions having appeared, led away all to the contrary. Let civil strifes and disturbances and fullness of anger against the co-born be loosed to all Christians, but to us both the threats and blows from the impious and the terrible things at home, by which to us each day the matters become worse. Let the church of Christ take peace again, and having been divided badly, let it be gathered together well; for there is not what good peace will not succeed, just as of the inauspicious nothing the battle sent forth un-devised. Let peace take hold of the world and agreement of judgments and of doctrines, all strife and contention having been removed; let all know the truth and let them show the actions agreeing with the knowledge; let at least the most appear, even if not all, good; let the beautiful of the economy bestow; let your purpose increase and preparation; for also you yourself will all to be saved and to come to knowledge of truth," emulating the good and philanthropic master. These things are great indeed and what not greater, but

less of the infinite and all conquering mind goodness; these will be gifts indeed of God, but of you having interceded will come to those beseeching these things all men seek indeed, but we most of all, those having been guarded by your protection up to here and being saved by your graces; these we pray, neither to grant difficult to the all powerful nor to you to intercede, of which so much boldness is present, and to the compassion of God belonging and by which having preceded he benefited us. But if we do not know what indeed we ask, the master indeed, in which he rejoices, let him do these things (he rejoices however in the better), but both he would forgive us also on account of these and you, Virgin, being troubled beyond reason; yes Virgin and Theotokos, the only mediator to us to the master having been born from you, to whom belongs all glory honor and worship, with the unoriginate father and the all holy and good and life-giving his spirit, now and always and to the ages of ages amen.

SERMON 2. ON THE PARABLE OF THE PHARISEE AND THE PUBLICAN

2. Sermon on the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee.

† George Scholarius homily on the parable of the publican and the Pharisee.

1.The precipice of pride and the fall from it logically befalling those captured by this most terrible of passions from heavenly judgment, and also the exaltation from God following the humility of mind either through excess of mercy in those turning back from sins or by the balance of justice towards those wisely connecting moderation with their other virtues, the master of us often narrated to the disciples both teaching and legislating and to all those about to be brought to him through them, and also set forth the other all way of salvation summarily indeed, but easily grasped and clearly by the order of the legislations; and separately indeed often he legislated such things to the disciples, but on the mountain, also of many crowds from Galilee and from many places elsewhere having ascended together with him. Therefore, towards the disciples he did not need parables towards the reception of the divine mysteries having been prepared by own choice and by the grace of the one having called, and to the crowds he allowed to be present then also being compassionate upon them "as having been cast away like sheep not having a shepherd"; for those seeming to shepherd worse than wolves and every wild beast attacked their souls. Therefore, knowing them cautiously and with pleasure to receive that heavenly legislation and very much to wonder, he did not refuse both to be present together with the disciples and to listen together to this; and they showed also the caution by deed, both having been astonished at the height of the teaching and having exceedingly wondered at the boldness; for the scribes rather were corrupting them by flatteries, by these buying the gains from them. Therefore, thus to the disciples the gate of the mysteries was being opened, through which the kingdom of the heavens was about to become accessible and passable; but to Pharisees and scribes the word of truth was being set forth in parables; for to leave them completely untaught would not have belonged to the master's philanthropy, through which he did not let go nothing nor lets go of the care concerning the children leaving to their choice the completion of this by works, but to set forth clear the lessons of piety he judged wisely to pass by; for they were not about to see, even of things being manifestly set forth to them, nor hearing to understand, having been made useless the psychic senses by the worthlessness of the choice. Whence instead of benefit also rather thus they would have been harmed, on account of the most shameless disobedience paying manifold penalties; thus also he advised to the disciples, neither to cast the holy things to the dogs from much benevolence, nor the pearls to the swine.

2.Concerning therefore the other laws and doctrines of our master, by which he was urging towards virtue then the disciples, but was turning away from wickedness, and now he does these things to those believing and following by deed, both other times towards the hearing of them are determined and words of the teachers happening to each of the times; but the parable according to the Pharisee and the publican is a hypothesis of this most sacred day; this also we now undertaking, both the purpose of the one having spoken we will clarify, as it is possible, of himself co-working, and the will of the holy church, which as some announcement wove this together with the entrance of the fasts, providing for the good fruitfulness of the children. But concerning pride and humility is the purpose of the parable to the master, to the one willing to drive out indeed that from the human souls as cause of all evils, but to bring in this to them as ransom indeed being of all trouble from the sins and giving back of divine graces, addition however of good things to those

with the other virtues also practicing this as a seal; and they are manifest indeed also here by the parable this purpose, except not so as also to be made manifest to those having been seized by the darkness of pride; but the good listeners of the divine laws by the things having been said towards the disciples clearly also are ready to see together the parabolic word.

3.Since therefore with much prayerful assiduity and not to faint in the temptations he advised, at the same time also putting forward the hope of the not ever to return empty those fleeing to God as it is necessary, there were however some, whom he knew trusting upon themselves as being righteous and despising the others, which indeed is a great hindrance towards the to obtain of the prayer (for of the proud God does not hear), and he convicts these by deed indeed not yet known to those (for they would not have obtained of such a judgment), but by manifest persons; for what to Jews was more known than Pharisees and publicans, of whom the Pharisees indeed for virtue were sung about everywhere and they deemed worthy of greatest honors, but the publicans for wickedness were being cried out? For Pharisee is interpreted "separated," and this is, consecrated to God and having been separated from the many by exactness of life and trustworthiness; but publican was the one buying the public taxes, determined indeed to those ruling the public things and selling these, but to those buying indefinite; for adding they demand and increasing, of the masters allowing to do this moderately into return of their diligence concerning the collection and of the to pre-pay altogether the price of the purchase; but they by unbearable additions press the taxpayers, and if they see someone resenting something at the evil, they strike with heavier burdens; and there are whom also by slanders they strip plundering. And what is necessary to list the extreme inhumanity of the publicans? And in the former time the demands of the public contributions were not being farmed out among Jews, but were being entrusted to righteous souls, of the returns of such service not from the taxpayers, but from those sending to them being measured; since however they became under Romans, the rulers of Jerusalem and of the land around it would not have had to entrust such things to the co-tribesmen, and to strangers and not knowing how they might serve well to the collection of the taxes, but Jews were buying the office, not being compelled rather choosing and making the servitude of the co-born a pretext of own base gain and willing to press the co-believers by more impious additions; for if they did not very much choose these beforehand, by other ways the rulers then were about to make the demand of the taxes lighter, having used the chosen of the locals as advisors, nor would they have had to force someone not willing to be a publican. But from home they were rushing to this absurdity twisted souls and neither fearing God nor respecting the reproaches from the more cautious among the co-believers; for not on account of the base gain and of the unjust destruction of the poor they hated them rather, than because they were enslaved to other religions and tyrannies, judaizing only by the calling. And our master brought forth the judgment concerning them fitting to the most worthless "for if you love," he says, "those loving you and you greet only your friends, what reward will you have" as doing something exceeding even the most wicked? "Do not also the publicans do the same?" clearly of all worse by the choice, as long as they are publicans, as long as they hold to the wickedness un-returnably.

4.Therefore, having set forth two as in an example, Pharisee and publican, the ones most having stood apart by the customs (for it was equal then to say indeed Pharisee and the best among men, publican however, and the worst), upon them the fall in the prayers from the proud reasonings and penalty and the gain from the humility he sets forth; for it was necessary to him then concerning the things contributing to the prayer or harming not only to narrate to the disciples, to whom then he was advising the prayer, but also

to benefit the proud being present there if they would have been willing to be persuaded, to convict however and to rebuke those being disposed incurably. "They ascended therefore," he says, "both Pharisee and publican to pray." And if the Pharisee was prudent and having a restrained mind and having chosen the Pharisaic order according to God, much exceeding the other sects among Jews, he would not have justified himself, he would not have narrated the virtues, but confessing the deviations, of which no one would have been completely delivered, and asking forgiveness upon these, he would have had God attending to him favorably and rewarding him the moderation upon the virtues the prize of the humility on behalf of the sins and exalting him. But what does he say instead of these praying? "O God, I thank you, that I am not as the rest of men, rapacious, unjust, adulterers," and he adds upon all the publican as exceeding the others by the wickedness; and he takes away together with himself indeed also the other Pharisees, not himself alone he sets before all men, and except the co-ranked, he says to have been separated of all the rest, defining with himself and with the Pharisees alone both the virtue and the humanity, but placing the others as some remnant of the true humanity of being filled them of all wickedness.

5.Well indeed, O Pharisee, you separate these from the true men, as long as they are such; for man properly is the one having lived according to reason, the one preserving well in himself the divine image, the one knowing himself well and his own order towards God and towards his neighbor, and through this not at all being placed to the corruption of his own order, but doing all things how it might be preserved. But where indeed also you are now numbered with those poor, if also not with the same, but serving other and worse evils? But if you wished to be reckoned with the true men, you would have been with the disciples of Jesus, who being God eternally became also man for us. If you were understanding with his disciples, you would have heard him saying: “When you do all the things having been commanded, then say that we are unprofitable servants,” and seeing them keeping the law of the teacher, you would have also kept yourself; you would have been then a true Pharisee and having by deed the calling verifying, nor would you have such a foundation to be spread under to your prayer wind-blown and being able rather to pull you down. Why however do you thank God concerning which you boast yourself as having from home indeed? For these things are boasting, not thanksgiving, not prayer, but condemnation of the rest of men. You would thank therefore more intimately to God, because he endures now your shameless conceit just as of their rapaciousness and adultery. Why also adding this publican here, if also he was worse than the others by wickedness? Do you not see him now not even daring to approach the sacred places being crushed by the conscience of the sins nor willing to raise the eyes to heaven and striking the breast? Do you not hear him confessing the sins with much bitterness and vehement compunction invoking the divine mercy? Where indeed now he is not a publican, but a suppliant of God and fugitive. Whence he will return having been justified, having been healed by the medicine of repentance and by the confession of the transgressions, and God will exalt the one having been humbled from home philanthropically; but you exalting yourself, from there you will be humbled justly. Why do you see the speck that is in the eye of your brother, but the beam that is in your own eye do you not perceive? What beam is more weighty and greater than pride? For this made the first of the angels from light darkness, from blessed becoming ill-fated; this piled up the much swarm of misfortunes to the first seeds of our nature. Perhaps also hearing David: “Turn away from evil and do good,” you did not love by the to speak boldly concerning the abstaining from the evils, but also you added the working of the good things. Well therefore you followed David in indeed turning away the

worthless things, but doing the useful things; but by to vaunt thus orderly and demonstratively to announce these things you departed from the good teacher; for on the contrary he was doing praying. The one full of all virtue, the prophet, whom God said to have found a man according to his heart, called himself a worm and not a man, so much he was far from to set himself before the other men; he was confessing the words of his sins and the forms to be far from his salvation, so much he was far to boast by good deeds.

6.Why however do you bring into the midst the to fast twice of the Sabbath and the to tithe all things? These by nature are boasts not of your own life, but fulfillments of the rules of the order, to which you were ordered willingly; these also all the multitude of the Pharisees keeps according to promise; for through this also they are called Pharisees. Therefore, not these alone you were owing to fulfill similarly to the others, of whom you chose the order and consecrated, but also to serve God by own good things. Perhaps also vainly you boast upon these, serving wicked wills by pretexts of virtues; for you tithe rue and mint and all herb, the easy and manifest to the many; but which you acquire concealing the many, you keep undiminished. Perhaps also you tithe all things indeed, but not which you have, but which you acquire to the existing. Therefore, you tithe indeed as you say, but you pass by the judgment, the mercy, the divine love to speak simply. You fast twice of the Sabbath, but you cleanse the outside of the cup and of the plate, but the inside of you is full of most terrible conceit and wickedness; for you are not able to understand or rather you do not will, that not the entering defiles man, but the going out of his heart and of the mouth. And you do alms indeed, but towards the to be seen you trumpet; for it was necessary not even your left hand to know the work of the right. Then to the men you make manifest the virtues, hunting the praise from them, and you look gloomy fasting and you resound having mercy; why also to God you make manifest through tongue to the one knowing all things, who knows you also before to become such, neither committing adultery, as you say, and still fasting? Or as to the one ignorant you teach, fearing lest you might fail of the rewards? But you would know more justly, boasting rather in the weaknesses of the choice and of nature and confessing these, not teaching also the one ignorant these, but being pricked only by the confession of these and being humbled.

7.Therefore, the one having been separated from all the others by the virtues, and of the scribes themselves, of those having the first order in the laws, departed of the prayer without gain, and has fallen indeed seeming to stand, but became poor thinking to be rich; but the publican praying with humility and confession of the transgressions found the justification; and the one by the medicine of repentance fled the most severe disease, but the other by the poison of pride was mortified terribly; and the one did not despair of the divine mercy by the excess of the wickedness nor seeing from near the Pharisee praying with so much confidence he despaired, but the other not only upon the acquisition of the good things and the flight of the sins, as being from home not from the divine grace, he was lifted up by the reasoning, but also of that poor it being necessary to grieve exceedingly and to beseech to God cautiously, he was mentioned as hating and condemning and the one the virtue raised having been lifted up foolishly by the reasoning, but the other by the conscience of the sin was bent down wisely. Therefore, also the one having been lifted up from home was humbled terribly, but the one having been humbled by him the divine mercy exalted, Truly pride is the greatest of all evils; but if humility is opposed indeed to it, and measure to each of the opposites the other, reasonably therefore also humility is the greatest of the virtues; therefore also it has been said: “The Lord opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble”; for to those he opposes and very justly, as themselves first opposing him, but to those being humbled he measures back the mercy; for not by account of justice they

demand the exaltation nor they try to seize being postponed to time, but freely and by gift they pray to be delivered of the owed penalty.

8.Therefore, as also perpetually these things thus becoming from God, and by pride indeed of the divine justice becoming active, but of humility drawing towards the heavenly benevolence, by the example of these our master led indeed the disciples to the exact way of prayer, but to those untamed ones, who were praying trusting more in their seeming works than in the philanthropy of God, he cast down the mind and the arrogance and showed them worse than publicans. Not by teachings alone these things to the disciples and to the others by parables, but also by the works themselves the son of God having been humbled on behalf of us showed, the one having suffered on behalf of the sinners in sinless and spotless assumption, and repentance and humility, being fruits of love and of prudent judgment, he deemed worthy of many gifts, and to those having loved more he forgave more; these however are the ones having been completely defeated by the temporary pleasures having become fugitives from the love of the master and father and having been completely broken off, then from repentance having hated the passionate life and having returned to the divine love, having been emboldened this by the manifest philanthropy.

9.Showing forth this divine philanthropy and providence to the children also our mother church introduces this parable to us in the entrances of the fasts as pre-announcing well the fruitfulness about to happen to us from there to those praying and fasting prudently, just as on the contrary all things to those being disposed contrarily. And the benefit from this forty-day fast she will show opportunely by other commandments of the sacred gospels and words of divinely inspired men, both her leading and being already present and being accomplished; but today she shows the way of true prayer and regulates the mind of those fasting, so that neither being sinners to cast away the hope from repentance of the to be saved, nor to be lifted up accomplishing virtue.

10.Let us hear therefore, what the church of Christ proclaims everywhere to the children today. You will fast indeed, O children, she says, fulfilling our law and you will dedicate the fast to the master Christ, who became to you leader of such continence upon himself, having fasted for this alone. But he indeed without food, without drink, without shelter, in deserts (for he was able), and to those having fasted thus once the power he himself from heaven was the one providing; but you each according to power will practice continence, passing by nothing of the possible. And end indeed of the fast is the enslavement of the passions in you and of the enemy of your salvation arousing these in you and removing from the submission to the reason; for by leader to our master you will flee both the terrible of gluttony and the of love of money and the of pride, the greater, by which most of the others our creator is provoked; for not only of the divine love these are able to remove us, but also from there as from some roots rises up all wickedness. But the time of the fast also will be a time of prayer; for prayer needs of divine fear and longing and intense reasoning and of memory indeed of sins and of much compunction upon them and of warmer tears, but of supplication concerning them intense and close and of unwavering thought, but a filled belly is in no way able to have nothing of these; therefore neither is there prayer with such a belly. Concerning therefore such hindrances of prayer our master advises nothing to the disciples, making the discourse concerning this; for it was necessary them practicing continence by good example also to live thus until the end and to make provision of the flesh towards no desire; but he advises them perpetually to pray, and being tempted still more to pray, nor to faint in the temptations and by the listlessness from them to blunt the eagerness as despairing; for if also it is

possible to see a judge, he says, even if very much corrupt he is by the judgment, yielding at least by time towards a widow assiduously attending and avenging her the judge of the injustice, how the guardian of justice, the all-good creator and father, will not be avenger of the chosen children to him beseeching him with much assiduity, if also he is long-suffering temporarily, exercising the faith of those being tempted very wisely? But just as he does not connect the discourse concerning continence to the advice concerning perpetual prayer, thus neither the not to boast by the working of good things and to despise the others; for the disciples were far also from such customs, long ago attending to such a leader and having been illuminated by the rays from there; but teaching others being present then, he adds these things also by parable.

11.Passing over therefore also to you, O children, with all the sacred instructions also this teaching, both it is necessary always to pray and to invoke the divine mercy praying fittingly, but especially in this time of the fast. And the not to abstain from prayer by pretext of transgressions, publican teaches us; but how it is necessary to pray, Pharisee, rather our master by the according to them example drives away the device from wickedness against us all-wisely. For the enemy of our salvation from the beginning both envying and if possible willing to destroy all with himself, what does he devise? If he sees some, either having sinned once, those living earnestly the previous time, or chronically dwelling in various sins, he suggests to them the reasoning of despair, so that those indeed fearing the shame of the change not to dare to approach to repentance, but those by the multitude of the sins and greatness prohibiting the forgiveness from God to be bound to them perpetually; but whom he would see turning away indeed from the works of wickedness, but attending only to the good things, he tries to despoil by other methods, of which the greater and worse is the of pride. But our master delivers from such devices in many ways, making the salvation of the creature as father and creator a work, nor is it to narrate and to go through the providence of the good father concerning us and the instructions concerning humility or repentance everywhere by the words and also by the works of the divine gospels. But now for the need of the days and our purpose concerning you the children the hypothesis of this parable will suffice; and then Pharisee was being introduced by the parable and publican accordingly to both the time and to the concerning each glory of the Jews into account of virtue and of wickedness, but now righteous indeed instead of Pharisee, but sinner instead of publican let it be said, fulfilling completely the same need to those names.

12.Therefore, if someone is righteous, as being consecrated to God and fulfilling well the defined rule by the order, and from home also adding if he might be able something, or associating indeed with the many, but taking care well as possible of the life according to reason and law, neither by the enjoyments of the evils, nor by the earnestness concerning the good things let him boast, nor as a debt let him demand salvation, nor trusting excessively upon himself through these things, let him despise the others, nor let him judge another's servant (for these are offspring of pride, but beginning of all sin is pride), but let him consider and call himself an unprofitable servant, and not the workings of the good things, but rather let him consider the deficiencies, of which no one among men is free (“for no one is good except one, God”); and of which indeed he accomplishes, let him refer the grace silently to God, not as himself doing, but as of him giving (for without him we are not able to do, and from him to us is both the willing and the working), but of the deficiencies let him give the cause only to himself, and let him be humbled confessing these. Let him not look gloomy fasting nor let him trumpet having mercy, hunting the praises from the men; correcting himself in the

transgressions, let him confess grace to the one admonishing; let him not be hardened defending himself; let him be subjected to the greater ones and let him follow the votes of those, by which he sees the more and wiser being placed; to speak simply, let him be pure of all proud reasoning and word and work, but in all ways let him practice the beautiful of humility. Thus foreseeing God in his right hand, he will not be shaken towards the communion of the works and customs of the better ones.

13.If someone is a sinner, even if by ten thousand transgressions he is liable, let him not at all despair of salvation, but let him repent well, and then let him approach to Christ. And what is the according to reason and genuine repentance? Let him cease of the sin; let him promise, no longer to fall around to it; let him confess perpetually, by contrition of heart and by tears and by beatings of the breast and by inclinations of the head to the ground and by the counter-balances through the good works for the opposite things of the opposites are remedies, a law of medicine concerning the passions both of the soul and of the flesh. If he does thus, he will find mercy the master, he will obtain forgiveness from the philanthropic father; "for turn back," he said, "to me, and I will turn back to you," and "he did not come to call righteous, but sinners to repentance," and he justified a publican having repented and exalted him more, thus having been humbled, which he both guaranteed by words and taught, having fulfilled by deed; for what is higher than apostle and evangelist and of the truth to the world herald and having suffered many things on behalf of it with much philosophy, into which order Matthew from the publican meanness was raised? Thus it is necessary you to fast, thus to pray, thus all good will meet to you from the master, and he will loose indeed of the trouble of the sins doing thus, but he will fortify in the practice of the good things and will advance to greater the ones with humble mind seeking the visitation from him and he will deem worthy of the blessed life, of which in order to obtain, he both fashioned before and again refashioned. Such things our mother the church of Christ proclaims to us today through this parable; such things she promises, becoming to us guarantor of them, but herself having guarantor the lord of us Jesus Christ, our creator and liberator and savior; to whom belongs glory to the ages; amen.

SERMON 3. ON THE PARABLE OF THE PRODIGAL SON

3. Sermon on the parable of the Prodigal Son.

† George Scholars homily on the parable of the prodigal, and concerning repentance.

1.The grumbling of the Pharisees and scribes at the gentleness towards the publicans, beginning to suggest to themselves first a good thing, the to approach to our master with caution and to feast upon the teaching from there, did not hinder the sinners and publicans to proceed to their advantage, nor did it turn them away from that most beautiful and fortunate nearness; it benefited therefore those sufficiently having received pledges concerning the divine philanthropy, which repentance has to bring about to those turning back to God from their own wickednesses, but it moved our master to our consolation by greater and more vehement zeal, for the sake of which also he connected those parables; for not only the then present sinners and publicans, but indeed also us and all those from there until even now faithfully attending to his divine words and until the consummation about to attend he leads the souls wonderfully by the hopes concerning his philanthropy, if only we would choose the turning back through repentance by all possible ways. And the angels rejoice upon one sinner repenting, the master of the angels and of us says; but the Pharisees were mocking the divine word, being enslaved by conceit and love of money and being accustomed to destroy together with themselves and to corrupt together those having been deceived by them and attending as to those being able to benefit and to save; and yet to our master neither were they persuaded and in all ways both openly were they plotting against and lying in wait, nor were they willing to attend to the things, by which clearly the philanthropy of God is proclaimed each day, but at least to the books it was necessary them to believe, of which they were sitting before the others as interpreters; but in these the sympathy and the mercy of God towards those repenting, but the most vehement penalty against those sinning impenitently almost the whole hypothesis is present, and of ten thousand examples of such heavenly philanthropy the time before the divine economy was full as forerunners or preludes of the clearer and greater sympathy after these.

2.But passing by now the other teaching of our savior then, concerning the parable of the two sons alone we will make the whole discourse, of which being read we will hear today. And yet to the Pharisees and scribes from parables the word of the divine benevolence concerning the sinners was being unfolded well, because also to the manifest things they were disbelieving very much being blinded, or also seeing they were not willing to see, and justifying themselves upon the men, as not respecting the all-knowing, they were becoming burdensome to the transgressions of the fellow servants or also brothers, and the fathers among men being philanthropic concerning the children and forgiving to them the former shamelessness, even if it might be long-standing, only they turn back and confess the foolishness they were blaming, sometimes also becoming ambassadors on behalf of such, but they were denying the philanthropy of the common creator and father of all. Therefore, to those through these things for conviction of the inhumanity the parable of the things happening daily among men was being given, but we no longer need of the parable, having very much trusted to the words and works of the master and shaking the hope of salvation by these alone; for not only by the lessons of the divine mysteries having been given by him we obtained this beautiful thing, but also by examples we had him confirming most manifestly, that the forgiveness of the sins having been given previously by him, then immediately he was confirming to both those having received and to all those seeing,

and adding deliverance of manifest evils of the body, just as it was becoming to the paralytic and to many others similarly. Therefore, setting before us our master himself, the father, the guardian, not by parables confirming his philanthropy concerning us, not narrating (for it is indescribable and conquering all mind and word), but thanking we will set forth only, because he not only does it, but also shows by short words, the one being defended by deeds as many hours appearing.

3.Father indeed of our Lord Jesus Christ according to nature is God eternally begetting him, as by nature having brought him forth, not by will, but of us the men father he is both; for he is both also by the looking towards us, because God is one and one nature, even if they are distinguished by the account of the hypostasis; whence each is our father, as personally they are distinguished in themselves, and one they are both father of us, as also one they are God according to nature. But God is father to us by grace, not by nature; for we are works of his will, not of nature. And of all the works of him God is father, but especially of us the men; for to us he gives reason, he makes self-ruling, he sets over all the created things, with body indeed as with instrument he connects, but until heavens he gives to proceed directly by the spirit; he provides perpetually, not for the sake of the to be only temporary and to live, but of the to live eternally and to be immediately with him and enjoying the good things from there, to be blessed together with him the happiness having been given by grace supernaturally not being together by nature. O of the ineffable and all conquering mind and word goodness, because also to be father of his own works and servants he endured, and as to children he now offers himself the creator and master, using towards us by all the paternal method and passing by nothing of it. But the choice of such children was divided in two immediately from the beginning, although by nature very much being connected; let now the first dyad of the men be used, the first seeds of our nature; for they were not indeed brothers, but other concerning those the discourse and various and belonging to other times; but the ones having become from those let us consider in this discourse. Therefore, the human race was divided from them immediately, and God knew beforehand indeed and wanted rather to remain undivided, but he released the use of the given to them good things rather to the choice; for he was not about to take away the freedom of the judgment, the most beautiful of the gifts having been given to them; and it was necessary indeed, as one part of the children will not use well the about to be received, but he did not will, being very good, to give pretext of the flight from the father the not to receive the starting points towards the to live fortunately and befitting to children. Therefore, also he divided the abundance of the good things equally to both the better and to the worse part, also before the choice of each to be known well by deed. Therefore, one of the men neither stood away from God and father and was together perpetually and was serving and was holding to the paternal laws, as it is possible, and by the paternal judgment concerning all things he was satisfied, nor was he demanding knowing nothing, because he will give also to the one not seeking and he will add more to the given and greater; but all the remaining part of the men chose all the contrary to the former order. Therefore, the part of humanity remaining to the father and yielding in all things previously reasonably not only by the order was and is called justly, but also by the paternal and divine purpose; but the one choosing to live self-willed and about to be removed to the extreme wretchedness through this, younger from both sides; for it was innovating to annul the paternal purpose concerning it and it was being moved by childish counsels.

4.Therefore, thus they were divided, although the father having brought forth all equally as about to remain with him, as about to yield in all ways, as not at all about to transgress, as about to bring not only to

themselves but also to the father much glory from such prudence; but of two being towards both the paternal pleasing and the greater hopes from there leading to one end, the extreme blessedness, both of true faith and of customs being straightened by the rule of the reason, the things indeed concerning the faith, as much as older it was also in the older part of the earth, it was attending to God and father not even without the from God pedagogy, but all the younger and rising up after those former times was completely turned away from God and living together with swine; for having fallen out of all the divine gifts by the daily addition of the turning away from there and inhabiting places completely deserted of the divine visitations by the to lie far from Judea, by the various providences from God was being nourished, it was attached to the evil one henceforth to the enemy of human salvation, whom indeed first the wickedness drove out of the paternal land, and that one living a swinish life and by food henceforth handed over that noble possession, rather also he was hungrier than those swine; for they made the food from the unfed a side work of their own apostasy (for how also they were about to be truly nourished by the loss of the divine creature?), but the part of the men being together with them was also deprived of this food and was nourishing the demons rather thus, or this was being rubbed down by those; and they hungering by pretense of food were truly, but this was hungering in all ways. Thus it was doubly the things concerning the faith the dyad of the divine children; but the customs, the most and worse it had by much; for also the believing rightly was departing by the works of the heavenly father. Therefore, also it was being moved by many scourges, rather it was being wearied by the fitting blows, of the paternal visitation withdrawing henceforth from it, because by word indeed it was believing rightly, but by works it was disbelieving transgressing the paternal laws, and thus by various forms of temptations also the seeming to be pious was betrayed, of few among them adding the caution from the works to the faith. So that the children were divided in two then, but of the living ambassadorially being short, all the most was innovating.

5.Such were indeed the things of the former time, as through few the parable also to the former children to be applied; but the after the divine economy let it be considered henceforth more urgently, to which also the things of the parable have been made more akin; for refashioning were the second things after that first fashioning and after the birth rebirth and beginning of second and more perfect life. Therefore, also the medicine of repentance was very weak previously, treasuring salvation, not saving, and sowing it only, not bearing fruit, and having been pursued by few indeed from few then of those being pious, but not yet being able to deliver of the natural corruption, which the flight and hiding of the first seeds from the father handed down. And what is necessary to wonder concerning those believing indeed otherwise, but sinning and repenting then, where indeed also to those having accomplished all things with the faith the virtue the paternal house after these things was closed and to those having corrupted by faith and life they had the same Hades? For not only of the repentance after the transgressions, but also of all personal virtue stronger was the natural deficiency. But it was necessary once the divine and paternal compassion to counterbalance the ancestral and natural heaviness to the former children by their own good things, but of the salvation of those about to be as from another beginning much more paternal henceforth to provide and greater, and the heavenly gate to have been opened henceforth to those accomplishing all the life by the right, but to those repenting through mercy. This indeed also has happened, and the father himself came to pay the owed justice to the children and to loose the natural hindrance and to teach life indeed both by the laws and by the according to himself example both more divine and higher, but to instill unfolded faith instead of the

previously folded and to confirm it in all ways, so that both faith might be by the to be of things not appearing by reason of their height and divinity and again might be firmly established in the souls of those receiving as substance of true things, even if they are not seen, and to make the good of repentance active in those repenting. Therefore, also he urges all having come to repentance, as the kingdom of the heavens being from near, the natural wall having been dissolved, which the previous time was dividing it also those repenting. Therefore, having opened thus to the children the kingdom of the heavens and having prepared the eternal inheritance, he ascended before them there as forerunner, having come for the sake of to do these things and having been humbled through all things until also death, and thus he uses henceforth as brothers and co-formed, not only as children as before. Hence not all men henceforth are and are called children of God, but as many only have been marked by the towards him faith and by the baptism and have partaken of the other gifts from the divine economy, and of these is the division and to these the parabolic mind extends.

6.As upon two therefore of such sons of the heavenly and most philanthropic father let us examine the gift of repentance, having used the very one having given as teacher of this. Of these indeed sons the one having the elder mind remains to the father, well indeed managing the received good things, but extending the striving and the earnestness to the greater things, and he divides his whole life into two beautiful things, bearing fruit indeed to himself and to the father through the laborious cultivation of the beautiful things, but turning the other to the paternal sight by the contemplation; but the remaining having been enslaved to flesh and sense and having been completely filled by childish impulse, stands away indeed from the father, but dwells in places, which the father does not oversee when they have dwelling having least agreed with his will, and there he pours out the given to him wealth of the good things, using it for the fulfillment of the irrational desires. Reason the father has given to him as leader, and this made himself servant to his own passions; law he has set to him, by which he might manage the life well for the joy of the giving and for the attainment of greater good things, and transgressing this he provokes the father perpetually; the very door of eternal life he opened by the faith and by the baptism, but he closed again very terribly by the personal sins; he gathered a heap of sins in soul instead of the multitude of those most beautiful gifts; instead of the father he is enslaved to the enemy, and that one makes him swineherd living together with swine and seeking food and not even being able to have this, so that also of the swine themselves he has become worse and more wretched. Thus the demons honor those being enslaved to their wills.

7.But having become aware late indeed of himself and of the excess of the evils, he confesses indeed in the soul the compassion of the father, which is the first right of the repentance of the children in the paternal philanthropy, as if through disbelief of the paternal goodness to despair of the forgiveness from there and through this to have been turned away until all, is incurable evil and summit of the other transgressions. Therefore, he turns back to the father very much emboldened; he confesses the sin with much contrition first indeed having been conceived in the heart to him and before to approach to the father, then having been manifested both by form and by tongue; no longer he asks for the filial order, but he makes great gift the hireling, if at least of this he might be judged worthy; he chooses to serve warmly instead of the freedom, which he lost foolishly, and by the labors of the servitude to counterbalance that impious ease. He used badly indeed the given to him good things; for when it was not necessary and to whom it was not necessary and how it was not fitting, he spent those (for this is the work of prodigality); but to the paternal commands again he subjects all the will, which is the work of those hiring themselves. But the most

philanthropic father, having seen him approaching from afar, does not resent, does not turn away the sights, does not send those pursuing, does not close the door, does not allow indeed to stand near, but reproaches the flight very justly, does not accuse the dishonor, which not only to himself the son, but also to the father he rubbed off indeed, he blames him nothing at all; therefore, he immediately confirms and strengthens the hope having been implanted indeed in the soul of the son concerning the paternal compassion and shows it verifying to such a father by both running before to meet and to receive and by the humility of the son to be humbled together and by embrace to show forth the paternal love. And the son does not deem worthy, also seeing such gentleness, still to be called son, but the father also gives to him the signs of the sonship; for he clothes again the former robe from the baptism, of which he was stripped by the personal sins, of repentance having become to him instead of second bath; he seals the hand by the ring, so that to the demons henceforth unapproachable being recognized from afar; he prepares with sandals for the way of obedience, having made him again wayfarer towards the salvation; he deems him worthy of the mystical and spiritual food, and he makes himself table companion of this. O of greatest sympathy; o of philanthropy ineffable and conquering all mind and word; by this also heaven rejoices and the servants standing near to the father; for servants of God also the ranks of the angels, not only sons, when towards the administration of this all and especially the salvation of the men serving by the providence of God, and this indeed they rejoice together with the repentance of the sinner, this indeed they praise the benevolence of the master and father, by songs and by mental dances they show forth this pleasure.

8.But the elder brother if he was present from the beginning, he would have rejoiced together and feasted together nor would he have been displeased, seeing such faith in the one repenting and the return with good hopes and hearing the confession, to which the compassion of the father followed; but attending then to his own things, rather to the paternal commandments, suddenly from there he arrived at the astonishing sight; and he was rising up not envying, not resenting, but being astonished by such goodwill concerning the fugitive and prodigal, and more than all he was astonished by the communion of the sacrifice; for this was last gift concerning the one having repented, and thus it was necessary to be. Therefore, setting the justice of the father against the excess of gentleness, he was wondering exceedingly supernaturally seeing it being defeated; for he himself never came to trial of such philanthropy, always attending to the paternal wills and having transgressed no commandment of him, through which indeed also he was loved vehemently, and he was considering only the justice of the father shining forth in those serving him. But the father also persuades this one having come forth and revealing his own philanthropy; "or the one having lost," he says, "O son, one sheep out of hundred if it happens of all, having secured well the others, runs to the seeking of the one with all earnestness and having found he brings back and numbers with the others with very much joy; and a woman having lost one of ten drachmas, seeks it by all ways and having found she rejoices; nor according to themselves only these rejoice, but also they call together friends and neighbors about the finding of the lost about to rejoice together. But I father of whom will I not rejoice very much, having received your brother having revived from that terrible mortification and having been found from long-time loss? How much better you my children are than drachmas and than sheep?" Thus the excess of the paternal gentleness makes even the most intimate to wonder very much (for what is more genuine than brother?), and they wonder, not envying the one being so paradoxically fortunate, but being burned by zeal of longing for the father as having been wronged by the to have been overlooked; perhaps also not by forms and by words this perplexity the

elder of the sons showed, but he was perplexed only in the reasoning, and the father healed, having breathed the medicine to the son's mind, and what the father would have said, that one also said to himself having been breathed from there, and he was rejoicing henceforth and feasting together and was hymning the paternal philanthropy; for if this was not, he would not have been elder nor fulfiller of the paternal commandments, but serving conceit and envy he would have sinned much worse than the younger. Truly great joy the finding of the lost knows to make, although of the most having been guarded; for by the existing good things we rejoice as being present, but grieving as it is likely by the lost, when they are found, doubly we rejoice by them, adding a second to the former joy, which overturned the grief. This is a law of nature unwritten and wise spark of the divine and eternal law, having been given from God to the nature. Whence neither of parable our master would have needed, of such the divine philanthropy concerning the children being most manifest, which he was unfolding fittingly and befittingly to God to those then approaching sinners and publicans; but the shamelessness of the Pharisees and scribes well led to this, as I said before, who also of the fathers upon earth they were blaspheming more cruelty than God, and of these being philanthropic concerning the children, they were willing only God to bear grudges to the children, the abyss of philanthropy, the sea of goodness, and by such falsehood not only by pretext of the disbelief towards our master, but also of the to devour their brothers they were using, themselves indeed working around the specks and being honored by much judgment, but either not understanding the own beams in the eyes or covering by colors of hypocrisy.

9.Therefore, in order that summarizing here we might bring to an end the discourse concerning the proposed things, of the children of God being divided in two, as it has been said, some indeed are blessed and are called (he himself is the one having set to them this appellation), as many as having used well the paternal benefactions by elder mind, have progressed indeed here laboring, but there they inherit eternal life being with the father immediately and being blessed together supernaturally; but those stand away indeed immediately innovating, and having been very badly counseled, have misused the paternal commandments and the gifts of the master and father and turn aside to the base life but repenting, of the spark of the love in them towards the father remaining already and not having completely failed, they receive again the order of the sons by no justice, but by mercy and philanthropy; for from much goodness and most vehement love he makes their warm repentance a windfall and pretext for forgiveness, being fruit not only of fear but also of love. Whence also they are called having been shown mercy. And thus the dyad of the brothers is preserved, thus all the multitude of the true children of God is gathered into a fortunate and shining dyad; for those disbelieving and denying the second and supernatural grace of the father having become with supernatural economy, or by other heresies making useless the faith, or believing indeed and rightly, having been turned away unreturnably from the paternal distributions and shaking vainly the hope of salvation by the dead and without works faith, all these have been rejected of both the land and the calling of the sons, having become willingly turned away from God and from the order of the brothers. Whence wretched and naked of all good both the here life and the about to be much more eternally they traverse, inhabiting Hades and bitterly paying the appointed there justices.

10.Grace therefore to our father and master, who, in order that we might pass by the other things being sung daily and having been noted for us here moderately, "he did not come," he says, "to call righteous, but sinners to repentance," and by the works he showed this intention very well, having forgiven not only to

prostitutes and robbers and publicans having repented, but also having numbered them with the lot of the purest, he himself also outlines to us the way of the unadulterated repentance. Take, he says, understanding of which good things you deprived yourself and by which evils you were held; hate the apostasy, through which the terrible famine of the good things held you, the swinish turning about, and of those having been adorned by lesser gifts feasting upon them and being satiated by the divine longing, you are hungering wretchedly; by all disposition of soul turn back to the life from the beginning, when you were living together with the true children of God and were attending to the divine laws; do not be afraid of the excess of the transgressions, but let the greatness of the divine compassion embolden you; go up faster grieving indeed upon the willing evils, but being led by the good hopes; fall under God perpetually by heart and body; by tears invoke the divine mercy; pray perpetually, no longer to be allowed to fall; be ready henceforth to endure all blow from God, through which your transgressions will be healed and you will depart clean from the here life; strike also yourself, as much as to you is power; by continence press your body, so that your spirit might be fattened.

11.Do you will that I add also greater than these to you? If you fulfill from here all the divine law having changed, call and consider yourself an unprofitable servant; for thus those understanding are humbled well, even if they attend to God perpetually, even if they do not know to themselves to have clearly deviated by work; but how will you boast upon the after these good things? For it is necessary you to set the former turnings away immediately against the reasoning of the conceit and to be ashamed rather of the former evils than to be lifted up by the later good things. Do not consider the sins of the brothers, except so as not to sin together by the communion; do not judge according to yourself; do not slander towards others, pray rather also to those to be given repentance from God; for to you from there the beautiful of repentance came invisibly. Do not scandalize nor anyone of the smaller ones, nor will to give pretext of scandal; for you will turn away the divine sight from yourself and you will appear again empty of the grace. Towards every blow from men be yourself ready and bear being struck in all ways; for the one justifying himself, the one resisting to those grieving and striking loses the gain from repentance. Return good instead of evil to the brothers remembering God, who instead of which you worked evils, opened to you the gate of repentance, creator to the creation and master to the servant. Dwelling in these and in such as many hours both by words and by reasonings and fulfilling the other laws in the gospels, you will draw down the divine mercy well from true repentance; for without such repentance it is impossible to come to the kingdom of the heavens also those living more earnestly, not to mention those deserting from many transgressions; for all men owe to repent, as it is not possible anyone at all to become outside of filth; but those approaching more to God through virtues, these more also consider the smallest of the turnings away greatest doing well, and thus being humbled vehemently, they progress safely and approach more to God, just as those neglecting the lesser and neither grieving by them nor correcting themselves are allowed to fall into greater. Grant also to us, O Christ king, burning longing of true repentance, having used which as pretext, you will show your paternal mercy towards us and to those turning back well from much prodigality you will number among the children, because to you belongs glory and worship to the ages; amen.

SERMON 4. ON FASTING

4. Sermon on Fasting.

† George Scholarius on the first (day) of the fasts; concerning fasting

1."For your mercy is better than life," says the God-bearing David, the great among prophets and kings, and our Savior said to the tempter: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God," having received this from Moses, but having borrowed it rather from himself and as by his own both word and deed having used this word; for he himself was the one having said this through Moses and having shown the word by deed. Good therefore is the bodily nourishment establishing this living being and providing the external matter to the heat of the stomach, lest it consume all the internal substance; but the excess of the nourishment corrupts the account of the good, as surpassing the need of nature; for not only does it muddy and confuse the reason and corrupt the criterion of the soul and cover over the conscience and thus makes one dare the incurable, but also it plots greatly against the very body, to which it seems for the time being to gratify and to benefit. And this happens to the nourishment through the not being properly and by itself good, but something of the useful and instrumental goods; but as many as are such, lose the form of the good in the deficiencies and the excesses, still more in the excesses. Thus therefore the nourishment; but the mercy of the Lord and the visitation from there given as requital of love and faith to the men as much as it exceeds, by so much more and more wonderfully it has the pleasure; for of the truly are good things, since also every perfect gift is descending from above" and every grace having heard from there has the perfect. Therefore, the divine mercy it is necessary to pursue more than all and these lives indeed, the luxurious namely and debauched diets, to turn away and to hate, but to flee to that nourishment, which makes akin indeed to God the one being nourished, but fills the soul as from fat and fatness," as again to say in the same way David, and which not only the lack of the bodily nourishment by the pleasure from itself wonderfully replenishes and makes one not even to care at all to have been nourished bodily, except that not every necessity, but sometimes also it sets forth the bodily nourishment more effortless and easier and sweeter; for how much labor does the bread need to become and through how many intermediaries it is possible to acquire and to eat this, of earth being plowed, of seed being cast, of tares being cleansed, of ears being reaped, of being threshed, of the wheat being winnowed, of being gathered, of being ground, besides these of being leavened, of being baked by fire? I speak the headings of the works, passing by all the intermediaries; but the divine mercy once sufficed to the Jews not having bread to be nourished, and a word proceeding through the mouth of God, more akin as to say, a nod of God and a will sufficed to those all for nourishment, not only for the necessary nourishment, but also for luxury completely and fullness; for the manna being sent from above was to them instead of all things, which they desired to eat and which they were accustomed to eat. Thus the divine grace also sets forth this bodily nourishment sweeter and more effortless to those seeking it from there in the lack of the usual preparation and needing to be nourished from the all-producing, but also to those living according to spirit and enduring little to the flesh imparting small things of this bodily and material nourishment, since to themselves they choose this lack or rather frugality, by other greater and more divine additions it replenishes the lacking from this, increasing the spiritual life in such through these, of which all things they themselves make secondary. Therefore also it has been said: "Your mercy is better than lives."

SERMON 4. ON FASTING

2.Whence towards this double nourishment fittingly by himself again it has been said by David: "Cast your care upon the Lord, and he will nourish you." If you will to live by spirit, he says, he will nourish by contemplation and knowledge of the most unerring truth and by illuminations both purifying the soul and leading up; but if also concerning the bodily nourishment you are earnest with piety, also this he will set forth sweeter and more effortless, which you were about to have having entrusted all to yourself; but consider only lest you destroy the grace and guard the plotters from both sides, from there indeed the pride and the to think something great about yourself, from here indeed the pettiness and the to spare the effortlessly coming things, as if having been gathered by labor, and to try to store the supplied things or to use badly the well given things, by which indeed pride the one having said "I fast twice of the Sabbath" has fallen around, by the pettiness previously those were held storing the food raining down to them from above, as if being snatched, not being sent by grace, and as if bearing witness weak or disbelieving to the one being able to stand by them more abundantly until all in the time of the need. Through this to the Pharisee indeed he declared the fasting unrewarded, but of the Jews he took away the grace the one also having been reviled by both; "for he sets himself against the proud," and "from those not having," or not having used well, also which they have, he takes away from them," which through own goodness he has given, these through their wickedness he takes back. Since therefore we willing to draw down the divine mercy and the grace from above we have distinguished the relaxed diet both by form and by quantity, which indeed discourse knows to call fasting, the church having set this law to us excellently in these days, it is worthy us to remind something concerning fasting and to outline indeed its nature, but more clearly to set forth its gain and the benefit.

3.Fasting therefore is result of continence, of continence of the one doing all things both harmoniously and proportionately and setting measures to all through excess of true knowledge; therefore also the blessed Peter says: "Supply in the faith virtue, in the virtue knowledge, in the knowledge continence." And it benefits us towards the greatest things. For first indeed it benefits towards abstinence of the pleasures of the flesh subduing the disorderly movements in the to quench the heat of nature; therefore also the blessed Paul was saying: "In fastings, in purity," as of purity namely both becoming to us and being guarded through the fastings. Secondly it raises up our understanding towards the contemplation, which is end of human life and which those having mind of the men seek and which good portion and unfailing the divine word shows having been chosen by Mary, and this Daniel shows having received the revelation from God after the fasting of the three weeks. Thirdly it procures to us the remission of the sins performing instead of penalty and justice to us according to the "Turn back to me in all your heart, in fasting and weeping and mourning." For since it is likely men being to sin in many of the rule of exactness, and as the great Basil says, "just as there is no body, to which shadow does not follow in the light of the sun, thus neither man, to whom sin does not follow," necessarily of the purifications by the fasting there was need, rather we undergo indeed the justice of the sins through fasting and of the fruits following it; for contrition of heart and tear rise up from it, but the to be deemed worthy of forgiveness through it comes down to us from the grace of God. Through these things it is necessary us to punish the fullness of the belly and the confusions following from there; for if it is necessary those turning about in the things of life to provide through all and to be sober, so that nothing of the worthy of care might be overlooked to them and might fall through by the darkening of the mind and the heaviness (for of sleep and of long dreams, not of earnestness nor of study or of discernment gluttony becomes mother), much more if someone is about to touch more divine dogmas and questions and to

approach to God asking something of the unspeakable from there, it is necessary first to show the soul purified of the mist from the foods and to empty the burden of the belly; for soul serving to such weight is more worthy of abyss than of contemplation and ascent, and as Jerome says, "fat belly and thick is not able to beget subtle thought." Since not only towards the very work of the to contemplate, but also towards its very intention and will the pleasures of the flesh hinder us (for they nail to themselves and persuade those not attending to consider nothing great besides them, but they banish the knowledge of the true and the true pleasure from there), but the satiety of the belly knows both to beget and to increase the pleasures of the flesh, it was necessary those choosing to live earnestly to repel the war from these pleasures through the to cut out previously their root, the fullness of the belly. Do you see of how many good things fasting becomes procurer? And yet moderately we have touched the most important of its beautiful things, but scarcely through many words it would become to someone to go through all sufficiently; but so much from the said things it suffices to understand, that by this fasting of the flesh disturbing least, of the mind remaining undisturbed and being able to use the nature, of the filth of the former sins, of which no one is free, being completely loosed, as it has been said, nothing is the hindering henceforth both to live safely and to contemplate without danger and to approach to God and to prepare for the about to be life and to depart with good hope.

4.But someone will perhaps say: It seems nothing great to fast; for fasting signifies absence of foods, and there is also a fasting of nature, according to which we are called fasting before eating; how therefore is virtue what is able to become also apart from virtue? It is possible therefore to say, that such fasting of nature consists in simple negation only of foods, and through this it is not virtue; but the to abstain from the just things with reasonable purpose and not to concede to the seeking desire of nature and to restrain the desire by reason, this properly is fasting and virtue, and this with God as helper we pursue now and concerning this it is proposed to us to speak. This falls simply under the law of nature, insofar as all men by nature so much ought to practice continence, as to suffice towards the restraint of the pleasures and the elevation of the mind towards the divine, but both according to time and manner it is subject to the commandment of the according to position justice and to the ecclesiastical ordinances; for also many other of the good things, by which we improve the customs and by which we worship God, have also from nature the necessity; whence also before the law and before the grace many by the natural light of reason showed the greatest earnestness in these, but the divine law later set to them both measure of time and manner. Thus it happened upon the sacrifices, thus upon the hymns, thus upon all simply the activities of the religion. Thus therefore fasting universally being subject to the law of nature, which also Pythagoras and Diogenes and all earnest Greeks were keeping, in us now the Christians has greater necessity, as being defined by the divine law and the teachers of the church receiving in addition determination of time and manner, and from there the one transgressing it sins variously, when also both overlooking the good of nature and neglecting the decrees of the church and willing to transgress the divine law.

5.But it is possible sometimes also to transgress both the time and the manner of the fasting, and to speak simply, the definition concerning this without to sin mortally; but this is, when from the to keep these something is about to become fighting against the more universal and greater laws, when namely someone is about to scandalize the brother, for whom not even to eat Paul would have said for the age the meats, when by pretext of the to fast someone is about to neglect the owed to the neighbor love, for which also he owes

to lay down the soul, which is possible to happen in many ways. But it is necessary to make the transgression of the rules of the fasting especially indeed by command of the higher ones; but if this is difficult or also the persuading to transgress is clearly evident, also through himself someone transgresses, he is able the decrees of the fasting without sin; also of weakness pressing of the body, to relax the time and manner of the fasting it has been entrusted. For that not of necessity nor through all cause and all time it would be necessary to hold to the rule of the fasting, our master showed in the gospels; "for are able," he says, "the sons of the bridegroom to fast, as long as the bridegroom is with them"; for of pleasure and of joy, not of mourning and of gloominess is the time of the weddings, but fasting has much the gloomy and mournful. Therefore, where and when the spiritual joy of the sacred love is about to be established, it is necessary the decree of the fasting to withdraw and to be relaxed, solemnly however and as much suffices towards showing of love only, and so that also this might become beforehand and that might not be completely transgressed.

6.But why are we commanded to make this fasting for forty days? Especially indeed because also our master chose this number in that according to the desert fasting, then also through other perhaps causes, which the teachers of the church narrate. For some say, that because the power of the Decalogue is fulfilled by the four books of the gospels the ten multiplied upon the four is summed up into the forty. Others say, that in this mortal body we are composed of the four elements, by whose desire we stand against the lordly commandments, which indeed are shown through the Decalogue. Just therefore to press this very flesh ten times and four times through this. Others say, that by three hundred and sixty and towards the whole year is completed; tenth part of these nearly is the forty number. Therefore, offering the tenths of the year in a way to God through the fasting, thus we dedicate the whole year to him. Others say, that three indeed is our God, father, son, holy spirit; we are commanded also to love him from all the heart and from all the soul and from all our mind, namely according to the triadic number in us; behold we have the six number. But we owe also to subject the body through the soul to God, which is composed of the four elements; behold we have the ten number from the six, then of the four having been gathered; but this the ten multiplied upon the four because this subjection it is necessary us to be shown according to all time, which is completed and shown by the four times, establishes and gathers the fortieth number. But universally it seems to me some perfection to be shown by the number of the forty days of purification or of humiliation or of subjection or as many other things are accomplished through this fasting; for the ten is most perfect number; for until it the simple and first numbers proceed, and from there they are recapitulated and it is not possible to find a number surpassing the ten; but the four number becomes cause of the ten, of the contained things being composed to it towards the completion of the ten, so that also itself thus to be perfect the four as cause of the most perfect in a way. And yet also otherwise having much power in the beings it is possible to see this; therefore also the Pythagoreans were honoring the tetractys and were making oath saying it extends through all and divides it all; for to divide the divine nature it, as those were raving; into heavenly and airy and watery and earthly; but all the rational, into gods, demons, heroes and men; but the irrational nature, into winged, pedestrian, creeping and swimming; but the elements, into fire, air, water and earth; the seasons, into spring, summer, autumn and winter; the centers of the all, into east, west, north and south; the qualities, into hot, wet, cold and dry; the sciences, into physics, theology, mathematics and dialectic; the mathematics, into arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music; the time of the becoming things, into generation, increase, prime and decline; the rhetorical speech, into proem, narrations, contests and epilogue, and until almost all they

were setting the same division traversing. Fittingly therefore the forty number springing up from two perfect numbers is perfect and works to us the perfect benefit from the fasting.

7.But to eat once upon each day in this it has been legislated, because thus only also it is possible both the nature to be preserved and the purpose of the fasting to be accomplished, that is the movements of the flesh to be restrained, when of the power from the foods and of the heat being moderately blunted and moderately again being replenished. But it is necessary the time of the food to become the ninth hour, perhaps indeed also because it is necessary the one fasting to feel some grief; for by nature man at the sixth hour needs food, unless someone is cachectic and badly disposed, which exceeding this it is necessary this one to feel grief and thus the said purpose of the fasting to be accomplished, especially indeed because this hour is proper to the mystery of the passion of our master having been completed at the ninth hour, when having bowed the head, he handed over the most holy spirit, but the fasting willing to humble their flesh to be conformed to the passion of Christ, as the divine apostle says: "But those of Christ crucified the flesh with the passions and the desires."

8.Reasonably indeed this cleansing fasting in this time the decrees of the church have ordered; for it cleanses indeed the men of the sins and elevates their mind towards the divine, as it has been said; but these it is necessary to become before the feast of Easter, in which also the forgiveness of the sins is given through the baptism, which is celebrated brilliantly in the evening of Easter, when also the remembrance of the burial of the Lord becomes, if indeed through the baptism we are buried together with Christ into his death, as the Apostle says; but it is necessary also our mind at that feast especially to be elevated towards the eternal glory, as Christ having risen began. Through these things before the feast of Easter it is necessary us to fast the laws of the church decree and by the fasting to be prepared towards that. Besides these beginning indeed of the year here, but of the seasons the most proportionate; for in the excesses it would not have been easy to undertake this contest, in winter namely and summer.

9.Indeed, the discourse concerning fasting has moved us now not only to perform this good thing by deed, but also to pursue it according to reason; but the reason again calls to its practice, and of the greatest benefit coming to us from it, it suggests to us to pursue this with much earnestness; for what would become equal of this mother of the good things, or the of the beautiful is not begotten to us from it? This causes to us grief according to God, which works repentance unto salvation unfailing according to the divine apostle and brings to the master those having been purified better than all joy, makes those teachable towards the divine lessons bringing a sincere and easily moved mind, cleanses body, illuminates soul, frees from double diseases, of those begotten from satiety and the excessive humors, makes approved as in some crucible and altogether receptive of the brightness of the sacred mysteries, of which it is necessary to partake in Easter, cuts out the roots of the passions and stills the war from them, directs the desire towards the beautiful things, the mind, towards the knowledge of the truth, kindles the fear in us of God, stirs up the desire of the future good things, leads up to the love itself the sacred and summit of the beautiful. If we are about to set a law, by it we use as helper just as the sacred Moses; if there is need to see God, as it is possible, this grants to us the theoptia with Elijah; if something to perform wonders raising the dead or closing the heavens or again opening, this supplies to us the activity of the wonders just as to Elijah of old and Elisha; this frees from the temptations of the devil, and sends back that one indeed being ashamed, but with our master makes us crowned, by whose spirit also it is necessary us those being called from him to be led; this becomes great

helper to the driving away of the demons; “for this,” he says, “kind does not go out except by prayer and fasting”; and to speak simply, it procures a swarm of myriad good things. This it is necessary to pursue and to practice, as much is power; but if the enemy of our salvation attacks us (for also to our master after the fasting daring he approached to tempt), by those answers let us repel, by which the divine wisdom muzzled him, and the threefold kind of the temptations by three virtues with God as helper let us conquer, and then the one attacking through these will flee, but angels immediately will stand by us applauding as to victors and guarding and as to own henceforth in all things serving, just as to our God and master these things were dispensed.

10.Do you will that I outline to you also the opposing to this gluttony? This is a chief sin and beginning of many absurdities as from a source itself springing; for from it rises untimely joy, freedom from grief, which becomes of the desire being disorderly, as by some heaviness of the governing reason being held, and this is what is said in Ezra, that "every passion turns the mind to joy and security"; from this play arises, being some disorder of action, to whom it has been said "they ate and drank and rose up to play"; from there the impurity, of every superfluity being excreted disorderly by both satiety and insensibility; from there the talkativeness, of the tongue being moved disorderly as some horse being carried down precipices by the badly to be driven, therefore also that rich one to be immoderately burning the tongue giving justice of the licentious gluttony; upon these all the bluntness of the mind by the immoderation of the foods, of the source of the reason being covered over, to which the of Ecclesiastes is said: "I reasoned in my heart to draw away my flesh from the passions, so as to transfer my mind upon the wisdom." And of myriad other passions the immoderation of the foods becomes procurer, of which each corrupts our psychic state and cuts off terribly from the love towards God.

11.But concerning what also the sin of gluttony consists, so that also we might be able to flee this recognizing from them? Concerning the untimely and disordered food or drink, concerning the delicacy and great perfection of the preparation of the foods, when they are not prepared according to the order or the means of the person, concerning the desire of the preparation of the foods, when it calls forth immoderately, and concerning the quantity of the partaking and the manner, when someone eats beyond the measure and very fervently rushes upon the luxuries according to the likeness of wolves. Therefore, the things towards God thus badly are disposed to us on account of gluttony; but indeed also towards the health itself and the undertaking of the prudence and our whole life it is most harmful passion to those having been completely captured; I do not speak concerning the intemperance only in the food, but also that in drinks, which we call especially drunkenness. That this passion especially harms the brain, in which the rational operates, and fights against the providence of nature, which has well secured the easily affected and vital of the brain, many words of wise men make manifest, more manifest indeed the experience, teacher of the passion; for we see, how as long as the brain is unburdened or also not by many and difficult to bear the vapors from the belly is breathed upon, it is possible to see the one having it understanding and sober; but when it is flooded by the thicker and wet and sharper of the <delicacies> superfluities, it makes one sluggish and blunt and sleepy; "for drier soul wiser," says Heraclitus; therefore also of the men's natural ability the women to be left behind by half, as possessing the brain more wet. Since also having become drier than the necessary it makes one to rave (for the great bad temperaments blunt the activities of the parts), not only the danger from the satiety, but indeed also that from the lack it is necessary to guard.

12.Therefore, it is not necessary to fast so vehemently, so as to fall around into forgetfulness and hardening, but thus it is necessary to practice continence, so as not to suffocate the source of the senses by the wet superfluities. And this moderation it is necessary to pursue not only upon establishment of nature, but indeed also upon virtue; for as it seems to the blessed Neilos, not only to be gluttonous the most wicked demons suggest to us, but also to perform hard abstinences and fastings beyond measure they exhort, plotting these two, either to be driven to frenzy into pride the one being deceived thinking to accomplish something more than the brothers and to be lifted up by vainglory through continence, or the body to be dissolved and no longer neither to himself nor to another to be useful, and of the disease often receiving much intensity by the time, to be rolled down the man into disbelief henceforth and hopelessness and blasphemy. It is necessary therefore to guard the excesses and the deficiencies just as concerning all the other things, thus indeed also concerning foods and drinks; for every true virtue is and is called mean, which also the church has kept in the decrees concerning the fasting, having wisely excluded the mean of the continence from the to eat often of the day and irregularly into the to eat once.

13.It is necessary therefore to embrace this sincere fasting both being defined by the church and by the teachers, especially indeed, if it is possible, also through all of life, which especially is owed to those having been consecrated; but if to those having been occupied with life it is not very easy to keep this through life, at least in these sacred days there is both all necessity and easiest in a small time to heal the indifference in the whole year, of the divine philanthropy, of the church mediating, being about instead of the multi-day ease to reckon the reverent affliction of these few days and the forgiveness of the other sins, to those genuinely repenting instead of this small humiliation to bestow through much compassion; in this let us guard, lest some hypocrisy be introduced, fruit of the all-terrible pride, which the divine word attributes to the Pharisees; for this will take away from us the benefit from the continence, and nothing thus makes to us the labors in the good things unachieved and completely unprofitable, as this terrible beast of the hypocrisy, when namely not for the sake of the divine love alone, but plotting the glory from the men in something we are ambitious of the beautiful things. But having fasted genuinely according to the said things, then we will understand well, that "better is the mercy of the Lord than lives" and that "man shall not live by bread alone".

SERMON 5. ON ALMSGIVING

5. Sermon on Almsgiving.

† George Scholarius Concerning almsgiving.

1."This is not the fast that I have chosen," but which? "Loose every bond of injustice, dissolve the strangulations of violent agreements." These things indeed towards the private individuals; but towards the rulers: "Seek judgment, rescue the wronged, judge the orphan and justify the widow." And again: "Fasting and idleness and your feasts my soul hates," as proclaiming the aforementioned rather than the fasting. And again: "Do not fast for judgments and battles, but loose every bond of injustice." These things through the sacred prophets the Lord commands to the Jews and through those to all men. – On the past Friday we outlined to you the nature of the fasting and the benefit from it, but it is not necessary to stand until this; for if also it cleanses the flesh and elevates the mind towards the divine and it becomes to us some justice as it were and penalty of the sins, but being compared to the other virtues it is so much lessened in dignity, so as also to be worthy of hatred and aversion from God, if apart from those we pursue it; for we do not live each only to ourselves as something absolute and independent, but we are ordered towards God and towards the neighbors; and the for someone each to love himself is not even ordered at all (for no one ever hated himself having mind), but we are commanded to love God and the neighbor from all our soul and heart and mind, the creator indeed of us above ourselves, but the neighbor as himself each. By the fasting therefore we benefit our own, but by the remaining virtues we become useful to the brothers and through the care towards those we gratify to God himself, who makes so much account, as not even the whole world to deem worthy of one of them this wide and great and so beautiful, so as from himself the by nature and first beautiful to receive the testimony of the beauty; but if money or honor or something such we prefer to the love of the neighbor, whom God makes so much account through philanthropy both reasonable and full of wisdom, such as all the things of God, how will he look upon us favorably fasting? How will he not deem the fastings and the new moons and the sabbaths abomination? And how will he accept our therapies in the lesser things, being so easily angered in the necessary and greater, just as if someone before the master striking his son or otherwise despising, then a horse or a dog or a bird of the hunting and rare would bring? For it is clear that not only he will not seem to gratify, but also he will provoke to greater anger and "instead of ravens" he will be sent away.

2.But we ought to guard these things concerning God much more than concerning the earthly rulers, by how much also he is of greater authority and dignity incomparably, and to tremble the neighbors and to respect and to honor and to deem worthy of therapy of the possible with the towards God regard much more than the sons of the masters, and especially because through the most supernatural economy they were ordered in the order of the brothers, having surpassed the of the sons; as much towards account of care and reverence and kinship and according to grace the contrary all we do, by pretext of the divine philanthropy using towards the contempt of the brothers, not understanding that of the philanthropy and forbearance of God concerning us this is cause, that also of us equally he cares for those as both sons and brothers, and just as he grieves exceedingly of those suffering badly, thus also towards our rashness, from which we are in danger, he is indignant and grieves through recklessness provoking him the benevolent God and father. And of this is sign, that those plotting against us even being such he judges to be unjust and wicked; for he deems

the responsibility of our sins to belong to himself alone and he himself will sit judge of our actions; but if someone wills to harm us and to injure, not keeping ruling justice, but showing grasping violence, he deems also that one wicked, although harming wicked, if we are such, and towards the impulse of the one doing he examines the becoming, not towards the worth of the one suffering; for to harm brother and son of God it has been determined beforehand; and if we all did not have such order from God, by the account at least of that one's goodness, and if he did not make the same care of all of us, we would not have finished having wronged one of the brothers and the justice we would have immediately undergone; but now to those indeed the oversight and the sympathy, but to us the forbearance and the hope of the correction from the same care he bestows, not even perhaps knowing those being wronged by us completely innocent, since "no one," he says, "is pure from filth," or leaving unpunished, even if suffering badly they bear with the hopes towards him. Through these things he rejoices indeed of us through both fasting and the other religious observances being propitiated and worshiping him, but if before these we fulfill the greater and more perfect of the virtues, in which the good of the love abounds. Whence this very thing also through Paul he exhorts saying: "But zeal the greater gifts," that is with intensity and warmth practice them, of which all he sets forth the love; and of this being divided into two, both the of God and of the neighbor, the of the neighbor is greater; for this also presupposes the love towards God; for the one loving the neighbor fulfills law and commandment of God, but the one keeping the commandments of God, loves God.

3.Since therefore to the Jews being still imperfect and introductory in all things God commands justice to be done before the fasting and the like, not yet even until the not to wrong the neighbor extending the love towards him, but the most perfect law of Christ also demands us to surpass the justice and draws towards the virtue of almsgiving, as some summit of justice happening to be, as many things concerning justice in the comparison towards the fasting are said through the sacred prophets, these things concerning almsgiving to us now reasonably would be understood and said; for it is a great part of the universal justice and some addition and excess of the special being called. Whence it is clear, that God makes our fasting of little or even of nothing, if to the brothers we close the bowels of compassion and overlook them being pressed by necessities being able to help. Accordingly therefore to the commandments of Christ, which lead us towards the higher degrees of the good things, concerning almsgiving now we speak.

4.This therefore is result of love close of the summit of the virtues, I say the almsgiving having been formed in kind and true, which is the through God and through nothing other temporary and willingly and sweetly and cheerfully and according to all the fitting becoming manner; for it happens sometimes also some to give away of the existing things either according to account of natural liberality or through fear or hope of greater good, which indeed has only the name of almsgiving, no longer also the form and the substance. This itself therefore also without some other benefit suffices towards the it is necessary it to pursue; for if it is result of love towards God and the neighbor, but just is God and to those seeking and loving him becomes rewarder according to the Apostle, what would become to us more advantageous than to have mercy, from which we have God debtor? But indeed since also to stumblings we are subject being men and using the of the choice double-sided in the chosen things, when to the rule of the reason we do not follow, but to the impulses of the sensory desire we yield rather, by this almsgiving the sacred word attributes the blotting out of the sins, and for this sake it is necessary to embrace it. The reward therefore of the eternal good things being hoped by this that of Ecclesiastes presents clearly: "Release," he says, "money for the brother; store up

treasure in the commandments of the master, and it will benefit you more than the gold"; but the also to be freed of the sins through it, in Daniel it is clearly said: "Let my counsel," he says, "be pleasing to the king: blot out your sins by almsgivings." But indeed also towards the here life to the men this very much benefits freeing from the dangers being able to happen; for of the neighbor being helped through the almsgiving and being moved towards the prayers of those having benefited, the divine becomes hearkening as it were saving some justice also towards the very one being benefited, who willing to repay the benefactor does not have; through this towards the from above he sends the reward, trusting the weak of himself towards the recompense to be replenished by the divine power, by whose unspeakable judgment towards the lack he came and the inability of the to repay. And this again in the very Ecclesiastes it is clearly said: "Shut up," he says, "almsgiving before a poor man, and this one will deliver you from every evil," not by his own power namely, but by the prayers for you towards the divine. Besides these it preserves well indeed the grace having proceeded to the man, but the not yet present it makes to come, as there again it is said: "Almsgiving of a man will preserve the grace of the man as a daughter"; but the almsgivings of Cornelius having ascended to God sent to him the revelation of the true faith as prize. Who therefore will not embrace, will not entwine a virtue procurer of so many good things, of love indeed being immediately dependent, of the summit of the virtues, but containing justice, but freeing from every evil, but flourishing in all good things in both the lives?

5.Therefore, no law laid down by God compels anyone to give away all of their possessions to those in need; for this would be a subversion of human life rather and some endless confusion, just as in a game of wealth and poverty alternating with each other in each of the men often of the same day almost; for it was necessary me having risen poor in the morning to have become immediately most rich, of each of those possessing wealth contributing the part to me and to all together poor, and those from there having become poor again immediately to become rich, of us repaying the same, and finally all to have become poor in the so rapid change and repayment of the existing things, spending the whole life idle otherwise and inactive and destroying indeed all little by little, but adding nothing. But from our fruits the divine law declares to have mercy and from those being set aside to us, if these exceed the need for us and those with us, but the neighbor from the excess of these and the surplus is about to be consoled in the necessities towards living; and generally thus we are commanded to fulfill the almsgiving, so as not ourselves to need the one having mercy later or to go around in disgrace of the lineage and the fatherland and to the harm of those hoping humanly in us and to scandal of the commandment of Christ, perhaps also of us ourselves harm, if someone takes us having willingly cast away all as repenting. But if also to sell all the existing things and to give to poor and to follow him says our master, but he adds: "If <you will> to be perfect"; for the one scattering all the beings for Christ performs work of perfection, transferring himself in another order and being freed from all relationship thus also our Jesus did not have indeed where to bow the head, but mother and brothers all impassionately he deemed those attending to the divine words and keeping. The one therefore by his zeal giving away all under one to the poor, no longer needs henceforth of the according to life seemliness either of himself or of those having been connected to him according to lineage; thus also in the old Elisha slaughtered all his oxen and gave food to the poor, proposing no longer to be controlled by any care, as pre-announcing the perfection of those about to philosophize according to Christ, that is of the true monks; but the master does not compel the perfection, but if you will, he says, to strip for the stadium of the perfection; for the things which all men are able to do, these willingly and unwillingly he commands to do according to

law; but the things which are of the perfect and rare (for not of all is the perfection in all kinds and things), these to the will alone of those choosing to philosophize genuinely he allows.

6.But thus very common this beautiful of almsgiving and to all easily obtainable, so that no one would be lessened of the wealthiest, even if he himself is most poor; for not to the quantity of the being given, but to the power of the one giving and to the intention the examiner of our works attends, who also praised the widow having contributed from the necessary and through this proportionally surpassing all; thus it is possible also to all men in small quantity of the being given to show much the love, from which the activity of the almsgiving has the active, nor will any of all have to flee into the not to be able to give, the reason of the commandment being demanded. Concerning money it is likely also completely to be at a loss, but eagerness and will towards the good all are able to have, which also by small proofs it is possible to show being great existing; for it is possible also cold water to give to drink to the thirsty and to share of the existing shelter to the stranger, if also it is some hut (for perhaps there will be someone indeed needing of such timely shelter), and to run together to the one being sick either summoning a doctor or kindling fire or spreading a bed or setting beside broth from his in lack of the relatives or doing something such, which also without money it is possible to accomplish. But if also someone is about to be completely unable towards all these (let it be given), but not only to the bodily needs, of which in the gospels the savior mentioned, but also to spiritual other deprivations and needs the nature of the men is subjected, helping which someone also shows much greater the mercy, by how much the spirit is by nature more precious of the body and of the bodily care the care concerning the soul excels; for if you do not have food to give to the one hungering, but you have theoretical reason, by which you are able to teach the saving things and to nourish soul being pressed by hunger of the truth; if you do not have to give to drink bodily, but you are able to advise the one needing counsel and to irrigate the dryness in him of the practical mind from the flood with you. You do not have to clothe naked? To make sober the one acting indecently by disorderly will and by the garment of the reverence cover the brother. You are unable towards all visitation of the one being sick? Console by word the one being nursed by grief or by weakness of the appetitive power mix the comforting medicines, showing first yourself being afflicted together. You do not have where to receive the stranger? Send him to the divine compassions and the from there shelter; you have the prayers instead of roof, but also show to him the way, through which he will find the ones receiving as guests, and cooperate. If you are at a loss of ransoms, so as to loose from bodily bonds the captive, but you are able to give forgiveness to the one having stumbled and to release to the debtor and to free him of the psychic trouble. If you are not able to care for the dead, but you are able to bear the burden of the neighbor; for having been made stronger in the mind by the providence, you owe to bear the weaknesses of the weak, and just as if upon the shoulders you carried dead, thus you are able also to have with them living without burden, if you will, and it is possible to bear them sometimes through small-mindedness and contrary to their own purpose stumbling against you.

7.Do you see so much breadth of virtue? So much freedom? Of every kind, of every age, of every order, of every power, of all is receptive the virtue of almsgiving; through all it extends, to all it enters who will. What word would be able to outline its nature? What Polycleitus or Phidias or Myron or Zeuxis or Apelles or Lysippus or Parrhasius or Praxiteles would have been able either to write well or to carve or to fashion some image worthy of so much beauty and such beauty? But the power of almsgiving extends not only towards the human individuality, but indeed also towards our whole nature; this fills all the earth; "for the earth is full of

the mercy of the Lord," he says; this also surpasses every time interval; "for from the age and until the age the divine mercy is upon those fearing him." This, as it is in God, also those of the earth imitating powerful and repaying the one having given such power, fill, if it is possible, all the earth of almsgiving and establish monuments of the virtue immortal; through this we were reconciled to God; through this we are reconciled daily; this if anything else of the commonly said of God is his own and a thing worthy of the all-powerful majesty; "for become," he says, "merciful just as also your heavenly father is merciful"; and if the passion of pity is not present to God, as it is some pain and grief upon the misery of the one suffering, but the activity of the mercy is present, according to which he pours out the good things to those in need and lightens the needs of those suffering. This therefore it is necessary to honor and to embrace, as much is power, and before the sacrifices to offer it to God "willing mercy and not sacrifice" and being pleased by good deeds rather than by other sacrifices according to the divine apostle again.

8.And all it is necessary to have mercy on, if it is possible; but if we are not able all, the fitting distinction at least it is necessary to make some rule of the thing. And more indeed it is necessary to care for the good things and useful to the common than of those connected to us according to flesh, of the word having been excepted of those having begotten; these it is necessary to prefer before all towards mercy, but of the remaining relatives the more commonly beneficial it is necessary to prefer; for the universal is more preferable of the particular, and the similarity in the good, being of the soul, of the natural kinship, being bodily, is more precious by all means; these for they are, concerning whom in the gospels it has been said, that "they will receive you into the eternal dwellings," and concerning whom the Apostle says: "The bowels of the saints have been rested through you, brother." Then those having been connected to us according to flesh it is necessary to prefer of those from outside; "For if someone," says the Apostle, "of the own and especially of the household does not provide, this one has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever"; and more indeed to parents than to children it is necessary to bestow liberally, more indeed to children than to all the remaining; but to those from outside more indeed to those standing before us, when need happens to them, than to those being ruled by us, and of those having been ordered by us more to whom we owe some grace than as we do not owe; and the same quantity it is necessary to distribute to more needing rather than to give all together to one, if this would be able to suffice to many for little needs. And generally indeed by some such rule it is necessary to use towards the beneficence; but it is when also towards the need alone it is necessary to look; for the one simply we owe to help less than the others, to this one of some occurrence having come upon, it is necessary to lighten the burden of the need neglecting the others, to whom we owe more from the rule, when not very much being pressed.

9.But it is necessary to choose from the justly acquired, not from which seizing we do injustice; for "mammon of unrighteousness" the master does not will to call the wronged things nor the just judge measures out the injustice to us (far be this), but mammon of unrighteousness, that is of inequality, he calls all the wealth, even if it has been acquired from just pretexts; for not equally to all men the wealth has been distributed, of one indeed needing the necessary things, but of another moderately possessing wealth, but of another being broken by the multitude; but unjust also otherwise the wealth is, because by various burdens and cares it burdens our minds just as some bitter tax collector burdening our freedom by the beyond power troubles. However, not even from usury it is necessary to make the beneficence, but only from the just fruits of us, that is from which doing ourselves and risking we acquire; but usuries of money especially indeed not

even it is necessary to receive, but having been seized sometime by desire of money to the wronged themselves it is necessary to repay and thus to draw the divine philanthropy, just as upon all simply the unjustly acquired this it is fitting to do. That it is a difficult sin to exact usuries for the loans, first indeed God himself declares; "for if you lend," he says, "money to my people to the poor dwelling with you, you will not compel as an exactor, nor by usuries you will press him"; then by reason indeed this is shown; for of those we are able only to receive usuries, of which the use alone we give to others, ourselves keeping the dominion; but these are, of which the use has been separated from the dominion, that is it is possible to use not being consumed, namely a house perhaps or a field or some of such; but of money the use has been connected to the dominion, nor it is possible someone to use these not having destroyed and consumed, so that the one receiving usuries on account of these sells twice the same or sells the not being; for he receives price of the use of a thing, of which previously indeed the dominion, then with it also the use he gave, and neither of the two of these he kept to himself.

10.Having added this to the words concerning almsgiving, I will cease, because the necessary of the commandment towards it is received from the very words of the Lord; for in making reckoning with the servants, having passed over all the other things, this he makes subject of the justification, and to those having had mercy he gives as prize the kingdom of the heavens exceeding incomparably, but to those having been disposed mercilessly towards the neighbor he assigns the penalties in Hades; for to himself he takes up all the things towards the neighbors, calling brothers, of whom alas of the misery I make no account and whom I overlook living and raising hands; and apart indeed from the from there necessity a natural virtue it is the to take hold of the neighbor; for a communal tame animal they all define man to be. Whence it is necessary using the nature both to associate and to communicate both repaying and receiving; but the as <in a theater> having beforehand occupied the spectacle the wealth to allot these to the own pleasures alone and the brother needing from the surplus to turn away, far from the account of the community and the tameness he has stood, just as I think the to be grasping surpasses all bestiality. But indeed also the not to have mercy is to do injustice and to do injustice not the according to each alone, but indeed also the very whole nature. And concerning the according to each the great Basil clearly shows saying: “If you confess these temporary good things to have happened to you from God, is not God unjust unequally distributing the things to us? Why you indeed abound, but that one begs, if not so that also you may receive the reward of the good stewardship, and that one may be crowned by the prizes of the endurance? Of the one hungering is the bread, which you dine to satiety; of the naked the garment, which you keep in the chest; of the unshod the shoe, which rots with you; of the one needing the money, which you possess not counting. Whence you do injustice to so many, to how many you are able to provide.”

11.These things the divine Basil says; I would add however, that if also someone overlooks one of the brothers being pressed by inescapable necessity of poverty, he by himself does injustice to all human nature, not only because the salvation of the individual is ordered towards the salvation of the whole species, but because also each individual has the whole nature in a way; for not as the genus is not able to be unless in more species, thus also the species towards existence a multitude of individuals necessarily seeks, but it is possible the whole species to be undergone by one individual; whence also some of the species are enclosed by single individuals, just as the monadic. That also the one not having mercy does injustice to all nature, it is clear from there; for he surpasses and dissolves by himself the boundaries of nature, which the creator set to

all things constituted by nature; for it is clear that nothing is self-sufficient of the naturally constituting things, and of these even more the things in generation and corruption, but being in need of each other, they are sufficiently helped by each other, and thus this all is constituted, of the fire namely being nourished by the exhalations from the air, but of the air receiving from there the vital power, and of water indeed being evaporated towards the air, but receiving from there by the rains the replenishment, and of earth indeed underlying all and receiving the changes of all as of a whole and foundation of all, but to all the becoming things from it providing to them the substance and the whole; for the other elements as much more specifically in the matter they contribute to the things composed from them. And the animals and the plants nourish the men, but men laboring about them to the natural generation and sprouting of these they repay much addition, and in the myriad of the animals this happens; for they are helped by each other and replenish the needs of each other; there is no greed in these, there is no thrift, unless as much also these partake of our wickedness, of their according to nature moderation being turned aside through our desire. What is necessary to say concerning the other things? The soul itself would know nothing, being in the body, of the beings without the body; for the senses, being of the body, make the phantasms, but this becomes some whole of the thoughts and hypothesis just as to the light the transparent, as it seems to the philosophers. But the soul having the to understand in this manner from body, contributes from itself to the body the life and the movement, and just as without the phantasms the soul would understand nothing the beginning, thus neither the body without soul would ever be moved. Through these things "all," he says, "the day has mercy and lends the just," as also knowing the nature all the day according to the laws of both repayments and receptions being administered by the first cause; and truly just is the one doing thus, not only because excess of the justice is the almsgiving, as we said in the beginning (for unjust no one would become merciful, as long as he would be unjust, if the one receiving the of others and giving to others did not have mercy, but did the ultimate injustice, the great Basil said. With this agrees to the habit of the one doing injustice the pity, and he would be merciful truly the one not only receiving from others badly, but also from the own through pity being ambitious), but also because the one having mercy besides the to keep the justice from the divine law, also keeps the decrees of the nature.

12.I indeed through these have moderately outlined to you the nature of the almsgiving; but the exhortations towards it the teachers of the church shout daily continuously, whom it is necessary to obey and all necessity. But what would become exhortation more fearful and greater of the things being said concerning it in the sacred gospels? I exhort only you, so that you may send up this your fasting with the almsgiving to God; for this passes through the heaven in much speed and with much boldness stands by the royal tribunal and all our other piety and the repentance upon the sins presents seemly and beautiful and acceptable to the divine philanthropy, rather as indeed work of us it goes up towards him, but its nature and the perfection, which we all partake, is co-sitting to our master and governs the world from on high all. Therefore, our fasting and the repentance will have our almsgiving and the compassion as advocate; but this our almsgiving will be loved by the almsgiving of God. Let us have mercy therefore, so that we may be had mercy on; knowing also that "God loves a cheerful giver" and those giving towards the human glory hold back the reward", both sincere this virtue and purifying show of both vainglory and the hardness in the providing; for it is difficult the fruit of the love not also by disposition and by forms and by words of love to advance or of the greatest and heavenly virtue to choose reward paltry and temporary, but indeed by the hope

of the eternal glory to be elevated and of the money to give away to those in need under apparent philanthropies, but of the eternal prizes to fall out through the indwelling vainglory; rather not even as prizes about to receive there it is necessary to do the virtue, not only concerning which the word, but also all, but as debt repaying to God and to the nature; but God being philanthropic reckons the debt as contribution. But if also more accurately you would will to have mercy, when you have mercy, grieve by the work of your beneficence, because being able to help more, you did not choose, either by narrowness of choice or by worldly necessities having been hindered, or because helping according to power you were not able to show greater the fruit of the love; this is true almsgiving. Thus therefore also the fasting will appear graceful; if thus you fast, no longer will our master say to you, as then to the Jews, but the contrary, that "this I have chosen and embraced the fasting."

SERMON 6. ON THE FEAST OF ORTHODOXY

6. Sermon for the Feast of Orthodoxy.

† George Scholarius To the feast of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of the fasts.

1.The specific subject and pretext of the feast, the recall of the sacred icons and the honor towards these, both had its beginning and now is, of exiles happening in not a few years and of fugitives not more of themselves from the church than of those having driven these out having become from God; but with the memory of their return justly also the prior to this miracles of the better enter, by which often having been warred against the church and having suffered the utmost under the sons of falsehood he showed it again conquering and crowned, having allowed those wars for greater glory of the truth and of those attending to it; for not having been saved from there the church, it would no longer have been possible to fight and to conquer, but to the one being saved and strengthening these indeed happened. Therefore, it has legislated to itself with the trophies being erected upon the last fortunate events and accomplishments also to erect the pillars of the prior struggles; but these are upon the other, as you see, honors of the divine eulogies indeed against those having stood by it and until death having defended the mother, but public curses and excommunications against those impious ones, who against it sharpened the licentious tongues and raised hands. If therefore something reaches also both, by which having known it has repaid the choices of each to do, of another word it is to consider, and not even advantageously this to have been done anyone would say it; for to the wicked, if it was possible, even forgiveness they would have asked from God, but they would not have been able to obtain it those having persisted in the wars against God both through life and having ended with the same madness; so that the later ones become more sober, both the subjects of those wars and the choices of each knowing of those having been armed and having partaken of the battle and the votes of God upon them, with which it is necessary these of the church to agree, nothing would become more fitting of these having been established from that one until now, on account of which indeed also those keeping this law and willing to be saved as having the same aim with those having established we praise, and the contrary, if some would will to dissolve this. But the authority of the church suffices instead of all word, which it is necessary to place beyond our scrutiny, and to show the law having been established advantageously and transgression the disregard of it and this word having become with much justice, so that either we also may celebrate with those celebrating as some first fruits of the words having been given to us from God repaying to him this offering, or, at least our, the law of the church would be kept, of the correct dogmas indeed being proclaimed in this word and of those having stood by these, but of the contrary and having come the contrary, which to such things it is fitting, being received; but the word will run over the more opportune, it will not go through to all according to history (for many would become books to say and days to hear, the second), but having mentioned the more opportune and which it is necessary no one of those making to be pious to be ignorant concerning more, by the very subject of the feast, the memory of the icons, and of some moderate having been added to it, it will define the end not unpleasantly to those paying attention to this with gratitude.

2.The word of the truth indeed was sown, from when God willed to draw man through himself towards himself and to choose out of myriad error, which the prior time he served, having become immediately unerring indeed, but by the to be drawn down towards the sense and the worse nature the much rabble of the

falsehood having received, and this according to accident having come upon him the terrible it was necessary sometime to be dissolved and the nature to enjoy the beauty, by which having become immediately the first beauty adorned; and just as the time of the to have become the beginning in the will of the one doing was determined, thus the of the to be improved, remaining in his will, late after the beneficence became clear, and the manner of the improvement astonishing indeed, but to the reasonable also very agreeing. For it was necessary by the knowledge of the truth to be drawn up the man, it was necessary but this to come down to the earth, which barely was known, having endured to do this; but the to come down, was the to take flesh, having remained upon the divinity; for to suffer something else, would have been rather to be drawn, not to draw, but the to seem to have partaken of the matter not at all having partaken, to falsehood rather not to truth it would have been fitting. The word of the truth therefore was sown by its disciples, since he had ascended again into heaven (for it is not necessary the word concerning the divine economy to interweave here, if also as having escaped immediately in the beginning it entered, using the with us desire of the mystery), and the sprouting reached the sowing and the shining the illumination, as spontaneously improving the souls to the men also before the radiance to have flowed into these; for it was not of human wisdom, but of more divine strength the persuasion, nor human the struggle, but the nature of the men by unseen power of the better served. But (for it was necessary just as upon the others, thus indeed also here to happen) from there the superstition of the tyrants stood against this most beautiful sowing, imitating rains and snows and frost or drought and field mice, if you will, and attack of enemies, some indeed not even allowing the beginning the seed to take, but some trampling, but some digging up; but from there a swarm of tares rising together troubled, the many heresies of those believing. But also through both these hindrances the divine word made its own, strengthening, which Paul says, being perfected in weakness and in much lack; for the stream of the martyric bloods quenched the misanthropy of the tyrants, as they were contending to defend the falsehood by the betrayal of their souls, thus by their own sparing not of their own flesh to establish the truth about to receive them not for long and about to repay to the world contending, which it was necessary both to be established and indeed through such souls, having been inhabited especially and first by them; but those standing before the true word, attacking the tares in time, uprooted, cut out, burned, not bloodlessly undergoing the contest neither these, but having taken up martyric choice, not a few also by deed having brought this out until death, which to the others for the sake of the whole faith had been dared, these to them for the sake of an article of the believed ones one having come upon to choose and to differ; for those throwing back those heresies to the pious farmers and falsifying the divine word to the tyrants grew together first, and of these earlier destroying the souls, from there to the falsehood against the truth and of its allies they procured the power of the hands, as they would not be strong otherwise.

3.And there was no envy in the sowers of the word, of others entering into the labors of others and of some indeed ending in peace, but of others in the utmost evils of the body; for the gain of the good husbandry was laid up to them in the remaining life, and by so much greater it seemed towards fortune the sooner to be freed to those having shown their own, by how much also anticipating those still little remaining they were crowned, where indeed the multitude of the oppositions necessarily happened, both of foreign and divine teaching being implanted to the world and uprooting the error not bearing nor enduring, and by the length of the time very much having prevailed; but the all those things finally to have been dissolved and the ending of the beautiful proclamation to have been seen sometime flourishing, of no one remaining troubling

and of the word of the truth having become powerful in all men, was demonstration of the power from God stronger than all proof and word, rather also God very and well allowed those wars about to show forth the inspired of the dogma; for it would not have been possible the victory to become renowned and the conquering to be shown better than human reasoning, not of so many wars upon it and thus most terrible having stood by, nor it would have been wonder to prevail not having waged war; for that is also in all the errors, by which somehow to prevail also of battle at the same time it prevailed, freedom of the reasonings of some having been carried at another time upon others, whom if you would draw upon swords and pans and wheels, upon which publicly the martyrs of the truth ran (I omit that also impassibly from there they departed, until it seemed to the better), they will be deniers of the dogma by lack of the persuading from within, as something better would happen to them about to die for truth; and besides this the easy to choose and to save and to keep without plots, is of the humble and being dragged dogmas, in which the error and the falsehood dance, but to the divine and high various connected difficulties testify to the accuracy to them, if it prevails manifestly from the feet having become late, just as also the beautiful of the character in the difficult has the constitution; for if by the opposites and by all knowledge and virtue they differ just as also by the beginnings, but the manner, by which they receive the form and the order, is the same in both, and through these the only most true glory having come to men, such as it was necessary to be the from God and of God, it was necessary to be warred against from many places and to conquer completely, so that itself also through both it would remain prevailing. But indeed just as it was impossible both all together and each whole at the same time the sciences human nature to find, thus neither the sacred teaching nature would have been able at the same time all to receive; for not to find indeed the things corresponding to the nature it was necessary of much time, but the most high of all it was about to receive immediately and either it exceeds the resource of the nature, but by how much more difficult to find than to receive, by so much of the finding of the corresponding the reception of the supernatural would become in more time, not being able according to nature at the same time the mind to extend towards so much height; and through this of the beginnings of the knowledge to us having been put forward from the master so many, so as also by multitude to exceed those of all the sciences, but of the disciples drawing from there the dogmas of the truth and of those following those similarly with more making addition, being accustomed always towards more and greater of the human power from at least the received nor without the from above inspiration, until it was necessary all the necessary truth lying in those beginnings to be developed, it was necessary some in the between also to develop, not as it would be developed, and to think to agree to the beginnings being carried far from the beginnings, not by weakness of word rather and of the inventive and critical in themselves power least of all touching the from above grace; but this it is likely to happen in two ways, either through impurity of works or through pride of soul, with which it is not possible the divine spirit to be together, and it was necessary those seeking without that light to stumble. But although of more, as it is likely, erring the rule, that one remained and will remain until all refuting those attending to it unfittingly, not in books alone being saved, but much more in the souls of the pious being kept.

4.Since but of the inventors of the heresies of more standing by, the flock of Christ suffered badly under those cruel ones, the genuine shepherds again of common synods and struggles and words against the sacrilegious ones cared, through which indeed those still being able to be sober it was necessary to lead back to the divine fold of the dogmas, but those incurably having wandered food alas to be left to the common

enemy of the salvation, this instead of the in Christ life having chosen. The other errors therefore and the synods having been gathered against those we omit, still of the things of Christ being shaken and of the church waging war, or rather to say, still of the falsehood against the truth shamelessly daring to rise up, such as the nonsense of Manes having passed to many and having utterly corrupted very many, to which almost nothing common was to the true dogmas of Christ; this one besides the other absurd things also legislated the dual beginning of the beings, referring the dogma to Plato and his nonsense, which indeed also deceived the most of the heretics; for having been formed from the Platonic dogmas, by which very much the prior time they had been captured, they did not will towards the healthy Christianity to be well transformed nor they endured completely to them the Greek saltiness to be washed away by the potable of the dogmas of Christ, to which either completely it was necessary to yield having brought forward firmly the appearance of the divine word, or not at all to allow holding fast of the nurtured error; for it was not necessary to try to mix darkness to light nor Beliar to Christ, which Paul says, the completely unmixable and unconfused, but either it was necessary the polytheism to be extinguished also by those unworthy of being saved also themselves having condemned it, but in another way to them the destined penalties to have come after the baptism and the faith to those having raged the things of the unbelievers, and the truth not in the struggles only against the enemies, but indeed also having been tested those lying in wait from within to be shown forth. Nor I say now the absurdity of Sabellius and the synods of the sober against that one, who tried to bear the contention and hardness of the Jews by the words, saying God to be one hypostasis and one person, but otherwise name and word and distinction of human thought the trinity of properties being revered by us he introduced of two, the of son and of spirit by turns having received appellation of one underlying of the paternal and divine person, not even the son to have been distinguished of the father in truth and deed, but thus to be completely one, so that God both father and son the same it is necessary to be called and Christ, of him purely having taken up the man; therefore also patripassian by those rightly thinking he was called, just as to some others the appellation of son-fatherhood would have been fitting. I am silent the innovations of Ptolemy and Valentinus, both the other and the double in God conjunction, the thought namely and the will, the one having been placed before, but the one having been placed under. I do not say Theodosians and Severians worshiping common God inherent, not having partaken the father and the son and the spirit to be each God and introducing some tetrad of divinity; I omit the misanthropy of Novatian, Donatus the rigid and unrefined of the sacred partakings, of Peter the Fuller later the passible and crucified divinity; I pass over the heresies of Massalians and Jacobites and Bogomils and Paulicians, the offshoots of the nonsense of both Marcion and Manes, some indeed of them in the times of Valens, but some in the of Alexius of the Comneni, but some in other times having sprung up and until now being honored by some nations, in which also they implanted the beginning; for those not so much to Christians having caused the labor the prior still to the wars against the godless more attending, and these to have attacked to the small and to small nations through unreason ready to believe all barely known almost, nor to us it is necessary to become in word being cautious the length of the word.

5.But Providence establishes Constantine, the one eponymous of stability, not more to the bodies than to the souls of men; for there was need of such an instrument for the need; and it takes him up by itself having gained piety as prize of virtue, and through him the tribes of the inhabited world are taken up, of the terrible having stood against by the deception of the Greeks not with the same cruelty; which indeed someone would

reasonably wonder, that the truth shining forth the bestiality of the tyrants and of those serving them did not prevail to darken, but even more also through so many hindrances it shone forth, but towards the to cease men being deceived by demons sufficed supervision of one king, not by money, not by honors, not by threats, not by penalties transforming to them the opinions, but allowing whither they would will to be carried, so that if also from nowhere else, from there the economy would be reasonably approved by all, of no contrivance from men or not against itself having been found, until it was necessary the word to be warred against, or when it was necessary to conquer and to dissolve the error, having cooperated, and from there to be shown until even now the violence to become of unbelievers and of tyrants leading the falsehood, but those aiming at the freedom of men to worship the divine, as each wills, to be sub-leaders of God and leaders of true glory, who left the thinking alone free in men of all. This most beautiful king, just as he freed the inhabited world of the Greek error, no longer having happened to those defending that one to rage against human salvation, thus wisely he cast down the Arian heresy, neither of the prior worse polytheism being into impiety, nor of lighter terrible things in little time having become cause; and now unfortunate Nicaea saw, of the most beautiful then metropolis of Bithynia and conquering the everywhere after the first, I say this our, synod from all the inhabited world then first from Christ in common with freedom examining the dogmas and of those seeming to them to have the ruler of the inhabited world as υπερδικον; and Arius with the faction was convicted by the words of the truth, the under-prophets of Plato, but Athanasius prevailed with the pious, to whom it belonged to those thinking the things of God to conquer; for those were babbling the son of God to have been created in order corresponding to the remaining creatures excelling, as having been created before all and having partaken more of the divine likeness, but through him as some middle immediately the spirit to have been produced from God, but the angels to have been created third and the other natures next, through the first created of all the beings in some series from the first having become cause, saying nothing discordant of the things concerning Plato, to whom it seemed the highest God and father of all to have created immediately the first mind, to which the forms of all inhere, but the soul of the all through him and after that one all the creatures. To these Eunomius following later, he placed the son to be second by worth and order, but the spirit he subjected third, and connecting to this from false sequence the also by nature these to have been transposed, the according to essence difference in the homoousios against his head he was sophistical about. But the great Athanasius with those having come together those (for I return) true God the son of God by all words and proofs he showed, both eternal and of equal to the leading father the hypostasis of the son and of the same essence and nature the scripture testifying having shown, and which from the sacred books the dividers of the divinity were trying to seize as advocacy, sacrilege as truly and slander from distorted opinion having been dared having refuted; for the things having been said through the human nature concerning Christ more humbly towards the bare divinity to transfer him they were sophistical simply, just as if by the higher those they honored the human nature; for from both sides the same would have been sin indeed; for if one is to whom also both these belong, and the natures have been united according to hypostasis in one Christ, but some of them according to the one belong, the greater, but the lesser according to the remaining fit to the two natures; for true man he had become, having remained in the truth of the divinity and having taken up, not having been transformed. Therefore also he receives and is taught and is helped from father and is sent and is glorified and obeys indeed to the father and receives commandments and obeys and prays and labors and is angry and is grieved and is united to the

disciples and is numbered with the creatures, and all these firmly and truly, from one side upon shame of the Manichaeans introducing the incarnation as a phantom, from the other side upon overthrow of Valentinus, the Lord not to have taken up earthly body, but to have come from heaven bearing this, and to have seemed to receive from the virgin nothing having received from there, but as by some pipe of the to this life procession having used only her, and many such fashioning of which Apollinaris much more impious to have been transformed something towards the flesh of the essence of the Word saying, not by unturnable the divine nature to have taken up man. To those humble therefore those, which I said earlier, the daring of the said is near; but only begotten from father he is named and true son of God and upon all God and all the fullness of the divinity to dwell in him and to be equal to God and father and character of the paternal hypostasis, and all whatever the father does, these also he himself similarly does and by the word of his power to bear the all, and all indeed such, so that Paul the Samosatene would be refuted and Photinus, who only human nature in our lord to have become, and this by the through virtues purification and ascent towards the participation of the divine to have been raised glory of men differently of all they considered, and besides these Arius was refuting Christ not similarly to those theopoing and adopting and inserting to the degree of the adopted divinity, but in another way transgressing against the divine nature and saying the son of God creature of him and work, to which indeed of the human nature having come together, some mixture of surpassing nature and human Christ to have become.

6.To all those scriptural passages the Church of Christ, genuinely attending to each and according to the time, fled the errors of the aforementioned, and rejected Sabellius, declaring the Father and the Son to be another person, which indeed also to most of the impious seemed to have provided involuntary advocacy to the truth (thus also the falsehood is enemy to itself, just as again everywhere and in every way agreeing is the truth), but refuted both Photinus and Arius, proclaiming Christ true God and by nature in agreement with Sabellius, and neither flesh alone the divine Word to have taken up, of the divinity instead of soul to the flesh having become, pious it seemed to it to believe concerning Christ, nor sensory soul without mind and intellect to have been born together to the human of Christ, of the God Word having filled their need, of which the one indeed is referred to Arius, but of the other father was Apollinaris, nor the opinion of Origen it accepted, who with the incorporeal spirits the soul of Christ to have been created he babbled before this bodily world and to have been taken up by the divine Word having become immediately, then for the sake of the salvation of men flesh to have taken in the fullness of time, but flesh and soul together rational, and wholly completed to have subsisted the man in the divine person, by the quantity only of the body and by the psychic habits taking the progress from time, by these also faster by much being perfected, neither before to have subsisted completely being taken up, nor after the completely to have subsisted having been taken up, but at the same time both having subsisted to the Word and having been connected into union of personal unity, to it and before it it pleased to the spirit of the scriptures. Of these some indeed also before the synod in Nicaea were determined having often come together in part to the pious, but the vote against Arius of his especially madness purified the inhabited world, of the other heresies to trouble remaining having ceased, and the son of God manifestly homoousios he proclaimed to God and father; and from there we just as indeed the fathers from the first having chosen, one and the same essence in father and son we believe to be existing personally differing and by the own only being distinguished from each other; for the father is in the divine trinity, that is cause and beginning and generative of homoousios persons, of which the one indeed as word

from him is conceived, but the other as spirit in another manner has proceeded, and of the one for the sake of clarity generator, but of the other projector he has been named; but the word is of the father and son and offspring and only son and whole son, generator or projector not existing neither being called nor something else of the equivalents, if indeed not even father. By the generative therefore only and originating property of the father being separated, which indeed he alone that is with no sharer of the homoousios persons has, by the nature and whatever to the communion of the divinity is in, one God with the father and one creator and the other thus we believe to be, of such unity not even the spirit being excluded; for the things commonly belonging to these both it is necessary indeed to belong to that one, as to one at least to all; this but the son of God and son of man having become seedlessly true the same in unturnable and impassible the divinity that economy upon improvement of the human nature to have completed, which indeed also has been shown manifestly to the works having turned out, from there of the men having been roused thus to the desire of the eternal to cleave, so that the sensation and the whole not quietly overlooking nor leisurely purifying and philosophizing, but at the same time under one leaving all and dishonoring and trial of many painful being infused towards the heavenly to be led end, and of falsehood nothing nor of phantom to the according to the economy works and passions to have been mixed we believe, but in truth of both divinity and humanity the salvation to us having become man to have accomplished the word, of the one indeed undergoing the purification and the elevation instead of the whole nature, of which through the having taken up God counterweight was, but of the purifying and leading up from near (for of personal connection nothing greater), rather of the same the same not according to the same having accomplished manner, but having subsisted indeed the human according to the to these fitting nature, having worked miracles but according to the divine the divine in unity of person of the divine, in which also the human nature was person, not as other by number, but as completely person one.

7.These things are from the first synod of the fathers; but error also seizes Macedonius again, having sprung from the lightness ruling over him, through which he was enthroned by the bloods, and having provided to him all the narrowness of the falsehood of the article concerning the spirit; for that synod brought forth the things concerning the son only developed, at that time of the Arians troubling that one. And a synod which under Theodosius the most beautiful king is gathered dissolving the confusion from Macedonius in this greatest of the cities, in which the terrible also more prevailed, and this false protector of the church proposes the half-Arianism, conceding the son indeed to be homoousios to the father, but saying the divine spirit to be creature of the son and work and through him to have become similarly to the other beings; for the father to be said towards the son and towards the father the son to turn back, but the appellation of the spirit having been freed, as he thought, to have been attached of the only-begotten being proclaimed by the scripture of the word, he made proof of the only those hypostases to be related by nature, but the spirit to have been thrown to these as some of these energy, by which to more honorable and prior of the others, he says, the word of God established all nature as by some instrument and servant towards the remaining of the works having used. But the great Gregory with the present inspired ones referring towards God and father just as the prior ones the son congenitally, thus these the spirit; for those both from the father to have been begotten the son they dogmatized homoousios to the father, and these the spirit from the father indeed to proceed, but to father and to son to be worshiped together and to be glorified together, and they develop indeed to generator and projector the father name first, from which indeed also to them the

judgment of the question followed well, by the symbol however they engrave the evangelic voice, of which nothing safer; they established, "to proceed from the father" as placing law and of the prior synod the symbol to the words of the master developing, so that no longer would there be need of no development, sufficiently those words revealing the procession of the spirit; for the to proceed another energy besides the generation indeed to show and the beginning of the energy the father projecting and not generating indeed the spirit it signifies; and to father not only to be worshiped together, but also to the son they say, but from the son to proceed they do not say, but from the father only, and all the falsehood they take away of Macedonius (but this was, the son to be creatively cause of the spirit); for neither creation of the son they concede to be, but to the divine to be glorified together by nature, neither also from the son they say to proceed, but to the person of the father only they give this; for all of the father also the son has, except of the cause, and the son in the pronunciation of the divine names to mediate nothing to them it seemed to stand against to the spirit of the father to be near problem and congenitally as to say to have been adapted, but they thought also through son this being said to proceed from the father, that is of the son having been said earlier, through the necessary sequence of the names, no less from the father to subsist near, of nothing standing against nor preventing nor dissolving of the mediation in the word of the son that unbreakable in the deed relation in both father and spirit; and thus indeed the son and the spirit of the paternal hypostasis the one generating, but the other projecting they considered well to have been suspended just as two branches of one root springing up or two rivers from the same spring gushing out or twin rays of one being sent out sun; and if indeed it is necessary secondarily such things to call in at least the order of the cause, these also both equally they have given, the third to the spirit according to only of the names the arrangement from their sequence keeping, otherwise to the son indeed according to nature, but to the father also according to cause having been adapted, as accurately from there subsisting. These are voices of those having worked out the development.

8.By such arrows of the truth Macedonius having been struck and not even thus having understood, he is cut off from the wholeness of the pious; but not yet accurately of the evils from those having ceased, the impious Photinus rises up again; for offspring of that one's impiety the nonsenses of Nestorius having sprung up indeed in the soul of Theodore, but in Nestorius having received the destructive sprout. And Nestorius dares to say Christ to have become temple of God having received the divine word having dwelt in a perfect human person, having become so much better than Photinus, that not even against the eternal generation of the divine word he shared with that one of the blasphemies; and that one indeed from the passion and the best works instead of prize to Christ the glory of the divinity to have come he taught, but this one in the first of the human conception of the divine glory he said him to partake by participation the other times having happened he would conquer through the most complete indwelling of the divinity; whence neither mother of God the blessed virgin he called, but of Christ only, and the holy spirit to work in Christ the paradoxes just as in the other saints, in whom the prior time he dwelt. But also this one of the synod in Ephesus of the fathers has become work, of Theodosius indeed arranging the contest and the judgment of the New by commands being sent everywhere, but of Cyril contending and of the beautiful contests leading and by the power of the truth conquering also before to come to hands the innovator Nestorius, and dogma through Cyril prevails, our master and word of God the same both man to be in one person to the divine and of both having been united the natures, so that of God the person to be the person

of the man that one well, and of both the higher and divine energies and of the humbler works both and passions one and the same to be cause, each however by the own doing and subsisting by nature, so that from there also body of God the flesh of Christ to be believed and mother of God to be called justly, from whom that one he took up, and divine spirit not dwelling to inspire Christ and to use of the wonders as instrument, but being together in the nature (for he himself was the word of God personally) and from him to proceed either working miracles immediately, as he stopped the flow of the woman, or those receiving inspiring, so that through him they would work miracles in time, just as being breathed into the apostles it was given for not according to participation existing through him just as of some instrument the spiritual powers were working, but he himself the source of the spiritual gifts happened to be, he himself by the nature of the divinity the other had together paraclete, and to the source of the spiritual graces being together, source of these also he was no less and provider, not servant, and self-worker, not deacon, nor giving as having been taken up, but from the inherent by nature being generous, and with the same authority, with which his own the divine spirit gives gifts, that one indeed giving; for as that one gives himself being God, thus also our master that one provided; and as that one proceeds from himself and of the unutterable secrecy being revealed, thus from the savior he proceeds, to whom by the nature of the divinity and through it to the person completely indeed he was together. And yet Cyril is slandered beyond the economy of some being drawn, which to the true incarnation of the word standing together he said, and the participation of the spirit driving as furthest of the divine person both and God, he honoring, as it seemed, our master Christ, the foundation of the Christian piety impiously Nestorius undermined; for it seemed from the appearing to those taking hold Cyril also eternally from the son of God the spirit to say to subsist and the paternal property to transfer towards the word and the divine hypostases Sabellianly again to confuse; but the accusations are well acquitted and he shows the things concerning the procession of the spirit similarly to those assailants thinking and nothing foreign introducing, but of Nestorius by the absurd participations in Christ and theopoiiais by all word and contrivance the genuineness of the divinity in the person of Christ showing having fought. Of the things having become in that synod the most beautiful, threats against those still having dared to trouble the symbol of the faith; and they themselves first keep which concerning the not needing to change in nothing the symbol by additions or subtractions they placed laws, but the remaining of the orthodox synods keep together, from there to those willing to be pious of the symbol having remained untroubled for difficult it seemed to the fathers in Ephesus Nestorius or someone else, also patriarchal as that one having throne, to dare of the common of the pious teaching to touch, which after the developments of the second synod was most complete, of all as it belonged having been developed the chapters of the faith. And of that disturbance cause the symbol of Nestorius they would have known, by which of the pious being corrupted, not the genuine shepherds would have been able to be quiet and to bear; but that therefore the other things were well, which towards the unity of the essence in God and the properties of the persons it comes, but the union of the natures in Christ it shook by absurd additions, on account of which also absurd some immediately it seemed and the penalties of the heretics it underwent, not even until death having repented, of the other dogmas on account of him neither Cyril nor the whole synod having accused.

9.Eutyches, not having understood the vote of that synod as it was necessary and thus very much choosing to guard the unity of the person in Christ, so that from abundance the nonsense of Nestorius would be driven out, falls into another precipice of impiety and thought two natures in Christ to have come

together into one nature, from two indeed natures the beginning, not however in two at least to have consisted and to remain willing the person of Christ. But also this one the synod in Chalcedon refuted, of Marcian the piety arranging that contest there; and the sophisms and nonsenses of Dioscorus and Eutyches against the two natures in Christ give way, to which nothing but was happening of those refuting the faith, but the dogma of piety rises up not even then moderately having been troubled from those nonsenses, of Armenia alone instead of the things having been decided in common to the pious to the sophisms of the heretics having been added and until now of them being held, and it is proclaimed again union of natures in Christ of two also after the union being kept, neither before the union being in him, nor into one nature having been mixed; for to the former it would have happened the human of Christ also before the incarnation to be, but to the latter it would have been together from necessity, either neither nature to have been saved, when of the mixed in the mixing not being able to keep the form, or of the one having remained, to revive the heresy of Manes, if divine was the remaining, of the human being phantom, but of Apollinaris to return the opinion from some change of the divine essence having received man; and they were denying by the thesis these to happen those having placed the one nature in Christ and by myriad curses Apollinarius both and Manes and the others all they threw, to whom they seemed to happen, but no less the sacred choir excommunicated them; for it was necessary rather to deny the thesis, but of this remaining of the following to accuse, or as they do not follow to try to show, by sophisms the manifest sequence of the terrible shadowing deceit, and of the truth corruption and victory of the falsehood in form of withdrawal and sophism of the towards the orthodox peace and nothing healthy they considered to be, and through this of those shouting, neither of Manes nor of Apollinarius and of what they thought to make word, doing well, nor they paid attention, if not also of the one in Christ to have become nature from two they would become deniers.

10.Thus also to those having placed one will in our master the fathers of the sixth synod in this greatest of the cities were brought later, by beautiful example to those before them having used; but leaders of this heresy the ones about Macarius of Antioch and Honorius of Rome and Pyrrhus and Sergius; for they did not establish what simply one is, what by order to distinguish as it was necessary, and by this indeed having been led, the human will to have yielded without turning aside to the divine, so that also theandric to be allowed to call of Christ the human energy, of the also one will in him to have become completely they made sign, as also energy, and of the pious bringing forward to them the renewal of the one nature (for by the unity of the will and energy the also one to be nature it follows, or it would become of that beginning), anathema to Eutyches and Dioscorus they gave immediately, nor they willed the heresies of those to seem to bring back nor thus terribly to have been mad. It did not suffice also then to the pious those to become deniers of the following absurdities, but if they would not deny the thesis preparing the way to those, as to heretics they threatened to be marked, and they used finally not having denied; for it is necessary rather to renounce the beginning of the falsehood, than remaining upon that to flee to the denial of the falsehood; for this of those being sophistical it would be, just as if someone the divine spirit of the commonly belonging to father and son someone preventing (for of the peculiar they do not at all share), to those from healthy sequence pneumatomach they call him to suffice for apology he considered, to say Macedonius badly and to throw curses to Eunomius; for it was necessary rather to deny the thesis and nothing to belong to father and son to believe, which not also to the spirit belongs, even if something prevents to belong to that one on account of

the spirit, nor to those to share to consider of the thing; for to the other to exist it alone, nothing to prevent, as own; but of the thesis to contend having fought against those from necessity to this being together, is to concede and to war to the same, rather but in pretense of denial of the existing absurdities upon them also the cause of them thesis to force those unguardedly would agree to them. But the foolishness of the Monothelites by this synod has been well abolished, although much before this having troubled time, of Constantine the king to those fathers cooperating to those, but of the divine Maximus with many the advocacy having provided much of the truth to the dogma not of words only contests and writings, but also by myriad tortures and periods, as by love of the truth they contended rejoicing.

11.But I pass over the sacred synod before this, which the great Justinian convened in this city; but the work of this was the refutation again of the still growing up doctrines of Nestorius and of those wicked seeds of Origen, which concerning forms and souls and the penalties in Hades according with the Platonic theses to the words having sown, caused much the disturbance also after so much time to the pious, of many also of the glorious having been added to them, who to the honey of the words of Origen attending (for what of that one wiser, where with the truth and the common of the orthodox opinion he was arranged?), and of the understanding to the honey poison having drawn they were unaware; and I am silent the men being most sacred; for not contentiously they contended for the opinion, still the church not having brought forth public against the wicked doctrines of Origen the vote; however but also of Cyril of the good glory these fathers provide justly and they stop indeed the accusations of Theodoret as having been brought upon by spite, but to him of the dogmas they testify correctness, of which indeed also to the fathers before them cared; for it was not necessary of those having troubled the accusations being saved to the teacher of the church to rub off opinion of falsehood, but as of the just being lied against to be cast out, even if towards the truth of the faith nothing of them more accurate was.

12.But the culmination of the ecclesiastical confusion, the sedition against the sacred icons was roused, by how much of lighter it was invention of the mind, by so much also many kings and shepherds of the church, wolves through this rather to be named, having received advocates and time tolerably sufficient of Christ having ravaged the flock; for the over-zealous of this irrational innovation and to surpass the bestiality of those tyrants they contended, in pretext of piety being impious and of sparing of the glory of Christ, as they said, by deed his glory driving out; for not even it is necessary to idols again to give passage they said, by the presence of Christ and by the bloods of the martyrs of their honor having been driven out; but those therefore the contention both and impiety of the Jews they were trying to bring back, of the memory of the good from the economy by little being extinguished, of which in the souls of men the through the icons reminders kindle, instead of which indeed also the things of the Jews they dared sympathizing the most precious and in every way insulting. Therefore also to the pious of the same boldness also towards the impious these cared, of which against the godless long ago to the martyrs, and second contest this for Christ, the ones in the other heresies having hidden, to the upon the godless only having been preserved; and the way of the heavens saw again garland-bearers in crowds with those for the truth ascending marks, Damascene that great lamp of the church, Theophanes, Stephen, the similar ones. But it was necessary also this war late to be dissolved, and a synod is established in Nicaea, just as in a circle towards the same city of the ecumenical synods of the end returning, where also they had the beginning to become, and the icons again they set up and the through them piety they bring back; for neither to overlook it was necessary the from

there benefit of the thicker dispositions from there especially continuously towards the memory of the divine being roused, neither fear was, lest they would seem to make idols; for those indeed, of false prototypes idols being (for what the gods of the nations all", David would say, demons"), vain works of human hands and worse than idol towards imitation; for what would become likeness of the completely not being? Such but the gods of the Greeks, of the highest appellation from the only God towards the apostate natures or the visible these having been transferred alas by the works of him and the appellations of the to the Greeks having been fashioned powers instead of one the all doing both and saving, of the wicked prevailing demons and the to the nothing being powers being carried honor upon evil of those giving to themselves sharing together. The things of the Greeks such; we but the true existences by the images we honor beginning making the in flesh of God having been revealed hypostasis, then whatever through it to us has come good and through which the towards that one to us has been established faith connecting, of which not would have been otherwise better to remember and more intimately than by the sacred of them images; but what greater is, it did not please to the pious the church by so many years to have wandered to seem having conceded to rather worthless custom, of which at least especially those being pious it is necessary to provide and to the innovators not to allow, through which they boast, to fill up or to correct the preceding, of lack shame or of fault to so many of the faithful synods being rubbed off, nor to share they will to them upon insult of those from most having prevailed.

13.Remembering this restoration of the sacred icons today, of eternal indeed we deem memory those sacred queens and kings with them, who the calm to the pious bestowed for the glory of the church having been warred against in most time, but of anathema by indissoluble bonds we subject those impious those against the truth by rash hand and mind having waged war; of the same from both sides we deem worthy, to the laws of the church following, also those immediately from Christ our master until now either having stood together to the glory of the truth and to the orthodox having lived by opinions or of the destructive heresies both leaders and followers and over-zealous having become, to the former the with acclaim memory paying, but to the latter the other allotting, as also before the ecclesiastical vote prevailed and of the on both sides being sent upon them curses, of God the fitting punishments them both and of what they thought badly and of what the well-thinking badly they were doing exacting; for the father of falsehood yielded nothing nor after the heresy of the iconoclasts of the concerning such zeal, but to some others later having entered, through them to the pious provided troubles, such was that Italian John, Barlaam the Calabrian, Akindynos, the about them all, another to another of the excessive having been placed dogmas, and by sacred and great synods having been refuted manifestly, by the neither to have willed to the words of the truth to yield and to the error contentiously to have remained the to the heretics having threatened fitting place. But also against them the heavenly grace armed others both many of the inspired then and that Palamas Gregory, man after those three luminaries of the inhabited world to the choir of the teachers by power of word and by purity of life and by graces of spirit having shone forth, and before him the great from Cyprus patriarch Gregory and by the same to that one having been adorned good things, of whom the ones the against Beccus contests crowned, but the others the against Akindynos and the fellow-contenders of that one; both by writings and words for the truth having shown,

14.The indeed to depart from the truth, to the heretics existing to all similarly, no one of the eternal and blessed life to partake it allows; but the different of the truth departure of others to another of the truth

SERMON 6. ON THE FEAST OF ORTHODOXY

dogma warring and the by wickedness of mind or rottenness this to have suffered the difference in them of the darkness they define and which other would become to such fitting justice; generally indeed the concerning love the schism (for corruption of it), this concerning the faith the disbelief; for not in dogmas the schism the subsistence has, but some disobedience of the commands of the church is and of its canons transgression with objection; but of disbelief the indeed not to will to agree to Christ and concerning the end the same distorted to have the will clear is unbelief, which Greeks long ago and now Jews and those by the other having been deceived myths suffer; but the to will indeed to agree to Christ, but of the will to fall away instead of the clear laws and dogmas of that one to the suggestions of the own reasonings being persuaded, this indeed of the heretics is passion, kind of disbelief, of two the lighter, who the true faith to confess they pretend the dogmas of this they corrupt. And the heresy distorted dogma they define all, and by laws and canons to all thus it seems, the also small something of the orthodox faith deviating heretic to be and to the against the heretics having been determined votes to be liable; such but the both aforementioned and the having been silenced all are, as many concerning something of the articles of the faith have been deceived (for not it was possible to have come through all this word). But in two of the to the faith having come being divided, and of the ones directly and especially towards it looking, such the articles of the faith, but of the obliquely towards it belonging, lighter indeed the concerning the second deception, as if someone denying brother to be Andrew of Peter falsehood to the scripture would attach and ignorance, heavier but the concerning the first; and by this indeed greater the accusation and there sharper has the punishment. Therefore also of the other heretics, however many concerning the chapters of the faith stumble, the concerning the sacred icons bad, more moderate, if not someone towards the inner of them scope taking away and worse of all to have become would vote, that the mystery of our piety to extinguish they seemed to will, by what they were doing; but the itself the of the icons to drive away worship heresy was not contrary to the faith, but from which contrary something to the faith was happening; for the church from the spirit being governed we think all to arrange; but those wicked to be the custom of the icons thinking or superfluous they considered they made disappear something concerning the church to become dogma, of so many synods, besides the not to dissolve having been placed the beginning, and firm by the works themselves having shown; however many but concerning the articles of the faith err, of these worse indeed the concerning the eternity of God wicked and to the against this being said stumbling, second but the concerning the economy obtuse. Of our master this is canon unwritten, unforgivable indeed the into the holy spirit blasphemy, but the into the son forgivable having declared; for the type of the canon remains that one, and heavier later than then immediately of the into the son of God blasphemy having been accepted. In these the leaders of the heresies much more difficult of the having received, and of these again the by time having been established the heresy cherishing more tolerable of the from near taking up, as by prejudice rather than distorted judgment serving; terrible but the prejudice reasonings of men to force, and nothing less to the dogmas than to the other all strengthens the custom. Therefore also of the having been brought up in them the towards them from the truth deserting more blameworthy, and of the of the dogma having been conquered, who to the of the temporary desire accede to the falsehood; however many but of all and especially to the faith to have harmed towards this directly having been disorderly and to the church to have rubbed off opinion of ignorance it happened, by the double of the heresy being held by manner, and by double responsibilities they are subject. But the of our mother compassion of the church, the heavenly gentleness imitating, the from all

of these of the heterodoxy degrees towards it turning back anticipating well receives, just as also the concerning the morals transgressing, whenever they repent; the having died in only to the worse morals or dogmas it turns away and itself justly with God.

15.Let the discourse concerning heresies in general and in part stand here commensurately to both the purpose and the need of the panegyris; but we giving thanks to the superior, that the most orthodox concerning both himself and his opinions he established in us, and to the fathers knowing thanks, who this beautiful to us accomplished, right hands to providence themselves instruments towards the need having provided, neither of words neither of dangers neither of other something of the possible having been disregarded by them, each the to the form fitting and to the order having contributed to the against the falsehood war and of the terrible of that ones champions, kings indeed to kings having counter-legislated the better, rather but to the legislating having been persuaded to the spirit, shepherds but instead of the destructive wolves those by the true having nourished the flocks by dogmas, teachers but instead of the sacrilegious and illegitimate interpreters with God the divine having investigated oracles, private citizens but by the better part and of the having prevailed truth defending having stood together, instead of the to the innovators unwisely having been added, let us pray indeed also until always to us from above this grace to be kept.

16.May you preserve, Christ King, in us the dogmas of the truth, which through yourself and your disciples to the prudent and worthy of receiving this you have given, for this grace having come into the world, who also before being present everywhere by the power of the eternal divinity, and neither towards the prior heresies allow those nourished by your truth to desert and to whom from fathers this belongs, neither by autonomy of human reasonings towards another some of the newly appeared corruptions of the truth to be drawn under, avarice and arrogance of our souls banishing, by which towards the difficult heresies to have slipped it is clear those from the beginning and until now having departed from you. And especially give also in the other matters prospering, as possible, not by faith only but also by the works of piety towards your love to progress; but if we should by ignorance both of the necessary and by negligence and by other stumblings being prevented to fare badly, at least that dark dogma of our souls to be driven furthest by the beauty of your love being illuminated, the needing instead of temporary some benefit trace some of the in the dogmas piety of the fathers to betray, which indeed terrifies the souls of the genuinely pious, now by unintelligible tongues being sung around; but the contrary of this give to all disposition, which you yourself upon the earth by deed you showed upon the most precious and of the whole world worthy flesh and all the well-thinking you persuaded to have, the also of the existing all both and of life itself and of freedom to those willing to give way, you the true of our blessedness pearl in the bosoms keeping, and the sword, which you came to throw upon earth, and the fire, which you came down to kindle, give to us, greatest king, both holding towards all men and until end having been kindled, that is the towards you indeed from love and your laws peace, towards all but those resisting you and them anyhow implacable war, with good hopes to leave the life and towards you the only our hope and the eternal harbor to depart in the contests of the for the truth sufferings to rest. This also to kings and to magnates and to peoples and to all us instill the mind; for truthful existing and just and loving us more than by us ourselves we are loved, you will not endure having cleaved to your desire genuinely to overlook, but of your love and faith having considered secondary all, which through you we despise we, also these with much the remaining you will add, having power, and you will show upon

all ways to us of salvation until then being unknown, that not with light they are sought of yours, but to those in darkness groping we are like without you trying to be saved. And you not you will give serpent ever to those seeking bread, us but instead of the breads serpents receiving you will overlook completely, being destroyed, not being nourished; for you overlooking finally, immediately we are destroyed, as until now only by your both being and living guardianship; and if not even asking to receive it is ours, but it is necessary indeed us to ask, but the to obtain upon you lies only, leisurely at least we will be able to receive anything, asking not having used; but by the not willing to ask not the not to receive follows only, but also the to receive which to the nature is indeed together; is indeed to the nature all the worse after that first evil counsel. To us indeed therefore it is fitting the to seek piously, but the after these yours is all; and you give of what we would hope better; and greater, rather but the ours we know what it is necessary to expect being governed from ourselves, but your graces are unknown to us completely both magnitude of them and multitude they have sent forth, and you only know what to give you are about and before to give. Send down to us leading of lives and words, who towards your way to us will guide; dissolve the most evil famine this, which it extends to the cities above every famine, above every scourge, and you send having been left behind, by how much of the best of our is corruption of souls and of the these improving dogmas. The upon the most sacred thrones to us shepherds show genuine, without peddling your proclaiming word, and of tyrants and of kings before them to speak prepare them nothing being ashamed, so that not also you these would be ashamed in the public of the angels theater; this you yourself you said. Thus to us unadulterated being kept the faith, which from you and of the fathers we received, the those of this having been broken off again to return and with us to stand, the glory of the truth both by souls having received and by tongues having confessed, we pray indeed for widening of your church, for which your you poured out blood, and this not only for those in lesser limping, but also of the most having been sick we pray, however many we share of the nature, these also of your grace gifts to receive sharers good considering own; but the also our to be accomplished this prayer, of your would be providence and of their towards this preparation; until but not the same to us to walk they will will to those of your laws both by souls and by tongues being held, us at least the into you only love not of men only all, but also of the whole world the love it is necessary to prefer, you also this through Paul legislating. And give to us, Jesus most sweet, of the faith thus accurately having been guarded, and the from the works order having added, bright towards the of the fathers to come choir and the symbols of their virtue and faith bearing with them to live eternally, as you promised, and to reign, which is to enjoyably to understand and to know you the only-begotten of the true God son and the co-eternal to you father and the from him indeed subsisting, and yours but by nature and through you being revealed all-holy spirit, the in trinity of persons one God; to whom is fitting glory and worship from all the creation unto the ages; amen.

SERMON 7. ON THE HOLY EUCHARIST

7. Sermon on the Holy Eucharist.

† George Scholarius Concerning the mystical Body of our Lord Jesus Christ.

1.Since by the abstinence of these holy days and by our words concerning it you have been prepared for the holy table, O those present, God concurring, and the mystery of the Eucharist after six days from the present you are about to receive and of the body both and blood to partake of our master, I considered it necessary also concerning this mystery your reasoning, as much as the Lord would give, to comfort without doubting indeed approaching it and with utmost faith, but by the greatness of the matter being astonished. And of varied and much-divided being the concerning the body of Christ theory, the one as natural, but the other as glorious, but the other as having been glorified, but the other as mystical, also words of each admitting to the different of the subject fitting, the other indeed now I will pass over, immediately but concerning the mystical the word all I will make. And of threefold also concerning this being the theory, the one concerning the existence of the mystery, but the other concerning the worthy reception of this, but the other concerning the with care of it keeping, concerning the existence of the mystery especially I will discourse today the both truth to you setting forth and by examples it revealing, from which the of the unbelievers oppositions are refuted; for if indeed something of the miracles of Christ, also this to the unbelievers stumbling block becomes, by how much more wondrous of the others it is, by so much more being disbelieved, so that also to those first having heard hard the word seemed to be and of scandal became pretext.

2.He had indeed all to our master well and the way he was going through of the ineffable and all word conquering economy both teaching and working miracles and sowing indeed the seeds of the truth, both as many in dogmas and as many in morals, and the heavenly and divine legislation showing, by word both to those then being able to attend, through which he was about, of the time proceeding, also everywhere of the inhabited world his own laws to establish, and by own demonstrations of works, by miracles but the word of the truth confirming to all indeed those hearing, of which last and greatest was the of Lazarus towards this life return. Remaining but were of those all having been worked out well the against him madness of the Jews and the cross and the through it trophy. These but both foreknowing and about to endure and foretelling and towards the of these outcome urging the matters, of the justly would have become causes of goodwill both and honor works of him and words hatred having kindled, rather but envy in the of the desperate souls, he was hastening but thus the cross and the death, as chapters of the economy being and of the common our sin and punishment upon it ransoms, which he came to dissolve philanthropically both together and justly; for the before all of the in this grace of the faithful polity pedagogies some were and laws the human life to regulate being able.

3.Thus therefore having and being conscious to himself the disciples about to leave, mystical some manner to those both he gives himself and to us through those. For do not think, he says, that also bodily of me ever you will be separated or of the of life words those you will be left, by which you present I was nourishing, but my body new some manner and mystical now I provide both and the blood the for you and of all the world about shortly to be poured out, and the type to you I give of such miracle and the of to do I instill power; for the of my he says activity all bread and all wine towards my blood and body it will

transform, whenever of me to remember you will wish and as being together and being one and strengthening towards all good to have. For what would become of to be eaten and to be drunk greater connection? Thus therefore my body eating and the blood drinking, as to be eaten these and to be drunk it is necessary, eternal life you will have being conformed indeed to me and as to say being made co-corporeal, good but towards that life wayfarers becoming according to me, since also I myself wayfarer for you I became way both of which and end the last. Nor will there be some fear, to suffer wandering those of such flesh and of blood such to partake being deemed worthy; for no one would wayfaring be endangered to me being together, me using guide; but the partaking thus not from outside he will have guiding, but from within the necessary suggesting; he will be mixed together for me, and he himself both in me he will remain both I in him. Nor burdensome to be it is necessary and hard the of the partaking word to you; for not you will become numb flesh eating human and blood drinking under this disposition, under which now they have subsisted and are in me, but as in bread and wine to eat and to drink you are about, and the of the bread and wine appearing truth the truth invisibly of the body and blood it will contain, of the indeed essence having been transformed, so that in you the mystery would work, but of the from outside disposition the same being kept, so that no one you dizziness having seized would lead away of the partaking. These therefore thus doing, not of friendship sake only, but also of benefit, both of word and of life remembering mine, in the spiritual life you will progress indeed and of the future that in time you will be deemed worthy, towards which you sufficiently before I prepared.

4.This is the purpose of the mystery, O those present, as in few words concerning the greatest and most divine to discuss. And now the mystery to those partaking works progress of the according to Christ life, which bodily does the appearing of it, this mystically both and invisibly within accomplishing; for it nourishes and restores our soul the body of Christ just as the bread to the body this works, and just as we are regenerated being baptized and the being of grace the being of sin we receive, being anointed but by the myrrh in the of the regeneration we are confirmed gift and towards the spiritual contests we are strengthened being marked, which necessity all those spiritually being born to undergo, thus it is necessary also to be nourished those having been strengthened and the in the grace to receive remaining and increase by the mystery of the partaking. For just as the natural of the body heat would consume the inherent moisture of this not by the from the foods additions being helped, and through this by the food and by the drink is kept indeed the constituting the nature within well, is replenished but the having been corrupted by the heat and is restored, and impossible it is otherwise the human life not even at all to last, thus the heat of wickedness within the soul devouring by the fatness of piety to dry it made would it completely fail, if not the spiritual this the soul food it would receive being set against to the corrupting power of wickedness and constituting in us the spiritual of God gifts and increasing. The but of Christ body by the word of the body nourishing, by the but of the purity word by the towards the divine nature union purifying and sanctifying, sufficiently to us the spiritual provides nourishment; being nourished but thus well towards the spiritual purity and health we are brought back, of which us the of the forbidden food drove out then. For it was necessary us by some bodily food the integrity and that health having lost by some bodily again food towards that to return and the indeed similar by the similar to be healed well, by the but contrary the contrary, such foods indeed both bodily, both the having corrupted the beginning, both the saving now, both health and spiritual life both the being saved, both the being corrupted; but that indeed turned away God, this but now he allows and

provides; and that indeed the wicked demon introduced, of this but the of God son not counselor only, but also deacon becomes; and that indeed was snatched away, towards this but also we are called clearly; and that indeed lay hidden the poison of the transgression, by this but is hidden treasure of goods countless. For the most sacred of Christ body well being eaten, as says the divine Gregory, to those warring indeed is weapon, to those traveling abroad but return; the weak it strengthens, the strong it gladdens, the diseases it heals, the health it preserves; through this we become gentler towards correction, towards the toils more patient, warmer towards love, towards knowledge sharper, more eager towards obedience, sharper towards the of the gifts activity, of which the contrary to those not well partaking follows; for the table becomes against them into pit and into recompense and into scandal, and as many other to such to happen concerning the sacred this table prophesying David enumerates, still of the eating being in their mouth, also wrath of God. O mystery of all mysteries most sacred and itself the of the baptism surpassing; through that indeed to us the master according to power only, through this but according to essence to us he communicates. O wonder wonder all surpassing; o transubstantiation much the paradox having and gracious to those by the faith having been illuminated.

5.Nothing indeed is difficult nor unbelievable the first of all cause to make something contrary to the established by him to the matters order, whenever he should will, which indeed miracle to be we say, where also to the nature it happens also from within some such to do or to suffer anyhow; for all change natural, both generation it is, both increase, both alteration, either according to nature is or contrary to nature, as to the Philosopher it seems, as has the according to time becoming stronger or untimely and as the in the critical days being healed of the diseases or also before these and after these, of which the according to nature becoming nothing in us wonder stirs, the but contrary to nature alone is wondered. Of many but from God becoming and having become miracles this greatest truly; for this the mystery change some containing of essence into essence having become in an instant, of the accidents unchangeable remaining, of all change natural both and contrary to nature has been excepted. But now the natural having left changes, to which the contrary to nature have been attached rarely in the nature becoming, the divine let us consider miracles. He releases indeed God of fever and of diseases other without healing, just as the of Peter mother-in-law and the of the centurion child and many others he healed, and he thickens the air towards rain, of no preceding natural cause of the rains, as through Samuel and of Elijah he has made before; but in such all the order only and the manner of the nature he transforms, he makes but matter according to each to become being able, if also not by this way. Again dead he raises just as Lazarus and eyes he opens of blind; but in such he casts out indeed the of the nature order, but not as much towards the becoming, as but towards the in which these becomes, towards the subject namely; for makes also the nature itself life, but not in the dead, and he gives sight, but not to the completely having been blinded the eyes. Again he stops sun through Joshua the son of Nun and the human body he glorifies through himself and body through body to pass through he makes, which indeed the greatest in the of God wonders order they hold, as in no way by the nature being able to become. But also of these lies above the proposed wonder; he stops for only there the sun, but not at the same time also to be moved he makes the same nor at the same time to be both and not to be; here but he makes indeed body the bread, but also the body without the to it fitting accidents and the of the bread accidents without the to them fitting essence he preserves, and essence to other accidents having been united he connects with accidents to other belonging essence. O of greatest wonder and all word conquering, again I

will say. But I have to this wonder wonder to compare another, that the human nature God to the divine person he united, not as to the soul the body he unites, of each by the own only name being called (neither for the soul body neither the body soul is called), but thus he unites personally, so that God man to be and God to exist the man. But also of this more wondrous is the mystery; there indeed neither towards the other has been transformed nature, but in one the of Christ person both the divinity both the human nature unconfusedly is; here but the creature towards the creator is transformed through middle of the body and the pre-existing of the bread essence body of God becomes, of Christ becoming body.

6.Greater indeed than all the divine wonders as truly for these is the of the bread towards the body the lordly transubstantiation, but not impossible to the towards the divine looking power; for neither it is necessary God to consider, nothing to be able contrary to the natural of the beings order to make, to whom both the nature and the order are subject, and much more where also the nature itself it is possible to see of its own limits standing out sometimes. Neither the indeed as ready of the wonders it is necessary to God to concede, towards but the greater and more difficult to condemn inability of the power infinite having and corresponding to the will; for if the order surpasses of the nature as lying above all cause in the of the subjects difference, why not also in the same matter this having willed he will surpass? If but he does not serve the order of the nature being the creator of it, why not also the nature itself he would transform, as he himself would will? For just as to some created power also the of the wonders last to the order completely unattempted, thus to the abundance belongs of the infinite power, whenever he should will, greater always of greater wonder to devise and to make and towards no excess to stand. What but would be also difficult to the this all having established and partial some to arrange nature as he wills? Through this he dissolves indeed God fever by healing and way of the nature; through him for both art and nature accomplishes, of all to them the preparation from there having come; he dissolves but sometimes fever neither by the way of the nature neither by the art using; by the same but power also life he breathes into the dead, which the nature to the living gives only. Beyond but also the by nature heavy and earthly body of the natural weight and of the mortality releasing he brings in of the doors having been closed and he raises towards the heavenly space and corporeality and spirituality he establishes in the same matter, so as to be indeed the same body truly of man, to be however body spiritual and as would through the closed to pass through giving way to the divine power, just as some of the simple bodies through bodies pass through closed, force of human hands this doing.

7.Concerning indeed of the divine wonders sufficient so much to say, as into the proposed to us it fits need, to the proposed only attending now mystery, again taking up we say, that by the divine power simply in no way impossible this, and towards each of the difficulties, by which some towards the disbelief are led of the mystery, easy to counter-contrive the human word, although of the mystery completely by faith only to be received it is necessary and to be held. Immediately the indeed of the change instantaneous by the infinity of the divine power is healed; for the infinite power in an instant of time is able the greatest of the bodies to move, as to the Philosopher it seems, so that also to transform in an instant of time the all producing power not would weaken; to the but the of the essences being astonished change many indeed the divine scripture, many but the nature itself gives similarities. There is indeed of waters nature, into which being cast wood not into long into stone nature is transformed; in but the belly and to the stomach of the animal according to each day the of the food pure after the digestion and the alteration being given back to liver and to veins through it addition to the essence of the being nourished becomes. How therefore? Not also these seem

wondrous to the unbelievers? But the indeed bread flesh becoming in them they do not disbelieve, according to but of the mystery only the disbelief they stir up; if but also the Satan said tempting: "Say that these stones breads become, if God you are," as knowing clearly the divine power sufficient in an instant this to do, if he should will, how the saying not to be able God the bread into human flesh to transform, which also the nature in defined part of time makes, not he lies worse of the tempter, who is of the falsehood father? The this now working the wonder power the woman once of Lot into salt pillar suddenly having transformed, the not willing to be persuaded to God commanding it admonishes; the same the of Moses rod into serpent and from serpent again into rod transformed; the water the same has made wine later in Cana; this the flesh of the animal fruit makes through time and to the flesh the fruit again it adds from change.

8.But whenever they grant the of the essence change in this mystery not to be at all impossible, from the quantity again they attempt. For the indeed of the of the bread essence into the of the body being transformed the accidents to the bread remaining of the subject without, beyond the nature being, however not it surpasses the resource of the mind; not to exist indeed to subject the accidents impossible (for this from the word of the accidents is), to devise but something such however we are able and of the subject the accident to take away by the power of the mind, by which way also the of the universal word we collect from the particular taking away; the but by the power of the mind becoming of ours would become also by the power of the greatest and first mind at the same time both understanding it and in the matter thus creating. But other to be they say in this mystery not only the nature, but also the such of the mind power surpassing, that in small of the appearing quantity whole Christ to be is believed. But not also this of consolation is deprived the wonder; for not is in this sacred sacrifice the of Christ body naturally, but mystically only, and through this not is in it just as having been encamped in some place nor under the own the of the true body dimensions, but under the of the bread dimensions only. Whence since the essence according to itself and according to what it is essence, not it holds place nor it seeks, if not according to as it is under the dimensions of the quantity, it is consequent from there, in this mystery the of Christ body not to seek nor to hold more place than as it seeks and hold the dimensions of the bread, under which the of the body essence is covered. To disbelieve but concerning this not it is necessary, of many other in the nature matters the same nearly difficulty proposing; for the human soul whole is in whole the body and whole in each of the parts of the body and the same both in the part and whole the body nature it has, and thus it has of magnitude in the infant as in the of the giant body, if indeed it is necessary some of soul magnitude to devise, and through the of the body increase both and decrease or of limb some cutting out neither increase neither decrease neither cutting some also the soul co-subsists. But although this most true being and to all indeed of Greeks wise, to all but sacred teachers thus being thought, clearly however not it falls under to the mind, just as of the other intelligible the clear both and ready. How but also of tower magnitude or of mountain by the sight we measure by least the eyes of such magnitude form bearing? For it is as in the soul intelligibly the form of the tower and materially in it, thus spiritually in the eye, and by this spiritual form the of the outside magnitude we make comparison. What word to give back of such is able, although being most true? Thus but also in mirror small of greatest matters seeing images, not also of this nearly the word to offer we are able.

9.Besides these impossible to be they say those to the mystery disbelieving the of Christ mystical body being cut whole to remain and of the cuttings each itself whole to be the of Christ body and perfect. But our faith also this proclaims, wonder indeed similarly to the other paradoxes of the mystery, by many similarities

being advocated and before indeed all by the word of the mystery; for the division that and the cutting not of the body it touches of Christ, but in the of the quantity dimensions becomes only, under which after the change that the of Christ body is covered. Just as also of the mirror having been broken, neither the form is broken of the body the in it being seen and in each cutting the same is seen the form, and of the insects animals being divided whole the sensitive soul remains to the cuttings, as to the Philosopher it seems, and the human soul is indeed whole in each part of the body, no part but being cut is co-cut, and again in each part of the sensitive flesh the of the flesh existence is kept and all of the bread part bread is, thus also each part of the body of Christ whole is of Christ body, the in these similarities lacking the divine filling up in the mystery power, I say indeed if so much the part, so that in it to be able the of the bread to be kept word, if not towards the essence of the flesh it was transformed; for if into very thin it would be divided, also the of the body not is kept word, just as would have perished also the of the bread.

10.And the body of Christ is both in heaven and on earth and in every altar one and the same in number, and of many in this mystery becoming wonders, as it has been said, this of all astonishment is beyond and of most is full of difficulty. By different indeed regards it is possible the same in many places to be, such as our soul according to the indeed of the nature to be in that happens to be in that place, in which also bodily we are, as of the body being form and entelechy, according to but the to be of the love and of the disposition there to be, where the love it has, as it has been said: "Where your treasure is, there also your heart is"; and again "Our citizenship is in heavens," the divine apostle said. If therefore also the of Christ body this was said the manner in different to be found places, nothing would have been difficult to be understood; now but the same in number body according to the same both to be in different exists places we believe, which completely indeed impossibly to have seems to the law of the nature, we believe but thus to have undoubtedly to the of the divinely inspired words following, and by examples both and words the of the mind difficulty we console. All indeed body happening in some place, itself both whole by whole is measured by the place and the parts of this to the of the place parts are assigned, and of mediating of the own quantity is in the place; the for in place to be to the quantity properly belongs, consequently but also to the essence, of which the such quantity is, and from there it happens the body there only to be, where the quantity of it and the dimensions are found; impossible but the same quantity to more to be measured places at the same time. Upon but of the body of Christ not thus it has; for it is in place of mediating of the quantity of the also before existing to the bread; if but also the own quantity of the all-holy body inseparable to it is together, but consequently also of the essence mediating, which without own quantity to subsist not is able. Since therefore nothing prevents many to be quantities of breads in many altars, from there it happens also the of Christ body the same in number in more existing quantities not own, of these mediating in many to be found places. Of this but also by examples it is possible to use, both by our soul, which through the not to have quantity according to itself, which would be measured by the containing body, whole, both in whole and in each part of the body is by nature, and also by the word, which the same both in number and inherent to be is able and being said and being heard and being written, and the being said but one and the same by hearings is comprehended more, besides these by the of the sun light, both in the outside of the house transparent and within it and in the glass but being, through which passing the within of the house transparent it illuminates, by the same but however happening and neither of itself neither of the sun being separated; but indeed also the form in all is the own atoms, wherever would be these, one in number.

11.And by many such examples the difficulty of the mind to console we are able, but sufficient with faith unwavering this to think and by this only being confirmed the other as in passing to consider; supernatural for being to the mystery and monstrous all conquering monstrous what would be shown word human or what would suitably from the natural would be applied example? But I am not able, he says, to be persuaded; for the examples these and the words the faith they presuppose, I but of proof I need, to believe but not I am able. But you are able, if you will, to believe; for faith is voluntary of soul assent; if but not you will, other would be word. If not you will, not also that from earth becomes iron you will believe to the saying, perhaps far of such working happening and not knowing, nor that from some ash-like matter glass, through the not to have been present ever becoming nor by bodily senses these to see, and upon the other similarly. I but I will show to you, that many you believe, which to see not you are able. You believe from the four to be elements the body your, but not you see it being composed from them. You believe your great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather such to have become; but not you saw them. You believe the ocean to surround the earth; you believe to the saying the sun to eclipse whole or the half after so many days and hours; but not you saw these or not yet you have seen. If but to those these narrating you give back the faith, how much God more trustworthy of men those these narrating saying, that this is my body" and this my blood"?

12."But also concerning the truth of the one having said I doubt," he says, "and of his divinity." "But you have been blinded truly, man, concerning the evident doubting. Brighter than the sun they testify the truth of the one having said and the divinity the concerning him prophecies of the holy prophets, of the oracles, of the Sibyls, of all wise, of all seers famously the greatest that and saving innovation for improvement of the nature from afar foretelling, having economized this God, so that inexcusable your disbelief would be condemned, the preceding of the birth of him and of the revelation miracles, the above man his life, the highest and heavenly and divine truly legislation, the predictions of him into deed having come out all, the supernatural those miracles, the voluntary death, the upon him miracles, the after this splendors all, the of the disciples unwavering, great indeed, if of their faith it was, also much of the concerning Christ having been recognized to them truth proof, greater but, if of his grace which not being present bodily, as before, but invisibly from the heavens it instilling them, the of the apostles contests for him, their life nothing discordant having of the good dogmas and examples of the teacher, the dangers of these for the truth and of the world salvation with so much zeal, the miracles, which through them were worked and by which they were kept, the of the martyrs bloods and the miracles, the bright of all the of the earth climates from the wandering towards the true concerning God faith return, the of the long-lasting superstition overthrow so many tyrants and rulers standing before having and exceeding just, the of the holy church after this establishment, of all venerable and precious and spiritual full of possession and towards image of the in heavens order having been worked out. And what one would enumerate the most evident concerning the of Christ divinity proofs countless being in number and by power greatest?"

13.Whence the indeed concerning this mystery and of the others with it divine and holy mysteries and of all the faith doubts to the unbelievers and heretics let us leave, rather but also to these let us pray by the of the truth radiance to be illuminated; we but to the good harbor being moored, to the living, to the light, to the truth, to the towards the salvation way, to our I say master, and for all, by which us he has benefited, grace confessing let us give back to him now and of the spiritual this nourishment the thanksgiving, through which the in us of the grace heat remaining indeed it increases with much the addition, by but of wickedness failing

it rekindles and becoming dull it stirs up and it strengthens, and firmly and undoubtedly let us believe as many concerning this mystery the of Christ church teaches our mother, this is in this mystical body himself truly to be Christ under the accidents of the bread being covered and whole to be him that the from the blessed virgin having been born, the upon cross then, the in heaven now, and by this let us hasten continuously to be nourished by the as truly heavenly bread, one the manna well prefigured, and to be nourished as would nourish, but not as would burn; for fire it is as truly burning those unworthily partaking and nourishment of condemnation rather than of justification according to the divine apostle. Into Judas after the eating that entered Satan, and Uzziah sacrifice having offered, which not it was allowed, he became leprous, and Uzzah was struck by God, since he had dared unworthily to touch of the ark; and the wood, of which having eaten the first man has died, of life it was, but through the disobedience cause of death to the partaking has become; the of Galen sacred benefits indeed being given usefully, to dead but not it profits, the but not needing of the from it benefit also it would harm.

14.Concerning indeed the most sacred mystery so much at least now being let it be sufficient; let us go also we to the according to Lazarus miracle not spectators only of the becoming, but also of the power of the miracle-working overseers and of the hidden meaning to the miracle; for we will see our Jesus and master to tomb of friend coming fourth day leading in it and already smelling, Mary being called by the sister towards the meeting of the master and meeting and weeping heavily and to the feet of him rolling, Jesus weeping moderately and being indignant, either by the suffering of the nature humanly having suffered with or as lawgiver of us measures giving of the upon the dead tears, and after a little raising Lazarus by prayer and by voice calling with authority, the indeed that he would show the of the prayer useful, the but that of the divinity he would reveal the power; we will see Lazarus towards the voice rising, having been bound by grave-clothes and the face having been covered and smelling and finally to those reclining with Jesus being added, the Jews being disturbed at the miracle and blow considering this vital; for already it was being shown brightly God being by the magnificence of the miracle, and it being necessary to believe, to kill they were hastening the of life provider and of the of the others resurrection recompense to him his own to give death; and this not being able to do without slander, suspicion of tyranny they suggest to the people and the of the Romans they shake fear and the of the city destruction, the of the people vote from there to steal wishing. We will see our Jesus having hastened indeed thus the being meditated suffering upon most bright proofs of the divinity, withdrawing but again immediately, lest the suffering would overtake the royal that procession and the with the palm branches meeting and the of the children voices, which was about to happen entering the city, of the prophets also these foretelling, lest would be hindered the supper that the sacred, concerning which now to you the word we have made, and the wondrous that foot-washing, the of the humility and of the love teacher, and the last towards the disciples counsel, and as many before the death to be completed it was necessary, great to his glory, rather but to our glory and salvation confirmation bearing. So that therefore not all these would be interrupted, by the greater of Christ boldness towards sharper both savagery having been stirred up of the wicked council and more heavily to him the end bringing, no longer boldness walking this we will see, but near of the desert with the disciples staying.

15.Who, O those present, will despair of the salvation so great having master? Who dead being not as the of Jairus daughter nor as the of the widow son recently of the death having tasted, but four-day, that is long-standing, and by the four of the time seasons being extended having the deadness and the wickedness and

having been bound indeed by many sins hands and feet, the of the good practical powers clearly having been prevented by the wicked activities both and habits, the but intellectual sight having been bound by ignorance of the necessary voluntary and the of the wickedness stench breathing out, who therefore also such being will despair the salvation, these all seeing? For not the bodily he dissolves diseases only our master, but also the sins he forgives much more readily, as the psychic he removed disease of the paralytic before to attend to the healing of the body; for before he said: "Your sins are forgiven," then: "Take up your bed and go." By the practical therefore virtue the theory let us call back hastening as there Mary Martha and let us meet our master by philanthropy also of him greatest towards our resurrection hastening if only we would be prepared and we would anticipate his face in confession and weeping, the of the master and doctor pity we will draw; if also thus we would do, he our will raise Lazarus, that is the dead and of stench breathing out mind, and one of those reclining with him he will make and dining together, rather but also of the body to him he will impart of the sacred and of the blood and towards the spiritual he will make to progress life, not only of the trouble of the sins releasing, but also grace to grace adding. Glory to the mercy of him unto the ages; amen.

SERMON 8. ON GOOD FRIDAY

8. Sermon on Good Friday.

† Homily of the most blessed and renowned Patriarch Lord Gennadius, delivered on Holy and Great Friday in the palace, while still in the secular state.

1.Our Master, alas, upon the Cross, and let every display of words flee; of tears and gloom is the time, not of vainglory in any mortal matter. On account of these things therefore also to be silent I was wishing and a Hades-like darkness to enter, this indeed the said, but also the wicked council has plotted and now plots wickedly agreeing, and the disciples of Christ two by two and three by three lament and are terrified, and the creation as if by signal is shaken all and wishes indeed terrible things to the murderers, but by the of the Master again it is restrained by nod and until to dissolve its own harmony temporarily to show it is permitted the indignation. It was necessary therefore also me to you disciples and servants of the crucified and today having come together, with you the concerning the day this to consider. But grace to you, Christ King, that you mix to us with pleasure the sorrow and with joy the dejection; and to the indeed holy apostles all of confusion was full and of surge and of fear and of disturbance, of you towards the cross having ascended, the but faintly appearing of the better hope, by the heavy of the tragedy that and by the weight of the misfortune being submerged, their souls leaving behind it placed dead both before death and nothing having what also they would do; to us but of the joy having been filled the reasoning towards the pleasing being carried, the much of our despondency is taken away, rather but also we are despondent and of your pains we are sensible. But the fear of the terrible not troubles now murderers nor your we fear crucifiers, but also many to them we curse and we spit to those the their emulating ingratitude, nor we are sensible to your voluntary misfortunes, but also as victories we glorify ourselves, nor any despair frightens our souls, but of the indeed of your passion fruits we have tasted already and by the of the better hopes again we rejoice, of which pledges to us your mystical become graces, by the but memory only of your dreadful passion and by the concerning the amazing that matter reasonings and by the co-perception of the of the Master and beloved and loved ones blows we are disturbed. On account of these things therefore not by lamentation and wailing only to you the love we keep, but also by faith firm and of joy concepts having been imprinted, and not we are able to you pure the of the day this grief to show, otherwise but also we would drive out ourselves, also tunics we would tear around, not would have sufficed to us neither dust to the heads this patting nor stones striking against these to them, and the air of lamentations we would have filled and by the of the breasts blows we would have raised sound loud.

2.But if also not we are able these to do, although very easy being, as of the from the now being remembered misfortunes having received experience of cheerfulness and some sweetening having suffered pleasure and indelible, but let us consider at least, how much demands lamentation the matter, how much astonishment, how many cries from middle heart, how much helplessness and of reasonings surge and confusion; we will consider but very well, the saving this drama all having unfolded and the indeed of the disciples love and faith having taken up, the but fear having shaken off and the storm that, which the apostles then seized and the with silence of the wonder astonishment; to us for it is permitted with safety to believe and the faith without dangers to confess, from which they towards every danger for it were exposed. Therefore you ask indeed, I will answer but, or if you wish just as to those asking (for I conjecture

concerning what also you would ask), thus also to those being silent to you the possible I will dedicate word; it will be but to the time commensurate; for if ever also today it is necessary of the words the immoderation to flee, the but causes not it is necessary to add this very thing keeping the immoderation and of you knowing being able very well. To good but to us the concerning the symbol they say ends have come out; for the today to be said concerning the day of the following articles of the faith, both the fifth and sixth, which the economy of the Son of God summarize, clear unfolding it will be.

3.Why has God become man? Because the human nature having been separated from God by disobedience and from the proposed end to it and for many already times with the suffering having lived together and not even thus justice to give and to be purified having been able, having been filled therefore of the desires and into last perversion having drifted, it was impossible otherwise both justice to give and of forgiveness to obtain, so that both the divine justice of the fitting would obtain and the goodness of him of our wickedness would prevail, not of God the justice to himself giving for us and to us through himself the forgiveness providing. Consider but thus. Has fallen indeed the of the angels chief from heaven, of the divine having desired equality, that is into the of the blessedness to arrive end without the of God inclination having willed, and many others to himself he dragged down of the height that, by some incitement the judgment not by necessity having been distorted; for they were attending to him many through the superiority, either of all the earthly angels having been placed before, as the from Damascus says John, either of all the angels simply, as to others both and to Gregory the Dialogist it seems. And first in that nature the of the pride evil sprouted; for not it was possible otherwise that to err either through pride, of the intellectual nature first is sickness by this also the of the throne evil immediately grew up together, and the of the men overturned matters; consequent for it was to those the blessedness that losing shamefully to grieve upon the of the others good and all to do, so that under the same also those to bring misfortune. But the fall of these not curable was; the for the self-governing after the choice irreversible is to the angels immovably choosing what ever they would choose, just as by simple understanding attacks unchangeably of the own they hold concepts, but also having willed to return, not would provide the divine forgiveness, as one would conjecture; neither for having been plotted against by other, neither easily to be deceived being able, neither by the of the flesh communion the discerning having dimmer, from within themselves towards the desire of the not fitting superiority they were snatched away. They were cast out also of the men the first having become of paradise, by will and belly having partaken of which not it was allowed; by the for forbidden tree they laid the hand and of the more perfect knowledge untimely in themselves they conceived desire, but of these the fault not incurable was; repentance both them seized immediately, and until now we grieve by the first and common of the nature misfortunes we of the men those offspring and by the own each we are burdened by falls, as of nature easily changeable having obtained and very easily from both of the better towards the worse and from these towards the better again to return being able.

4.But also forgiveness the wickedness of these had much; being plotted against for those they dared, and composed indeed the drama and contrived nature of all the of God creatures wiser except the having been distorted the will, served but of all animals the upon earth more cunning except themselves the having been deceived, the but flesh from within advocate was to the deception and to the falsehood; this for before the intellectual truth the partial good embraces by nature and towards it is open-mouthed, if not it holds, nothing is difficult to it having been persuaded down precipices to be carried and towards the of the irrational to be

transferred order. Through this to the indeed wicked angels the towards the good return has been closed immediately both the wickedness having shown of the judgment and having remained at all in it, in but the grace having become indeed, least but having remained; for by the truth not he has stood, concerning the devil says the scripture; to men but time towards repentance has been determined and towards to give justices voluntary, of which willingly we sin; for if also many us from outside stir up towards the evil, but of the wickedness turning away to us God has placed power, of willing us, of those will be all stronger. To each therefore to be healed willing the of the present life has been placed time, this to us of the of God presence having accomplished, which not only in the way of the blessedness places again, but also being despondent encourages and yielding something of the tone strengthens and returning brings back by the power of the holy mysteries, which the active from which he suffered they have; by the but nature of the men to all common towards the healing the of the divine coming therefore of philanthropy has been determined time; until for that both to understand of the fault it was necessary them sufficiently both to be humbled and of the healing to desire and to condemn indeed of their weakness, by it but experience to learn, that neither virtue neither wisdom neither natural some other curiosity towards the of the terrible release to them will suffice, to turn but the hopes upon God, so that by him only also the of the healing grace they would inscribe later. So that this to become to them the habit, it was necessary of time periods long; through this by degree some towards this they were led up, law indeed from autonomy receiving, by patriarchs but and by prophets equal to pedagogues using the lighter of the teachings from beginning placing before and towards the greater through these and more perfect they accustom. These but not only towards the of the men he saw preparation, but also towards the magnitude of the divine benefaction it had proportionally both and suitably; it was necessary for the of the master presence, such many to have preceded, so that more reverently him the of the men would receive nature; if also immediately towards the amazing it resisted of the matter, but later recognizing according to small by to compose the outcomes of the works by the from afar having become concerning these promises, wholly both from the human freedom not immediately to follow punishment indeed would have followed none to the also after so many already times having been saved, much but the gain would have happened, from root both of the evil having been pulled up and of the men thus more to be wise from then being able, than if of such they were deemed worthy goods before to have paid justices of the wickedness and to have known this and to have condemned.

5.When therefore came the fullness of the times, in the to Galatians says the divine apostle, that is when end had the time, which God to the voluntary of the men determined misfortunes, he sent the son of him into the earth, by whom pedagogue was the law, and no longer under pedagogue we are," as he himself says, but of complete having tasted teaching, himself the of the truth teacher, rather but herself the truth having sufficiently the of the ignorance we remove disease, if only we would will. Neither therefore from other some except himself God, neither other some manner possible was by him to be mixed of our salvation the remedies than which it was mixed manner; it was necessary for justice to give the of the men nature together all, so that the divine justice in the the men all to heal would be preserved; but neither the living all possible was having come together justice to pay common, and much more the being born both and to be born to the surviving to come together impossible was, who all by one remedy to be healed were about, neither one some and whatever possible was, either to have willed to the common to become justices liable and this only to pay, which was therefore of greatest philanthropy, either having willed to the for all responsibilities only instead of

all to suffice, which of greatest would be power, of dignity but of the all highest; the for Adam nothing was wonderful, seed having become of the nature, the disease of him to those from himself to transmit, one but man the of all weaknesses both to bear and to shake off and this the grace towards all the nature together and through all to extend of the time impossible was and stronger than according to man. Through this his own power God to our mixed weaknesses, so that he would suffer indeed the of the weak as to those having been likened to them, by the but by him power and glory of all together the in us darkness would prevail and common would become the of the victory good to the before weak just as to him before the of our weakness reproaches.

6.Let us consider therefore also according to part thus. If it would have benefitted to the men or to the divine purpose other some manner to be economized the of the men salvation, it was necessary our flesh to have suffered and to have been pained instead of which it luxuriated before; it was necessary according to hypostasis to us to be united the physician, if to be united he was about, and this of infinite power to be, so that the of the art activity towards the human nature all would be extended; it was necessary the of the immortality hope firmly to receive us, of the this teaching showing by work upon himself both dying indeed truly, truly but again rising; it was necessary not wandering other worse to suffer us neither instead of God to venerate the from God being sent physician. These therefore and the such of angelic indeed nature serving by work, not thus it would have happened; for if angelic nature God took up, not we would have been pained, not we would have paid justice; if angel our nature took, not so much he was able to help. But better indeed would have been in angel having been taken to or in whatever of the men, not but it would have the of the nature pretext; herself for it was necessary being connected to infinite power, through herself to spring the healing to all the indivisible of the nature, has been bounded but the of the angels power indeed; if but also possible was through angel the all to be accomplished, but dangerous it was this other some manner and to many it would have seemed to be god; and wonderful nothing, where also of the bodies some were enamored the greater power having, better but it was to be considered god and to be believed the being. Neither therefore angel God becomes neither to any of the angels to be incarnate he commands, but himself he unites to the of the men nature personally and person indeed of man he takes, but the of the whole nature to him he puts around form rather but in his own person human he elevates person, the of the nature whole as likely it was counterbalance, both God and man in one becomes person, and the having been taken flesh and soul of God flesh and soul becomes, of man and thus having remained flesh and soul, and remaining indeed the of the divine nature peculiarity the towards our salvation works miracles, the but having been taken man gives the justice to the having taken God and makes the justice greatest the of the taking infinity both and the magnitude; from himself for and of his own the justice he takes, and the same we recognize relative and creator, brother and master, paraclete and judge, physician and remedy, ransom and redeemer; of teaching we hear God and example of the teaching man we have the same divine fulfilling teachings what indeed of the god-befitting not he taught polity? What but not before the words by the works he showed?

7.How much these of Plato's medicine of the souls more sacred and more divine, by which he these towards the first brings back beauty and height, some dim of the truth appearances having received, so that also from the outside wise the testimony to our would be added dogmas and from everywhere the of the truth certain? How much these of the chariots of him and of the charioteers and of the wings and of their

rush and of the rising up and of the in these bodies of the souls justice and of the purification and of the transmigration of those not being able in first both and second to be wise body, from which he was forced also to irrational animals the rational to house souls? How much of such of him trifles, or rather sparingly I would say, sketches and dreams more venerable both and truer paradise and law of God and transgression and mortality and justice finally common, and common, release of the sin and of the nature whole towards the first height return through God the all powerful having become? Why for it was necessary soul each to be purified by periods of times long, being possible all by one bath to be purified and through one to be healed remedy, since the to be overlooked by the wickedness being corrupted all our nature by the of God philanthropy all unbefitting they place? And which is more reasonable, the whole nature in the seed having sickened the shame from there and the of the truth to suffer falling away, which indeed also the forgiveness it seems to have accomplished to it, or according to each to flow the souls neither by the of the others falls becoming wise? Becomes therefore God man of the said on account of and the worth indeed not he denies, the but humility he chooses; and he helps indeed to the assumption, himself but no from there he undergoes harm; and he is born indeed from woman, so that perfect man by the to have received from there the matter, manner but of birth to himself only befitting and amazing he innovates; he is born indeed from virgin, fertile to him the womb of the all powerful showing spirit, and thus the for us he entered contest.

8.And how, he says, to be united is able to the finite the infinite? And very well, not losing to it the infinity, but what contains powerfully, by this also personally being connected; for not in the finite is contained, in him but rather the finite with the personal is taken relation just as instrument some having been connected, and if some place it has by example natural to show the supernatural this matter, just as the of Peter hand personally to the mind is connected to Peter, or as those the mind in all men one placing pre-existing this each time to the human to be united bodies they were saying, and of mind breadth so much, as also to so many men indivisibly to be divided, by one receptive completely to be contained, and these saying they seemed to themselves and to many of the hearing reasonable to say.

9.And why not with the divine glory did he arrive? Because justly it was necessary to dissolve the of the men sin, that is by death, being about to die but not it was necessary the glory to reveal; for all would have venerated him, openly them of his glory illuminating, by other but ways he revealed the glory, not only working miracles, but also with authority doing the greatest. And why not by wealth and glory he clothed himself and by the human these boastings? Because of these rather he willed the human desire to turn away and to persuade to philosophize, which indeed also he has done, countless having persuaded and persuading until now private life to choose and poor and with philosophical to use diet and temperate just as he, as not otherwise of the true they would obtain blessedness; but neither he willed by the worldly power the men to inscribe the of his dogmas strength, but rather by the of the divinity power; now for to all clear it is to those willing to consider, as not ever from such fortune and of the last philosophy and humility he prevailed the world all to change and everywhere the own laws to establish, not the greatest possessing power under the body for a while being hidden both and escaping notice.

10.And why of the sin that by the of Christ passion and death having been dissolved, the of this justices the nature still press? So that would be the believing conformed to Christ just as members to the head; neither for the being freed it was necessary of greater worth than the the freedom to them having accomplished to grasp, also him through passion the glory having received and having been lifted up,

themselves without passion of the glory to him to partake together and without labors to the of the blessedness enjoyment to come. Still but if evident it was even in this life the of the punishments those release, we would have seemed all by the of Christ faith of the apparent blessedness for the sake to be added; it is necessary to know, as the of God word incarnation towards the of the impassibility us urged state, as much towards the to be able of the proposed end to obtain; neither for then continuously it was necessary the men in paradise to live neither end of the blessedness was about to them the sensible pleasure to be, but if the divine law they were keeping, towards the intelligible would have been carried and just as some way had been spread out to those being born immediately the in the lower paradise having been placed life, through which straight going towards the proposed end not into long to arrive they were about; it was necessary of gratitude proof having brought in thus justly of the supernatural those rewards to obtain. They sinned therefore and no longer it was possible to them in paradise and in the towards the blessedness way to remain both and to progress, but the of God word incarnation justices both the human claimed nature thus, as possible was all together the nature those to give, and again us into the paradise he brought in, that is his need he assigned all; not for he brought in sensibly, but mystically some manner; neither for by place it is necessary the of God friendship to be defined, just as earthly king to one some of the subjects having transgressed the anger releasing and of the usual deeming benevolence, not of necessity also the same he believes remaining beginning, but by other ways, perhaps but also better him he makes his own and shows himself to him having been reconciled. And us therefore God into better paradise he has led, if also not he has given it that the first; we are born both in paradise into the of Christ being baptized death, and by tree of life we are nourished, by the of the master flesh, and we drink not water from the in the paradise sources, but blood flowing from the of the master side, of which those not having eaten neither having drunk impossible it is of the eternal life to enjoy; and towards the spiritual contests the master by the of the myrrh anointing strengthens, and what greater is, whenever some to transgress also after the grace it happens, he casts out indeed of such paradise justly, he brings back but again immediately having shown repentance strong, and not it is nothing of the human sin, which not now curable it is by the of the mysteries of the for us having suffered power. And thus in better paradise now we have been established and shorter towards the blessedness way, as much also to the end mystically some we are connected manner; for the paradise our Christ both way it is, as he himself said and end to us it is; for his knowledge will be end to us and life continuous and eternal, whenever completely it will be perfected now but towards that by the of the faith we are being prepared knowledge. Wayfarers therefore also now we are towards the reserved life much more than before, so that also paradise again we inhabit and towards the former state we have returned, so much being difference in the matter, that not also locally there we have been transferred and that by the same needs still again we are pressed; but these this it was necessary to be economized the manner and otherwise not it was necessary, neither by the of the men salvation it would have benefitted neither being possible otherwise to become better, either willingly he chose the worse manner either he ignored the better the wisest and best mind.

11.And for what reason does he die by cross? He chooses the most dishonorable death, so that also from there the towards us love he would reveal, not death only, but also of reproaches full and to all unwelcome for us undergoing, so that he would dissolve the curse, having become accursed, and nothing having sinned, greatest for those the greatest having sinned justices he undergoes, so that of humility in us and of obedience most perfect he would reveal example, so that the fault of the pride he would heal and the from there he

would dissolve bonds, so that the of the men souls thus warmly from the of the earthly desire towards the of the divine desire love he would change by the according to himself example, so that for the sake of this to obtain also of the inglorious end no account to make. He dies therefore as man upon cross, but as God he darkens the sun, he shakes the earth, he tears rocks, he splits the of the temple veil, dead raising he reveals, he strikes the crucifiers, to confess he forces the of the crucified divinity; then he is buried alas and body of all bodily higher nature by tomb is covered and the last of the men justice he undergoes, so that to us completely he would be conformed. And the indeed body has been separated of the soul to him, the but divinity both to the soul was together and to the body, but not lived the body by the divinity, although of life all being source neither for this before it lived, but by the soul, of which having been stripped, dead it was of necessity; if also possible was into more to be divided the man, with each of these would be the divinity the own to each manner by the to be infinite and by no place to be circumscribed, easily indeed it departed of soul both and body, of each other for a short having stood apart; but not was God with the body man, man but was God with the soul, as he was therefore also before the separation; for the man from soul and body being, however by the soul is man, not by the body; but also thus of divinity and soul and flesh one was hypostasis, of the temporary not standing before nothing dissolution.

12.In indeed the tomb the masterly lay body, rather but now it lies dramatically as then truly, that now as in tomb lying it is hymned, although also the heavenly thrones holding as truly, and towards remembrance and honor of the day that, in which these were done, the present comes around also now day with the same gloom; the but of the master soul with the divine glory illuminates Hades and to the of the righteous souls savior he becomes present, to the indeed not having been hoped, to the but also very having been expected, and they are persuaded all and they venerate and of the there they are redeemed bonds and towards the paradise they return, as many blind through wickedness and having been crippled completely they were, of these insensible both towards the illumination having become and to remain there having been left behind. The of the wise thief soul only of the in Hades punishments unexperienced has lived and towards the paradise from this was transferred of the life; the for of Christ death to the in Hades before having been seized souls then the freedom giving back, not even the beginning he allowed it into Hades to come; the for of the master soul Hades inhabited for a short time, the faith working out of the there having been held souls and by the divine power these freeing, of those but some immediately having appeared having believed the unpleasant and dark that they were leaving place and to the redeeming soul they were going together, the but not having believed again there they were being left behind; but the of the ancient thief soul with the being left behind not would be, as having believed; with the being released not would be, as also before those having believed, and before Hades to be tried through disbelief, having become worthy of the paradise on account of faith; with the of the master soul not would be in Hades; neither for it was able to cooperate neither in vain it would have followed.

13.These things to me concerning the divine economy let have been said at least now being at present but at another time of God willing, also the concerning it predictions I will set forth, the through the holy prophets, the of the Sibyls, the of the oracles, the of Hermes, whom to have been called they say by the Egyptians Thrice-great; through for these all just as from some signal the of God towards men coming has been announced before in agreement; from which indeed also of our master miracles and of the predictions, which all we know into deed having come out, the of our towards him faith truth is beheld and the blind as

truly to have become and senseless, those towards the natural looking reason completely by the light of the of Christ presence not were illuminated, and much worse of those to be the now to the rotten and trifling of the Greeks myths instead of the sacred teaching attending, and so much worse, as also after much brighter proofs of the truth the same to those they suffer ignorance. But now from these of the words both me and you I know that towards itself turns the of today being seen theory; the but is the of all this creator after many insults and carryings around and every kind of mockery and disregard being crucified, being nailed, to thieves being crucified together, vinegar drinking with gall, dying miserably and after the end being pierced; then being buried by pious hands, by but of the murderers seals and by guard of soldiers being strengthened, fearing the concerning the resurrection prediction; in these all the mother being present with the fellow servants both and relatives women and the beloved disciple, this at least having gained besides of the of the wicked rulers friendship, the to be present to the passion of the teacher to be allowed; the but remaining disciples being hidden wherever they happened each, not from disbelief, but from love of life having fled the boldness, the but Peter also by fear denying. These but all to the master had been foretold, and nothing to him happened, what not to the ears of the having approached him before was present.

14.Consider but to me also our nature being split in two; from there for she gives justices of which she sinned willingly; power for she had both to place the soul of him and not to place and to place and again to take our master; once for of God having become the human nature personally and to consult with God her it was necessary passion, not losing indeed the to will something separately, but to the divine her having subjected will; otherwise for also he grieved and the cup that to pass by, if possible it was, he prayed against, and being struck indeed the head the against God and of his laws rising up he dissolves, he is nailed but hands and feet, by which he walked upon the tree, by which he plucked of the fruit, by bitterness but and sharpness the taste instead of the sweetness that he is punished, by reproaches but and blasphemies the ears he is struck, which the destructive counsel conceived; the side he is pierced, so that by the offspring of the side after the of the pain sensation also the grace would be given and of the divine providence good the twofold would enjoy kind of the nature; he dies bodily instead of which of the intellectual untimely he desired knowledge, not having been satisfied by the of life tree, but also towards the of the knowledge sight having sent out greedy. Herself therefore the nature, which I said, voluntary justices paid and instrument she brought in to the miracle of God, by the magnitude both and by the purity of the being incarnate befitting, by purity and by temperance towards the incorporeal natures contending, or also being present to the passions of the son she suffers with, she is burned the heart; for not she had to which she would attend remaining, of the only consolation being taken away; she bears but wisely the misfortune through the knowledge of the mystery; from which for to herself she was conscious cooperating both and giving birth and of the miracles, which through him have been accomplished, and from which from within her the of God grace assured, towards the future joy being carried by the reasoning and the freedom conceiving of the nature, not she falls together by the weight of the present evils; without for these even she would have suffered something to woman and to mother befitting, even she would have been torn apart, even she would have hanged herself, even into pit she would have fallen, woman of old age near, unmarried, without husband, without child except him only, without city, without house, of all tasteless pleasure except of the towards the divine hopes and of the from there supernatural helps, the only son, whom also as child she loved and as God she venerated, every hearing, every sight excluding, all towards goodwill bringing except of

the lawless those of the law healers, narrative of Judea amazing, of all the earth talk, and besides these by beauty and by magnitude of body differing of all the sons of the men and by the within supernatural of the soul harmony conformed the from outside beauty having, this seeing with so much dying tragedy and not even having the last to embrace respect of the sacred those flesh and by fear of the having crucified. These therefore the of the men brought in nature towards her healing having nodded God both and servants she gave of the divine will the holy disciples, who of righteousness for the sake and of all virtue towards the heavenly discipleship that and the testimony of the truth and the of the salvation evangelization were appointed; from there but again sustained Annas and Caiaphas and the wicked of those council and the betrayer Judas and the cruel soldiers.

15.Thus therefore of the nature having been divided, the indeed of it piously served the divine purpose, the but to the wicked cooperated demon towards the against Christ of the Jews cruelty, and this I would say the of the veil to hint tearing, that to the nature of the humanity, which the of Christ divinity covered together, to have been split it happened towards itself both and to have been divided through all, so that both men indeed servants of the divine philanthropy to have been seen, men but the against God madness to have shown. But we the indeed suffering venerating with the pious thief, to the but having given birth suffering together with the faithful women, the but disciples in the of the souls innermost receiving, in the right of the veil we were placed part, this indeed by the of Christ grace now possessing the good, from the same but expecting philanthropy also the of the right of the sheep to be order both and standing. May it happen; may it happen; may it happen.

SERMON 9. ON THE TRANSFIGURATION

9. Sermon for the Feast of the Transfiguration.

† Discourse of Gennadius the Monk Scholarius on the Holy Transfiguration of our Lord Jesus Christ.
It was read in the royal palace, while he was still a layman and excelling in the services there, during the reign of Emperor John, with whom all things, including our own affairs, coincided.

1.If indeed any other of the sacred feasts also the glorious Transfiguration of Christ, both of miracles and of mysteries and of words indeed unutterable, of works but astonishing knowing being full, from the existing to hymn this I will attempt; if indeed by silence all I honored, also this thus I would have venerated, not undergoing concerning this first to dare, or also after many attempting of its magnitude for the sake and of worth necessity much of the fitting to be left behind; of words but not by few having brought in, not also this I deem justly by silence to pass by; neither for smaller of the then having persuaded the now compelling, neither to me of excuse other I deem to be needed, but the indeed of to speak necessity completely the same, causes but far then having seemed to have become, also now much more likely it is into the words to come being bold and fear all having shaken off to attempt. If but also concerning the other all, but at least concerning the of the common master philanthropy not it is to doubt, to whom gift the present is word, as therefore for the sake of this both gladly he will receive and the purpose he will praise and chains of sins he will loose many and grace he will add; not for beyond the worth of him and the of the divinity height and magnitude infinite being, but beyond the of the bearing habit he examines the gifts, neither he blames more those by love something both daring than those through despair turning away and being silent; of necessity for being the highest and first and of all to us cause of the existing nature to honor both and to serve, even not even the smallest of all we knowing paying, not how near of the fitting arriving, to dare indeed to us both of forgiveness to obtain and good to seem reasonably it is present, on the contrary but all the owed he lets go bearing and of which it is possible to give back sparing justices. I say therefore, itself the of the truth standing before light and by him to have been filled by the present word grace receiving, as without likely it is also to stumble those to serve having undertaken.

2.The indeed matter of the festival himself to us the master is being transfigured and shining well by life only and by teachings and by miracles and by all indeed the former, thus very great both and bright and to God only befitting, but already also by the light of the hidden divinity, which the indeed before time to no of the approaching evident it was, neither to the master of the flesh being glorified yet, through which it was about to appear, neither of the disciples such being able to see not yet having been sown and by spiritual having been perfected eyes; it was revealed but then first and was stripped and was shown; the for of the economy necessity and the magnitude of the power stronger of every hindrance was. Although spectators indeed were present the most to the miracle befitting and towards that as if having been open-mouthed the sight; for they saw not in vain neither upon the accidental separately being taken; place but of all having been freed crowd, and time of prayer, and all was in preparation of the spectacle; whenever of lightning one would perceive or some of the brighter bodies before to have arrived purely having hidden, so much of the divinity then the of the apostles sights illuminated. But also of these thus being, the appearing bright indeed of all brighter was and every such nature it surpasses, it confused but the of the seeing sights and it darkened; so much indeed was condescension the becoming, thus but all were of it smaller and weaker. This of the festival

to us the cause; this of the present subject the head; of Christ glory and kingdom and of form towards the brighter both and more divine change, rather but of such form before being hidden revelation dim and of divinity revelation, to the time and to the need and to the of the loving habit being measured.

3.But what the gain and what the purpose to the master by new some manner being glorified? He showed himself in last of glory and power being and being able indeed to prevail of the seeking and to remain of evils impassible and justices with much of the abundance to claim, ingloriousness but and death choosing to himself of glory for the sake and of life and of kingdom higher; neither for the of the brightness that to man to befit they deemed, neither until the appearing to the reasonings they stood, but although this by much the measure overcoming to them the symmetry of the sight, by infinite again superiority the within to surpass they considered brightness, which neither the seraphic minds without coverings they heard to see consoling the weakness to them of the sight. He persuaded the disciples great concerning the teacher to imagine, and whenever failing they see and something of the unpleasant not undergoing, by the of the better hopes to strengthen the souls and firm to him the faith to keep, until by the experience of the works concerning him and of the having been hoped greater they would learn; and then indeed just as for God and master and king true and by the true honors to honor them being able they would die gladly. Of the prayer he presented the benefit, which everywhere both by words he teaches and by the according to himself example; he ascends for to pray, and just as fruit some of prayer he seems the glory this to receive. Second testimony of the first brighter from above he receives. Towards these he honors indeed the virtue, from it the being about to him of the unutterable to partake choosing, he rewards but first to them revealing himself in more divine form and the much of the fear of their soul banishing and warmer making towards the of the good care, from which they saw alone of the others towards the better and higher being called. Upon all to the nature of the men in himself just as upon witnesses of the then present the of the blessedness pledges he bestows and the former of it ingloriousness he takes away and the shame. He suspends the disciples of the pleasure that of the appearing, and so that of this to enjoy to have continuously, all to suffer ready to be he prepares, since also then of all overlooking there to dwell they were praying; thus very it pleased them the being seen, thus with the bodies together also the reasonings were lifted up, so that of nothing remaining to turn back of the usual, so that only they would be able in such glory the teacher to see; this for was sufficient to the place and by the by this pleasures them to fix, to the but also the to have been persuaded to shine similarly was present from many before of the teacher words and proofs, and then indeed the of the promises and of the hopes time to have come they considered.

4.So great swarm of good the of Christ transfiguration to us comes bringing; not for more the there present benefitted both and gladdened the becoming than all us, as many of the in the faith of the apostles certainty we enjoy. Thus also every indeed work of him and mystery, of wisdom both together and of the towards our nature benefaction proof it has greatest; of how much but the present of wisdom and of philanthropy it is, neither mind moderately at least to perceive, neither word to hymn of the well-contrived would be; as for it was befitting to God and master the of the men salvation gently thus and humbly pursuing, to man by nature indeed similar to the others, pure but and without sin and justices to undergo for sinners to him being about, teacher genuine and nothing lacking of the to benefit being able, the indeed himself was the doing, the but was himself the receiving, the but also by words and by the upon him becoming he educated the present and through them all, neither separately each, but all in the same both time

and manner and matter, and all seasonably neither without preparation some or prediction. Is present but also the brightness of the miracle, rather but of the miracles; many for together ran, the of the face and of the garments brightness thus very flashing, of the prophets the heads standing near, overshadowing paradoxically cloud and voice of this bursting out, of which extraordinary both matter and most beautiful the running together, not striking only, but just as in harmony also pleasing, so that if also of the present miracle without the after these well to be finished it was about and to the disciples the master and to all men towards his faith by certain as much to use, by the most beautiful indeed of his and concerning him miracles the economy to have become lacking and limping, and the just as some bond of the times both and end indeed of the former works of him and miracles, beginning but of the second and higher was about to be. Let us consider but thus. Called indeed the of the economy purpose upon the passion the impassible, and the this being about to accomplish sufficiently stirred up envy, from which the master benefitted working miracles, and the of the envy father in the most wicked souls the drama of the plot composed and the attempt contrived; and the indeed he ignored against himself the sword pushing and the beginning of him dissolving and by the pains of one man just, of whom the virtue greatest being not he bore, to all men of freedom and of life becoming cause (Jeremiah for he some such he considered to be, whom by force of the present life leading out he was pleased), not it was necessary to God to be entangled, whom impossible in the towards him contests to be conquered, rather but by the badly by him having suffered nature wrestling, not the just only having with itself, but also the all leading power, being together by philanthropy and the contest this commonly disposing, and the unutterable he ignored counsel, which having suffered simple he knew; to the but master all both was known and all proceeded according to purpose, and of all having been prepared already well, remaining was the of the economy head, the against him clearly rage and the cross, towards which by the after these boldness and by the reproofs and by greater miracles they were about to be stirred up, by envy and by wickedness long ago having been moved.

5.Knowing therefore these things being near, to the friends and disciples to reveal himself he begins, of goodwill indeed for the sake and long ago to them having been revealed, but not it was necessary this to benefit; also now for sparingly this he does; not for himself son to be he says of God, but he seeks indeed from the friends the concerning him to the others existing opinion, he inquires but also of them, if anywhere something more to them has been revealed, knowing indeed what indeed they think, but he wills also by tongue the faith to confess them and the knowledge of the truth to them to become rewarded. Whence also Peter for all answering he praises and blesses of the from above revelation and the into the heavenly kingdom of the being saved entrances to this first he entrusts, reward of the confession that, to which would become equal nothing. But although very sufficient of nothing to say him from within, but by blessing the having spoken only to repay, what moreover, to no of all to say, himself to be the Christ he commands, which of them clearly saying, himself having praised he was seen and having bestowed.

6.Thus cautiously indeed very and sparingly (not for he willed the hunt to disturb), he reveals himself but therefore to teacher both and to friend befittingly, and he anticipates indeed the after these to become from above testimony and the striking of both the face and of the garments splendor, himself the greater concerning himself the disciples persuading, to grieve considering, if until all himself being hidden he would seem unwillingly to be proclaimed; he brings on but not into long the from the works proof thus indeed bright, as not to be possible remaining either concerning the words those to doubt or by the later immediately

to happen the judgments to be shaken, thus but from near, as present still to their ears the words to be of the teacher, by which he praised the true thinking concerning him and by which the upon him to appear he foretold glory. Since therefore he lifted up indeed of them thus the mind, the but towards him love he kindled, of the of the gloomy prediction he begins; these but to be prayed against to Peter with much he blames of the sharpness, as not yet by the depth of the being economized having bent down, but terrible making these and misfortune, which will save indeed the human all nature, to him but the of these undergoing glory it will bring and kingdom and name of every name higher, although to the downcast he connected something pleasant and what only he began, the from the others pain both to cease to have become and before the trial to console; after for three days to rise he says and to dissolve indeed them the despondency having appeared, rejoicing but to be together to rejoicing and conquering having conquered, and much better to show and brighter, as likely it is the thus from dead having been led up and by so great power. But Peter of the rejection both and of the passion and of the death having become whole and to the unpleasant having preferred the mind, of the healing not he turns back neither of the dissolving the so great storm he makes account, perhaps indeed not even the mystery of the resurrection understanding, loving life but completely and the dangers turning away, which upon them from the teacher certainly to come he considered.

7.Therefore the master himself rebuked Peter very vehemently the only remedy of the human illnesses and not gratuitously the before things were economized all through ignorance praying against and preventing, and towards all turning the word, I so much am distant, he says, which I foretell to suffer both to be displeased and as contrary to mind they heard to be grieved, so that also I advise to all you my to emulate choice, and just as himself for you and of the human nature all gladly I will undergo the terrible, thus indeed also you for me and of the truth to die readily, by nothing of the temporary being drawn back, but all under which denying and dishonoring; thus for my disciples to be judged it will be present, if behind to go of my works and morals you will be willing and of the coming terrible with the equal to bear endurance; not for until the present and appearing to us the matters will stand, as no of the life remaining you responsibility to undergo, and neither rewards to be placed of the virtue to the with it dying, neither penalty to have been arranged some to the thus very of the present life and of the in it pleasant holding, so that to the persecutors of the truth to yield and this to deny together of these for the sake to will; but the indeed for me and of the truth of the to live no having made account, he is sought indeed eternally, even the temporary to lose he may seem life, of blessedness but and of luxury and of crowns many he will be full, which indeed life true to be defined it is necessary; to the but me and the mine easily letting go and by the of the truth denial and of the through it dangers flight the present buying life the opposite all will happen and by darkness and by many other continuously he will be together terrible, in misery the all time passing, which of myriad deaths worse it will seem to the suffering; if for also of the world all is about one to rule and of the human good fortune to pass beyond the limits, in the for the sake of the truth contests having become weak, nothing to him more it will be from indeed the here luxury being snatched and before it almost to taste, thus weak it is and unstable and of dreams more dishonorable, the but betrayal of the truth being accused and of this unbearable and endless justices undergoing, neither it is having one mind to prefer something of the being of his own soul and to consider of this equal, so that of that having obtained by the of this destruction not to be displeased,

or this to be able, to buy back the owed to this punishments, if also easy it was by gifts some to persuade the judge or to deceive and his vote to change.

8.These therefore hoping both and fearing you me to emulate I will; I give for myself of manliness and of endurance and of the temporary overlooking and of which I suggest by words of all by work example, neither let one think other to you concerning my works both and words to judge and from other some you the of these keeping both and imitation to be claimed, but the teacher to you and judge I will sit down, then indeed to all clearly with the paternal appearing glory, God by angels being guarded both and being served, and happening of each to the works I will give the rewards. The indeed upon me and to my being covered by words upon the insulting those and turning away from God and my worth denying he will meet me also to me such; neither for to know and of the foreign and enemies to consider this I will declare upon much greater and brighter of the angels theater; the but me and my words having respected both and having kept and himself with the equal caution having seen, as to friend both and my having honored I will use completely. What therefore comparison would become either of the here honor both and testimony, which upon mortal men and wicked to me you will provide and which himself to you in so much glory both and brightness of the blessed I will pay back, or of the in that judgment seat and of the here contempt? But so that neither concerning my kingdom and glory, with which to arrive also the of each life to examine I say and which to you I promise to attend to me and to my words until death choosing, by reasonings of doubt you would wrestle and with good of the hopes me both suffering you see and yourselves to dare of the similar dangers, living still to living to some you in trace some of the glory that I will appear and by similarity, from which both the truth and the magnitude of the after these glory you will know completely; the for the glory that purely not it is to see in this body, neither clearly the of the divinity glory will live one seeing at all.

9.O of best exhortation; O of words of life; who having heard, not even of nothing other being present into their confirmation, of God would say these to the men to converse not having disdained? Since for it was necessary being about to die, how he kindled the envy, and the death, by which he said, by which he did, he urged, lest something greater economizing and by his own death life to acquire to all willing; thus but who only man being would have willed to show philanthropy, or who reasonably having willed would have been able, not the greatest having strength, or the the power having of the death to dissolve being about and to abolish? It was possible for indeed of miracles both having let go and the disciples having released and to the scribes and Pharisees not becoming burdensome by the reproofs of the all tragedy surpassing misfortune of the difficult to have been freed; not for has one to say, as therefore to live luxuriously from there he willed, and for the sake of the immediately ease not with difficulty the life he betrayed, although of death indeed one perhaps by luxury having been corrupted, but not also of many before the death punishments easily would have despised. But so much was distant the master to live luxuriously, so that also poverty and of mind humility he praises and many against the wealth and of the pride he discourses, and neither bag to have neither wallet to the disciples he allows; neither he teaches these only, but also living image of the words he sets himself, homeless both and without city and by temperate and by philosophical diet the all life passing and to the being together similarly having using. And indeed the willing however the of the terrible he admitted trial; the but friends and disciples what so much having wronged into the similar would have driven dangers nothing great being about to be benefitted? What but himself becoming better, of them being harmed, who not even to be present bodily those suffering was about? What but other willing good to them

than the souls eternally to be blessed both and to live and of the to these befitting end to obtain? If but not immediately they were about to be endangered, what of glory revelation he promises and resurrection of himself not very concerning them having been persuaded, so that nothing of these happening having seen, deception to be the matter they would consider and would condemn themselves upon the empty those hopes instead of the to die for the sake of the of the teacher glory and which to them he enjoined? Whence but also he would have foreknown these, not very beloved of God being and of virtue for the sake being revealed from above, if also bare he happened to be man, as the of Cerinthus and Photinus trifle? How but would be beloved of God son of God and Christ himself to be saying, not being? How but beloved of God being and son himself of God saying to be, not also son he is completely of God and God true and of all this master? Where but also it was fitting to man the manner this to be glorified? Who Moses thus was glorified and of prophets by divine fate standing near, to whom nothing was common towards that life and the time and of voice testifying to him the divine sonship? Rose but who ever of the men by himself or who himself foresaw to rise? And by himself for Lazarus both praying and tears shedding just as by others others before were raised, if also by many other ways this surpassed the former miracles; no one but prayed for Christ neither was the then this to dare, but himself he raised himself. God but therefore was the this being able. Of so many those treasures the words were full; thus together both God himself he revealed to be and to God befitting to the friends he addressed thus well towards the after these the souls to them he prepared, having sharpened as thus to say and having dyed and having made glory indeed to consider the ingloriousness, life but the death, and of nothing of them being conquered to yield something of the towards him goodwill and faith, or this before them happening, to be confused both and to be troubled and something to suffer doubt.

10.From here the of Christ transfiguration the cause had and the necessity; it was necessary indeed to suffer him, as this of the emptying head would be and of the terrible that economy the end, to foretell but this both just and fitting it was and beneficial; necessity but was the disciples to secure, much being about to undergo from the concerning the teacher ingloriousness the shaking and completely human something the concerning him to suspect, lest of some to them into precaution having been mixed remedies, not however but also towards the equal contests to be stirred up these it was necessary and the encouraging those to receive words. Towards these therefore to strip bare both to them the existing glory it was necessary, and this again not also according to some to seem chance to happen, to foretell both and to promise. Just as therefore the of the glory promise by way some the foretold all he did, thus also its revelation the promises demanded. Spectators therefore and witnesses of the glory having taken, sufficient indeed by the multitude, by virtue but and by ability befitting, of whom the indeed by to love notable was, the but by to be loved excelled, to James but of zeal and of eagerness very much was present, all but of the others all more worthy indeed to see the becoming, more able but to understand, to hold but and to keep more faithful, and more persuasive again seasonably to show and to reveal, upon these already looking he is transfigured both and is glorified, and having remained upon the form, he changes the of the face form, from the mixed this and natural color upon the purely sun-like and shining being changed, not so much being the brightness, as to compare one would truly of sun light, but thus being able the seeing to compare, if not it is in the appearing of sun brighter, by which the brightness they would have compared that. The indeed form the glory of him made evident and the divinity, not foreign some neither other neither brought in being, but just as echo some of the existing invisible divinity through the body paradoxically being given, always indeed surrounding the sacred that body

and illuminating, to sights but fleshy still and psychic not appearing unless after some miracle, for the sake but of the economy escaping notice to be and to as many able to appear. Glory but was also of the body the form as shining both and illuminating, but not as of itself the nature changing and the passible this and ugly and completely earthy state changing; such for his glory the after these brightness of him and thinness and completely impassibility, which not yet before the resurrection happened to be glorified and was glory own then of the body reasonable it is to say; thence from that indeed having been glorified he is called, from the but former of this glorious he is said. Thus therefore by all through all having appeared bright and flashing (the for brightness that also through the garments flashed out, as also these of snow to compare to be possible by whiteness) stand near indeed Moses and Elijah and they converse and the of the exodus and of the passion they foretell, not ignorant teaching, but serving prophetically both and just as being proud by the prophecy of the now happening and by the nature of the men all rejoicing now already of the destined enjoying philanthropy, which they foreknew both and they prophesied. And this again is economized wisely, so that both of living and of dead to be shown master being and of law and of prophets agreement some and end himself and Peter then at least most beautifully would know justly having been blessed, that not Moses neither Elijah as the many, but Christ and son of God he has believed to be.

11.But Peter, perceiving the prophets preparing to depart, advises to remain there and to pitch three tents, speaking beyond reason; for if the grace of the being seen held him, it was necessary rather him having descended and having remained indeed with the teacher well contending, towards the same both himself having undergone contests, thus of the pleasure that to enjoy to have continuously; economy for was the then becoming, and to see only of him the glory and kingdom, not to enjoy the master allowed; if but neither the teacher to suffer and himself outside dangers to stand willing he praised the there sojourns, strange some was and after the encouraging those hindering the wonderful economy, and himself thus very loving life; if but also allies to have he wished the prophets, considering of them being present in safer the master to pass, for which indeed also tent-sharers he made and of the same he deemed to the master honor, this but also plainly in no way attending was. Not yet but these saying Peter ceased, and to wonder was added wonder, and cloud indeed them covered over luminous, voice but of it sounded out, and words were the and before upon him having been spoken being baptized, with some however addition, as to hear him it is necessary. And reasonably; both for the time greater the testimony demanded and brighter, since also then indeed of one prophet being present, now but of the two of the head of the prophets; and then indeed of crowd confluence of men hearing and seeing, now but of disciples of the best upon these having been taken, and the according to the master, as much in man, better was, upon all already both of virtue having advanced and of grace, and at the same time of the more divine words and exhortations from here the master was about to begin, to which it was necessary to attend hearing; towards these but also, and of many already the scandals being stirred up, it was necessary attention to them to be commanded, lest also they would escape notice by those the of the truth words, of their memory having been struck out and having faded.

12.But they fall indeed upon face having been struck with amazement, they are raised but, hand of the teacher to them reaching out, and only him they see, of the prophets with the voice immediately having departed, so that directly upon the master the testimony to be carried would seem, which indeed also being baptized the dove did, instead of finger by the voice becoming. And again to be silent to them he commands and of the having been seen sharer to make no one and until the resurrection in secret these to hold; not for

the from the others rumor hunting, perhaps something also to which he economized to stand before, but of the disciples honoring the heads and to these showing and these persuading to be bold, whom he was about also after these to use of the economy instruments, the divinity and the power he revealed and the future glory he foredrew, in which will shine the with righteousness from dead being raised, by their first fruits and by the firstborn shining together.

13.Up to this point are the miracles of the Transfiguration, and to us the concerning these discourse is; the for from here of miracles other swarm and of teachings height, some indeed in parables, of the most but with boldness both and of hypocrisy reproofs more evident, from which the towards the truth war having been rekindled, the saving death to us and the against the common death trophy it brought; of which each of other feast subject, just as the Transfiguration, of the today festival. What therefore more wonderful would become of the now being celebrated? For what but to us more piously to become fitting would be and to rejoice indeed by the soul, to leap but by the body, to sacrifice but the fitting and to hymn and graces to offer up and word to regulate and life to educate, by which especially the divine rejoices being served? If indeed with the being taken up we are and just as present thus to the then being done we attend, it is necessary also to dwell us in the miracle to will of all having forgotten; us for nothing will hinder remaining, of the economy having been worked out; we will dwell but often the words of the miracle turning and of the thence benefaction measuring the wealth and befitting to this life showing; if but disciples of the having seen to be we will, and much it is necessary more us to be suspended of the miracle, as of fear indeed having been freed of all, of the but benefit already evident having become and of nothing being, which remaining to us will trouble towards the enjoyment.

14.This the miracle until then being hidden the of Christ glory and kingdom indisputably showed not by the paradoxically only and to God befittingly then happening, but indeed also by the before to have been hoped these and to have been foretold, and glory not only the of the divinity, but indeed also the of the flesh, the indeed of the divinity already being present and just as from source of itself the light that bringing forth and by this the body the most sacred illuminating, the but of the flesh in beginnings not ignoble appearing before; then for from some giving the brightness that suffered and the glory, of the connected divinity it working, after but the resurrection and the victory inherent it had this and coexisting as own of it good, as towards it completely having been altered. This the miracle the apostles established indeed in the faith of the teacher, kindled but of him the love, anointed but towards the expected contests, having learned, who being by which contests to them the endurance he will repay; through them but also to all he unfolds to the having believed of the benefit this the magnitude. This just as center it is to say of the economy all, of which all the according to it good, likewise but also of the divine to men graces, how much before the economy came to them and how much until the all age from it came will not cease, they run together both and they are mixed, except as neither towards this all neither from this they are moved, but some indeed from it they receive the beginning, some but into it they end and they conclude; for which indeed also stands near indeed the form of the prophets, not is left behind but the of the law carrying the face; the but the law long ago placing and the prophets sending from above testifies, and the the salvation evangelizing are present, and to whom of the into the heaven ascent of the men it will be of concern, also of the second of Christ presence appears the beginnings and of the glory, of which sharers to himself the of the father blessed he will declare and by which the righteous he said to shine by brightness; perceives but also the of the soulless nature as of bright

the of the change beginnings, which also herself with the of God children upon the better will suffer, happening to the free receiving the state, and no longer dark as before, but cloud luminous overshadowing brings into the miracle.

15.Then indeed had something also of gloom the miracle happening in the vestibules of the passion, if also again surpassed joy the gloom, and many to the apostles it instilled passions, all of praises worthy and of blessings, it shook indeed by the fear, by the paradoxical but it struck with amazement, and it confused indeed by the prediction of the sorrowful, it released but by the pleasure of the appearing, it lifted up but by the of the better hopes and of zeal and of boldness it showed being full. But now nothing what not joy and pleasure it instills unutterable, by mind both being turned and by ears being sounded and by mouths being hymned and by images being engraved and by all ways being remembered and being honored; pleasure whole it is and spring and calm and illumination and of souls outpouring joyful both and without sorrow. Transfigure indeed also us, Christ king, now indeed from the of the sin shame by the beauty of the virtue clothing and changing color and conformed of your image showing by the mystical participation of your passions and by the according to power keeping of your commandments, later but also the natural weight of this the body and the mortality and the ugliness into impassibility and lightness and beauty changing, and the glory of your flesh and divinity the indeed also us give to suffer, the but to see both and as it is possible to enjoy; to whom is fitting all glory honor and worship with the father and the spirit into the ages amen.

SERMON 10. ON THE PRESENTATION

10. Sermon for the Feast of the Presentation.

† Of George Scholarius: An address for the Feast of the Entry (or Presentation).
It was read for the first time in the Monastery of Peribleptos, with Emperor Constantine and many of the Senate present; then it was circulated.

1.The indeed multitude of men and according to mind weak and towards the of the word contemplation not yet being able to be lifted up blessedness human considers either the to have brought forth good or the to have been born of good, not by proof of the virtue being possible by this at least using, but limit and end of blessedness this placing; the for towards the whole completely being poured out we leave, who wealth and pleasures and the from men honors blessedness human they consider and the of these to satiety enjoying blessed (these for not the not being only instead of the being they admire, but also the human they overturn life; since for difficult it is the such with virtue both to acquire and to use, the life they consume by the wickedness and all up and down they do and all they dare, by which the desire they would fulfill), but to the more earnest, what I said, great something towards ambition the of the best kinship, and this to be almost in the of the men life the of all greater they consider, humble something and cheap concerning the of the human end supposing. But the of the truth word further the blessedness having unfolded and the nature to us of the truly to be blessed having sketched briefly, "Blessed" he says "the hearing the word of God and keeping it." The same but he says also to the having announced outside the mother and the brothers standing to see him willing; since for both the woman that and the these announcing same something to say they seemed and by the same to be moved minds, and the master of us the same answer he gives and both similarly he leads up and he perfects by the knowledge of the true and genuine blessedness; she for of kinship for the sake the Theotokos she blesses and these the related having respected they announce to Jesus the mother and the brothers and to bring in they attempt and to honor them by the entrances; but more reproachfully to them he answers, that also they seemed to prevent him of the purpose and of the of the teaching to turn away word, having hoped to gratify something more by the concerning the own goodwill of them and honor.

2.Neither therefore there blessed he denies the having begotten him to be, neither here their kinship he refuses, but it seems the word rather to him the indeed allowing and nodding, more blessed but and more related defining the the word hearing of him and keeping or doing; not for it suffices, he says, the according to nature kinship, if not also the according to choice similarity is present. Not he casts out but of the true kinship and of the true he excludes blessedness the mother neither he prefers the present of her (how for, the all human virtue supernaturally having practiced before the birth both and after the birth?), but the childish knowledge of them educating at the same time also to the mother the praise this he appropriates, as if he said, for this rather to be blessed, that the word of God both she heard and she kept; for this but also she is related rather. Just as therefore to Martha "You indeed you are anxious" he said "and you are troubled concerning many; Mary but the good chose part, which not will be taken away from her," not the practical of Martha zeal blaming both and reviling, but the undistracted contemplation of this preferring (good indeed for also your, he says, zeal, but the better part and untakeable she chose; of you for will be taken away sometime the of the necessity burden, to her but eternally the of the truth will be sweetness), thus also here,

SERMON 10. ON THE PRESENTATION

"You indeed you bless," he says, "the having begotten and having nourished for this at least the to have conceived and to have given birth and breast to have held;" "I but to you more blessed to be I say by the to the words of God completely to have been fixed the woman nothing having left of the human possible by nature, by which it would be possible the of the first beauty longing to kindle even in this of the flesh the bond and to be connected somehow to it, of frequent the thence ray having been brought down."

3.O blessed indeed virgin and through both by choice and by nature mother of God; upon you for I will turn remaining the whole discourse. O by soul and body most pure woman, not only of women all, but also of the whole flower of nature, flower of flowers the most graceful, because also root you have become and beginning of the towards salvation predetermined, just as the first woman of the rejected became both and becomes; through her for disbelief and apostasy of God and of souls darkness and blindness and passions of flesh into the human have entered life, from you but to the having chosen both and choosing illumination of spirits and cleansing and purity of flesh and of the eternal life unfailing hopes and certain, O sacred precinct, in which of God and of men the reconciliations have become strangely, of the divinity having endured to become related to the creation and to share indeed with it the beginning impassibly upon the communion of the worse, to lift up but towards the of the divinity height that having been perfected, so that neither being being or not to be seen the having been assumed or down to weigh the having been deified, neither of the philanthropy that other something aiming than to be improved and towards the better end to be drawn the man. O of the according to Christ philosophy beginning and preliminary exercise; it was necessary for in you to be perfected the man and before the in Christ perfection, so that not only from the most beautiful of the nature the from heavens would have ascended mortal and of the root by the beauty would be harmonious, by the also God to be only overcoming and to live just as it is likely the God and according to man to live using beforehand, as he willed the beginning the man to live, but also example you would become much more persuasive to the to philosophize having chosen, if one concerning the according to nature doubting power the yours would consider matter. The for from you having been born by the until also of slave form and of passions of the last to have been humbled the to him attending urging, by the of the divinity magnificence and by the power slumbering again he shows, the indeed choice to be possible somehow to emulate, strength but of the in good difficulty prevailing to have indeed impossible, to receive but not easy considering; the for his choice upon earth human indeed was as in human life perfectly, God but he had himself the using beforehand forming and perfecting and by the works accomplishing, of whom by the will also the to be able running together everywhere; to you but the to have chosen the better and to do purely human was and to the nature corresponding the accomplishment. Wherefore also rather from here than the to have begotten God the having been born to you the crown he weaved, as of the good fortune being rather than accomplishment (surpassed for of the nature the beautiful of the in you miracle the gift), of the but genuinely towards this to have been prepared, the at least came into you, of own being beautiful and to you the praise bringing; the but the from above grace both to lead and to help and to strengthen necessary indeed was, as nothing neither greater neither smaller having been able anyone of the men not with the thence inclination, neither but to you of the crowns the the greatest having been able neither to the also however good having become he diminished anything completely nothing. Therefore it is possible through these to the willing teacher indeed using by the word of the truth, the but of the to do strength from there bringing to stand before both your virtue, which the of the having been incarnate grace lifted up and as in

teachings showed beforehand, and nothing to despair of the to be able anything towards it well looking. Therefore neither despaired many of the earnest and by the difficulty of the according to Christ philosophy they approached rejoicing.

4.To hymn indeed your preeminence from both sides, both from the own beautiful things, and from the worldwide rather than yours good fortunes those, not even to the willing to restrain by the eagerness completely easy it will be, where also all men and the whole thence time much of the fitting less were convicted; to run over but as in word and through both easier both and without blame it will be. Therefore the indeed whole of the virtue, virgin you all we know and we name, constant to the body and to the spirit, Paul would say, of worldly indeed having been freed care, the but of the Lord caring, by integrity indeed of body and after the birth supernaturally being adorned, untasted but of pleasure all perceptible having remained, untrodden but the soul of the pleasurable reasonings by the clouds having held, continuously but and as one would say life-giving by the of the purity choice having lived together, which indeed just as some end and form of the virginal purity they define, by one but this are contained all, and nothing of it of the beautiful is absent, continence, sobriety, meekness, impassibility, gravity with reverence, of possessions overlooking, of temporary glory disregard, gentleness, moderation, of flesh consecration by labors being pressed, of mind towards God elevation, revelations unerring thence of the intelligible beauty greater longing kindling.

5.By these you were trained indeed the beginning by the beautiful, dwelling in the sacred, you have advanced but after the unutterable birth; if but also of something was lacking by the most perfect addition, also this the after the ascension of the master time made to you. And saw the of the heavens space after the greatest miracle, the from earth God-man, man surpassing shining, the of the God-man mother having been sent forth both by angels and by the having been allowed having been established above all the there natures, and the before untrodden of the heavens way immediately after you to the men was opened, and the wise receiving of the travelers, upon God and you it sends, the indeed the in the deserts philosophy, the but the from the tyrants tortures, which for the sake of the divine boldness they underwent, the but the of the churches sleepless protection and others other something bearing advantage just as some symbol of the towards the master having been shown to them goodwill and of the fitting contests by the accomplishment. Such you lamp the of God grace having kindled, not under the modius it hid, but it led up upon the lampstand, as from there you would shine to the world, and you towards the economy fittingly he used, instrument indeed having provided to himself your unutterable purity of the strange philanthropy, matter but to you having given of revelation the service of the mystery of the worldly restoration. Wherefore also all to you was prepared from afar, which it was necessary having run together also your part the innovation that persuasive to show and of nothing to lack, what one of such matters by consequence it was necessary to say to have been asked; without for the by the many being named poverty, which the master in himself and to you at least chose beforehand, of divine completely, not of human power the for us contest and which against the wandering he undertook and of the avengers victory showing, and the in spirit poverty honoring, through which upon the in heavens treasures and the there kingdom he came to bring up the imitating, all immediately from beginning came together to you the most venerable, race priestly together and royal neither other something of the many, but what only from more divine oracles to the unutterable was kept births, virtue of fathers by all being admired, conception from them from promise of higher driving nature and of

time hindrances, entrance bringing third year into the temple and diet God-befitting in innermost parts by beautiful pedagogues and nurses, high priest and angel, the age at the same time and the of the virtue beauty increasing together, which indeed also of the day this adornment are, by the memory of the beginnings of the salvation of us celebrating, betrothal after the sacred immediately and diet of the former both by choice and by law more temperate; upon these message of the good, which from afar were crying the of God prophets through such to arrive woman, and by this the manner also conception in you of the divine word both and of God, rather but of man assumption by God according to hypostasis not of nature union, of the all life-giving spirit and of the infinite of the highest power working in all virgin the fertile; then foretelling in womb of the greatest of the prophets perceiving together of the presence of the being carried master and by the leaping just as later by the voice the testimony paying back to him and the amazement showing, or rather to say, in womb miracle and first of Jesus ordaining from womb in womb prophet, and just as from the throne of the paternal the more ancient he inspired, thus from the bowels of the maternal the end of the prophets and the end possessing, as, of them the salvation to come having foretold and the former inspirations immediately to cease, this to arrive both to say and to be believed, of the human restoration proclaiming last being. Was but the also the of the prophet mother, having become full of God, her this blessing to say prophetically, or rather in interpreter order of the prophetic leaping to interpret the will; I pass over the birth both and the in it miracles, of other feasts subjects and discourses.

6.Of all these from God to you honors as much as into the divine comes predestination and the eternal in him concerning the of the men restoration will, by silence we honor in the present the cause considering; the but by your indeed virtue the such to be fitting to be served and by such adornments to boast, to the but God such to befit mother by such you to acquire methods the beginning having undertaken the man, this but is from both sides the most sacred your choice and the most God-like life, to her indeed to you of the greatest honors, to the nature but through you of the supernatural gifts to exist, this also of light is more evident. And you indeed you were hiding, neither the left knowing to you the of the right, he says, work." You were for from God taught just as the of the disciples more excellent, whom anticipate the educators perfecting into knowledge, in of examples order to the others and to themselves being about instead of co-workers. But the master, what I previously said, upon the lampstand he placed the lamp seasonably. And you indeed the beauty you were gathering of the virtues, he but was treasuring up to you the from the service crowns; to having for accustomed to give, he says himself, and by the measure of the having he measures back the from himself, just as therefore the considering to have not having of the empty opinion causes he frees and of these he deprives (just for), to the the greatest of the human having collected beautiful and until furthest of the of the nature limits the in the best having extended zeal reasonably he contended with the equal, of which he had not greater to give, these giving, communion unheard of of himself both in the nature, which he was receiving from you, and the gifts, which through you to the of the men nature he placed.

7.Therefore you are to be blessed indeed of the according to man progress, when also all indeed having encompassed the circle of the in each the nature beautiful, by the through each until the last to have come not less having been well reputed, you are to be blessed but of the from above assistance, with which so much you accomplished. Upon these to bless you it is necessary this indeed of the in you having become miracles, by which towards the service you were formed beautifully and by which according to some

wonderful order you were revealed, this but of the through you to the nature all having been brought together beautiful, by which indeed all instead of the existing virtue you were adorned; because for of the divine hearing oracles some indeed in the sacred being sung, some but from the from above brightness being implanted of your soul, to keep both all you determined and nothing of them to leave unworked, through this having come to you the of God word himself gladly both and with ease within to have been fitted and to hold and to nourish according to yourself and to bring forth you were deemed worthy. And the indeed our of the men grace only of words is upon us turning back; it reaches indeed of your our blessings not even one, of the but our benefactress to hymn ourselves something better we depart; the but your son and common master of us both by words and by deeds he declared blessed, by deeds indeed of the blessedness cause all having provided, in but the words some indeed having allowed by the silence, of the others crying, having added from himself the lacking, by which at least of the most and of the whole almost the word was present. What of blessing such would become more glorious?

8.But also before the of the economy times himself the in beginning word of God and towards God adorned you his own mother by the types and the towards those of the men reverence of the towards you now of them reverence indication had; if for also lamp, as I previously said, into the human you have entered life, as first evident virtue and genuine and unadulterated having shown, but also of lampstand order by the light of the righteousness you filled from much the addition, as likely it is the God to have, and by true light being called and all from it the into the world coming mystically both and intelligently illuminating. But also table indeed and presentation not of loaves temporary you became and temporary from giving making in the being nourished life, but of the having descended from heavens, of whom having eaten one lawfully, eternally both he lives and the psychic not he fears death. Neither of coals the in you the from the sacrifices exhaling odor short some and bodily was purified space, but supernatural some censer you were seen, either by the longing of the eternal, which extremely you kindled in yourself, the of the spirit having received gifts and of the thence odor the whole world having filled, or the of the divinity coal having held impassibly, which the of the having believed souls of the most beautiful odor of the spiritual graces filled. And of covenant but ark of the new much the upon the more ancient times prevailing, and jar of the saving of the souls of us manna, and all indeed the in the tents of the law being honored yourself by the truths you existed to us. Whence as of those all upon you from afar being carried and by the of the grace revelation being about to be abolished, the indeed upon them cautiously was abolished law, upon you first and only being entered to you and established of the to the others innermost having become, neither more of your the of them sight enjoying remaining than of them serving and being conquered and by greater being honored honors from the truth of them and indeed appearing even in the fitting this having sent forth to us, as upon it instead of them all the of the worship would be transferred right; the but virginity much of the of the other more sacred virgins not even to compare it is yours, both from the virtue and of the miracle being about to be shown, reasonably to the most sacred of the diets it was fitting. Wherefore you were brought indeed by the having begotten to the sacred and by the virgins you were enrolled, beautifully repaying to you God of the fruits by the most precious and honoring reasonably by which indeed also themselves have been honored gift, to the treasures you were placed together the the to the others common surpassing virgin's chamber, from providence indeed the Zacharias mind moving, of the but remaining Jews, if indeed knowing and allowing, also of them thence

being moved, unworthy but being judged to participate of the dogma, if only himself from more divine permission the such innovating the others escaped notice.

9.And to us therefore, O present, of the indeed into the blessed virgin praises both and blessings all is released time and through all, as you know, of the year work the of the virgin reverence to us, and of her encomia as much through men was contained to be woven, both was woven and will be and continuously to us is sung; and ourselves blessed daily we speak and thus having, that protection and intercessor we have towards God unceasingly for us standing and of all this the city. But not until these to stand it is necessary neither the multitude and womanly this blessing extending to her both and to us sufficiently to have to consider, but also further having advanced and mind having taken up of men and wise, as also she would will rather and the the true blessing to us having sketched, thus to hymn both this and ourselves through at least this blessed to call, the of God clearly word according to her hearing and keeping and doing; as now I indeed, and pardon to me nothing concealing, I fear lest also the opposite all to us would be fitting from indeed the not to receive by the not to keep, from this but by the neither to do being in danger remaining to be accustomed together, if habit indeed of energy beginning, the but often something to receive and to suffer the habit instills. Where for in us the of God is proclaimed word? Who the of the divine laws interpreter living to us and turning and biting profitably the teaching each time setting forth? But silence indeed of the such words held us just as other some of the visiting evils to the cities, the last of the threats of God, after all the itching, the says Paul, the ears, and the word of God alas is peddled, not from purity being spoken, but from wandering and deceit and by pretext of greed and of the temporary honors being distorted both and being betrayed. And the indeed Paul thus was speaking, not as to men pleasing but to God; now but many of the of Paul chair lying, the opposite all not as pleasing to God, but as pleasing to men thus we speak. "But if to men I was pleasing," he says, "of Christ slave not I would be." "And how are you able to believe glory from men receiving and the glory the from only God not seeking?"

10.Let consider therefore the happening thence also whoever, if the by to scratch the ears willing of the being able something to grant and the from them goodwill and grace to buy, yielding something of the for the true boldness, neither of Christ to slaves neither to the himself having believed he is enrolled. We are ashamed alas the of God word; we are ashamed the of the Lord testimony; disregard of the fathers much; of the paternal dogma contempt or voluntary ignorance; of canons and order falsification, the accurate almost nowhere, all but according to pretense and nothing without prejudgment; blames against the rightly walking, heavy they are and being seen; exchanges towards the worse of the better; agreement of Christ towards Beliar, or rather Barabbas Christ being preferred; of ignorance and of darkness all full and the knowing all suspect both and difficult to use and the seeming to be healthy easily plotted against. "Which you learned and you received and you heard in me and you saw, these do," the great of the truth herald shouts; we but by illegitimate teachings given up and the of the peace name pretext fair-seeming, as not of the saving sword in the spiritual much prevailing peace destructive. But Paul "Pursue" he says "peace with the calling upon the Lord from pure heart, the but foolish and uneducated questions refuse; not for with the from contention and boldness dangerous all changing it is necessary to be at peace, he says, who also of writings and of laws and of words of the necessary they rise against by wanderings and by sophisms being supported, until they are such; of shaking therefore all to the prudent needing and of the towards the nations turning or deep silence;

better for by pure heart to live together having shut themselves than by darkness labyrinthine of questions and of deeds to be stained, and in foreign to bear fruit or in the own to wither.

11.But if you would be persuaded by me in anything, anticipating the upon these indignation of God; for if of one of the least brothers of us and fellow servants being overlooked, terrible he makes the matter and terrible upon this punishments he exacts, what it is necessary to expect, of souls so many being neglected and of the divine laws in many ways being trampled in so many the years? If to no one you believe of the men, if of all human you have condemned counsel, to himself the master and to his disciples and to the from him until also yesterday fathers of us your commit life immediately, rather but to the indeed fathers as examples you will use, rule but to us the of the master word and of the sacred disciples of him having been set forth the by us irregularities will heal, if we remain only, if not before to have been impressed well to us the seal of the accuracy leaping away indistinctly we depart; there also with whom it is necessary to be at peace you will know and how and what indeed peace good, by what but poison deadly is hidden, and until how much it is necessary to allow and instead of what it is necessary to war, and what indeed economy, what but lawlessness and of right falling out, and by what counselors it is necessary to be persuaded for them and what it is necessary to overlook, and what indeed from God it is necessary to seek, what but it is necessary to do from themselves, and what they do of the upon us what will follow the beyond power, and the indeed soul and the to this going with, what but flesh and of flesh enchantment by it being destroyed together, and the indeed our, what but foreign, and which of which it is necessary to exchange in the the other to be in danger, or how in the to use indeed the others beautifully, to enjoy but the others, and both to be saved it will be possible. Of all these the writings are full; there having been written you will see also of that the ship's wreck, from which all to us has been confused alas; thence also of prudence limits and of righteousness and of manliness you will receive the most accurate both and of piety and of faith, by which the many not even attending the beginning, using but the idols instead of the truth, God also they provoke besides; there the from home enemies, the innate passions and the against them exits of the word both and of the faith you will know, of which having been conquered also the of the from outside enemies more heavily to us meet. Then therefore the of God having heard word and having done, by the indeed of God kinship we will be honored doubly to him being conformed, by the indeed by the zeal of the according to him choice and by the of his laws obedience, by the but by the mystical communion of his passions, no longer of the earthen this nobility caring of brought in adornment and quickly being dissolved, rather but to say, of disorder terrible, by which of the upon earth nations he has made to rage the from the virtues good reputations having driven out; although also otherwise related being of the divine through the thence having been cast down together to the nature towards it somehow analogies, I say but in the our souls, what of the earthen reference so warmly it was necessary to be held? Blessed but we will be, not we will be called only, with such bright of the blessedness pledges thence into heaven ascending, where the true our blessedness the into one in trinity God and the according to form easily in this mirror to be together. To him the glory into the ages, amen: †.

11. PANEGYRIC OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

11. Panegyric of the Holy Apostles (1456).

† George Scholarius: Speech on the praise of the Holy Apostles.

1.“But to me exceedingly were honored your friends, O God.” Rightly the blessed of our Lord Jesus we honor with the first honors after the blessed Virgin; for they are friends of him, when also before into the supernatural those contests to have advanced, in which for the sake of the love of the master and teacher in many ways they were tested until death, the of the friendship dignity having been honored; for himself the Lord to them has said, so that "No longer I say you servants" the of the friends having obtained. And truly fortune some the matter was and of the last blessings worthy, that flesh and blood not revealed to them, but God immediately into the knowledge of the unutterable, in which also are indeed all friends of God the having been attached to the rule of the love of him genuinely and another through another way, of many being ways of the divine pleasing, but especially of all to them the of the friendship fits address; the indeed from virtue having been known to each other, even if by place and by time having been separated they are, well disposed rather they are and of intellectual love by bond they are bound; friends but are the also by habit having been connected of time long, the also spending the day together and rejoicing by the same and sharers of deeds and counsels being and one and the same simply having taken up choice. And the indeed through the blessed apostles having believed by hearing only the of the life they received word, although of the divine grace entering together thus firmly they believed, so that some indeed for the sake of the love of Jesus and of his laws by martyrdom to have been perfected rejoicing, some but by the same choice all having left behind and the according to choice having taken up cross in the ascetic practices of the virtue the peaceful to have finished martyrdom of the sacred love, whom other some way and rather to be blessed our Jesus declares. “That you have seen me,” he says, “you have believed; blessed the not having seen and having believed;” the but blessed of Christ disciples both by their own eyes they saw and by their own ears they heard and by their own hands they touched the of the life word, and not yet through this more blessed of the having heard agreeing, but the greatest existed to them of good fortune reason, that of all together of the supernatural mysteries they became to Jesus sharers, some indeed then first having learned, of the but the knowledge not into long to have hoping having been unfolded, which also then having been folded together they knew. Whence also there adds the Lord of us the of the friendship cause; “You but I have said friends,” he says, “because all, which I heard from the father of me, I made known to you.”

2.Thus also we friends of the blessed have become and are apostles; for all which they heard, either immediately sounding of Jesus, or from heaven the other paraclete to them sending upon, they made known to us, nothing having hidden at all, and not only they made known to us all without envy any, but also with that disposition completely, with which the master made known to them then those things. He indeed in order only to illuminate the of the apostles souls, since through them he was about to illuminate all the world, whom from all the world alone by unutterable judgments he chose, and cross he endured and death and all the before the death of the voluntary temptations those economy; these but in order only to sow everywhere the word of the truth and the of all men souls towards piety to draw previously pitifully from God wandering, all temptation they endured rejoicing, as from part some we heard today of the blessed relating Paul. And the indeed master of us, yet impious being us, for us being about to die he came, O of dreadful

and all word surpassing love; the but blessed disciples of him being reviled, being persecuted, being imprisoned, being scourged and the most terrible suffering, not they were angry neither they departed towards anger, but they remained in the sowing of the saving word and in the such endurance, cooperating of the heavenly of Jesus power, they captured and they convicted under the word of the truth the before a little persecutors and insulters of them; thus also they the of the friends of us desired salvation; thus they remembered simply to the master the reward of the friendship in the and themselves to place the souls of them for the sheep of him; "If for you love me, Peter," he says, "shepherd the sheep of me," that is for the sake of his salvation to be sacrificed be eager continuously; the for truly to shepherd thus himself defined having taken beforehand to them the the soul for the sheep to place. Through these therefore friends he said if any of Jesus having become the most sacred themselves disciples and we having been loved by them, which way themselves previously were loved, reasonably we boast them by fasts, by songs, by festivals, not only annually, but also through all the year almost, and each separately and together all together, of saviors and of benefactors to them grace paying back. And the of the sacred apostles memory everywhere of the earth is today, where also the by them having been sown of the truth word prevails and where the of the truth gospel is active and saves the into the salvation predetermined, well and as it is necessary being kept, by the intercessions of the most sacred of Christ disciples and before them of the immaculate of God word mother, of the through us having been accomplished according to the our hopes and better than according to hope? by merciful providence of God; and we now first fellow celebrants of the apostles having become to you, since we were called to say something towards your love, themselves having set before the being celebrated and subject most appropriate of the word the into us their love having made, by short some word the your we will entertain desire, so that only not to seem to some, from overlooking some not to wish to gratify to you the being sought, although according to obedience to live the remaining of the life time, of God giving, having chosen beforehand.

3.Good indeed it is for the dedication of the owed to the blessed goodwill both and honor both hymns and thanksgiving words and as much celebrating we do into the of the our benefactors honor, the church from above these having arranged well; small but these towards the owed to them from us honor and which we are able and which themselves very much desire and which from us they demand, not themselves something better in themselves becoming, but for us of the our progress longing by the of the sacred love rule. Who therefore is the by them sought honor and the reward fitting to the greatness of the affection? Our Lord Jesus into the such of the words need having been placed, bringing near already the suffering, "You friends of me," he said, "are, if you do as much as I command you," and all the commandments in one chapter having encompassed, "This is the commandment," he says, "the mine, that you love one another, as I loved you, and in this they will know all, that to me you are disciples, if you love one another, as I loved you." The same and from us the sacred of the apostles choir demands. "You friends of us are," they say, "if you do what we have commanded you, or rather through us the Lord commanded." And what to us he commanded? Of themselves hear and again briefly by the same word relating; "Become," he says, "pure and blameless until the day of Christ, having been filled of fruits of righteousness the through Jesus Christ to glory and praise of God; cleanse yourselves from all pollution of flesh and spirit, completing holiness in fear of God; having put away the lie, speak truth each with the neighbor of him; do not lie to one another, do not quarrel about nothing useful to the destruction of the hearers; all word corrupt from the mouth of you let it not go out,

but if any good to edification of the faith, that it may give grace to the hearers; and do not grieve the spirit the holy of God, in whom you were sealed until the day of redemption; do not put a stumbling block to the brother or a scandal; be steadfast in the faith, immovable, abounding in the work of the Lord always; and the being weak in the faith receive; and if also is overtaken man in some transgression, you the spiritual restore such in spirit of meekness, considering yourself, lest also you be tempted; of one another the burdens bear, and thus fulfill the law of Christ; nothing according to contention do or vain glory, but by humility one another considering surpassing yourselves; guard yourselves from all covetousness, because not in the abounding to anyone the life of him is of the existing to him; having but food and coverings, with these we will be content; admonish the disorderly, comfort the fainthearted, support the weak, be patient towards all, nothing evil for evil repaying, | providing good before all men, if possible, the from you, with all men being at peace. Do not judge one another; for in which you judge the other, yourself you condemn. Do not share in the works the unfruitful of the darkness, rather but also expose; always rejoice, unceasingly pray; pray in every place lifting up hands holy without anger and reasonings; the same say all and let there not be in you divisions, but be perfected in the same mind and in the same judgment, whether also the serving in the service, whether the teaching in the teaching, the exhorting in the exhortation, the sharing in simplicity, the presiding in diligence, the having mercy in cheerfulness; the love unfeigned; abhorring the evil, clinging to the good, in brotherly love to one another affectionate, in honor one another preferring, in diligence not slothful, in the spirit fervent, in the tribulation enduring, in the prayer persevering, with the needs of the saints sharing, hospitality pursuing or rather being diligent; bless the persecuting you; bless, and do not curse. Endure the foolish being wise; endure if anyone you enslaves, if anyone devours, if anyone receives, if anyone is exalted, if anyone in face you strikes. Do not yourselves avenge, but give place to the wrath; if hungers the enemy of you, feed him; do not be overcome by the evil, but overcome in the good the evil. Worthily walk of the calling which you were called, through all humility and meekness and patience enduring one another in love, being diligent to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Simply to say, as much as is true, as much as venerable, as much as just, as much as pure, as much as lovely, as much as of good repute, if any virtue and if any praise, these consider; which you learned and you received and you heard and you saw in us, these do." To us they say: "Set forth example of our life, and all to you will have well, and of words other not you will receive, and in each need of the reasonings say. What has done Peter and Paul, or what they would have done? And that do, and of the fitting not you will miss; for the our life all, as you saw, near indeed end had the love of the brothers of us, through but this the common and last end it considered, which is the God."

4.For of four being the beloved by the men to us, of God, of the neighbor, of soul and of body and of the about it all, the indeed of the neighbor love from the divine love the form receives and the shape, that is if for the sake of God we love the neighbor, then truly him we love; the but of the neighbor love similarly from the love is formed, the own each soul he loves, that is if thus the neighbor we love as the own soul each and nothing less; this for is the "You will love the neighbor of you as yourself," that is as own soul; the but love of the body again from the love of the soul is shaped, that is as much as the love of the body the our does not harm soul, beyond but this loving the body we hate rather than we love. These and the such to us the blessed of Jesus disciples enjoin continuously—of these being read daily we hear through the blessed Paul shouting; these they learned from our master; these and in deed they fulfilled, and through this true they became disciples; through this and friends of the teacher rightly they were called; these and us they teach

daily. We will be therefore also we of them disciples, if these we do—disciples but of them having become such, and friends altogether we will be. Thus we will honor them truly; thus we will show having embraced the teaching of them; thus the our souls images of the apostolic we will set forth choices. Or not also the common this wishes word, that indeed the useful disciple and earnest honors the having taught? Such and themselves honor from the friends and disciples they demand, and in order of such honor from us to enjoy, they endured the of the teaching that time in periods long, in tribulations manifold, | in dangers countless, in straits, in temptations, in imprisonments, in beatings, in deaths the last; for not in order only towards the true faith to turn the inhabited world so much and such they endured, but in order also the according to law and reason life to show for the time being being unknown, of which without dead some and powerless the faith thing is and just as bird some wingless not being able towards the heavenly height to be lifted up and to bring up the having; through this for and the master of us not sufficient considering, if they baptize into the of the trinity name the believing, he added teaching them to do all as much as I commanded you—all he says, of nothing being rejected or overlooked. And the indeed most sacred of Jesus disciples the of themselves all having done well, now in the of the heavens kingdom to the master and teacher they celebrate together the of the unspeakable joy and of pleasure all full feast and with the crowns of the contests they shine, which having promised the to the contests having sent forth he gave generously; for not only towards the true faith the inhabited world they turned, but also the works of the true piety, these indeed the previously numbered and as much as to these following, both by words they taught and by deeds they showed.

5.If these also we first do, then also the other of the observances we add honors, we will be able then towards God genuinely to say, that exceedingly to us the friends of you were honored, O God; the for exceedingly to honor the teachers of us and friends, this is, the of the teaching of them not to despise, the not until the hearing to stop the praise, the in deed to emulate the of them life, the genuinely to follow the example, to adorn the true in us temples of God, the our souls, with lamps of virtues and with incense, to present the souls of us with the bodies a sacrifice unblemished and pure to God, and just as themselves were conformed to the sufferings of Christ for the salvation of the inhabited world, for which he died first, without deceit and sinless of whom and nothing having to find in him of the ruler of this world, thus also us to be conformed to their sufferings through the according to choice being taken up cross to salvation of us and of the towards us looking brothers or being with us, and to crucify indeed the flesh with the sufferings and the desires to the subjection of the in us spirit, which is image of God, to crucify but also itself the in us spirit intellectually to subjection of the divine will. The but divine will first indeed through the of nature law, then through the written and lastly through the law of grace revealed to us himself God and through the sacred disciples both and deacons; if but something and unclear yet to the many was, and this through the teachers of the faith more clearly he made, the laws those under the guidance of the divine spirit having explained. This indeed the true essence of the to the friends of the Lord disciples honor, this of the true piety the power; the but excess of the honor is the and the from outside observances to add illuminations and of myrrh fragrance and of incense and hymns of the sacred that contest narratives and of the to us benefaction praises with thanksgiving, so that also through these more warmly to us the towards the blessed would be kindled disposition and with the inner of us dispositions of the souls and the from outside may agree, and nothing to the honor of them would be omitted, as if sufficiently we consider of piety towards the saints instead of the bloods, which for the our they shed salvation, voices of songs and lights and the such

paying back to them, the other being neglected from some part, we are unaware ourselves instead of the essence and of the power of the piety the color and the outward form both cherishing and to the friends paying back.

6."And the Lord of us will not be saved," says the one saying to me, "Lord, Lord," that is, the one stringing together the lengthy prayers or doxologies, "but the one doing the divine and heavenly will," neither the hearers of the evangelical law, "but the doers will be justified," even if in the name mine they do some mighty works, he says, "of my commandments however lightly they hold," the indeed glory of the miracle to the accomplishing these name will be reckoned, "to them however I will say, 'I do not know you,'" the but of Jesus disciples little to us will have the grace of the observances, the laws of them seeing being neglected; and we indeed will hope them towards God to have intercessors, they but will be deaf towards the our cries and nothing for us they will say towards the master; for not they will be of the sweetest of us more loving towards us than the for us having been emptied, so that him from afar to ignore us persisting and to say "I do not know you," themselves to try to introduce to him the thus ungrateful and unthankful. But also how towards the observances these is disposed, of his laws not very being kept, God, you hear through the prophets all declaring, which it is superfluous now to enumerate; whence otherwise you think to Christians such to have come upon misfortunes, | and cities in Asia both and Europe the near us over three thousand and villages countless having been ravaged by the impious the worst to have suffered and of the indeed not even the name remains remaining, the but nothing than a ruin having differed by remnants only being recognized? Were not in all temples to honor of the master of us Jesus and of the blessed ever-virgin and of the saints of him having been founded, by whom also they were founded at the beginning? Were not sacrifices in them being performed? Were not festivals being held together? Were not hymns being sung with much eagerness? Were not as many other towards glory of God well the fathers legislated to become, these all were being fulfilled also there? What therefore those all overturned and made useless? That these indeed they were doing well, of the but first both and most beautiful piety they were neglecting the in the keeping of the divine laws consisting, which to the blessed was foretold from afar by Paul, or rather by the of Paul inspiring spirit, that "A form of piety they will have, the power of it having denied," the towards the end of the ages living men; which indeed the difficulty of the times will bring, of the heavenly justice, from which the human is governed life, responding to the choice of the men bringing upon the outward fortunes.

7.And what utterly destroyed the most renowned city a short while ago, though it was greatly boastful of such devotions and prided itself on many saints, through whom it remained unconquerable to its enemies, having been plotted against many times, divine providence protecting it? For the smoke of our sins had not yet kindled the divine judgment; but when, reaching even to heaven, it was no longer possible to be contained by divine justice, it did not grant to the saints the beauty of their glory any longer, and for this reason it betrayed them to the impious for dishonor, and being provoked against the devotions as well, as it showed by many proofs, it dealt with them as fruitless and incurable from then on, and as parricides, withdrawing the saving hand and stirring up all the power of the enemies against us, or not preventing them from being stirred up. Does anyone think that God, with some place still remaining for the philanthropy that until then preserved that city, would allow his justice to accomplish its work, and not bring forth mercy in opposition, with those who were sinning promising some change for the better because of some virtue still preserved in them? Or even now do you think that God will bear a grudge against us, if, by some paradoxical change, or

rather a just and prudent and powerful one, the sons who have been justly chastised turn back to divine and paternal love, but not immediately become merciful, and sacrifice the fatted calf of freedom for us, and adorn us with the first robes? Or if the enslavement to the external enemies followed justly because we became utterly slaves to sin, if, shaking it off, we again submit to the divine laws, shall we be abandoned to the yoke of the impious barbarians' enslavement, which would clearly be far from divine goodness and justice? But the fact that, though being chastised for so many years, we do not turn to God, nor recognize or wish to seek the cause of our misfortunes, this always brings about the increase of evils for us. Or do we not see everywhere that the laws of the Lord receive reverence only to the point of hearing, but are despised in deed, with a disorderly and irregular life beginning from the very seat of authority and proceeding to all the laity? Which, to those who know, does not seem a wonder that so many multitudes of Christians are enslaved to infidels until now, but that the reverence of Christ, even a bare one, is preserved among the nations, this fills one with all astonishment, and that the rose of true faith, in the midst of thorns, has neither been choked nor does it seem even now to blossom miraculously, which is clearly a sign of the power of Jesus, and not of the worthiness of those who enjoy this wonder.

8.But concerning those who live among the barbarians and have as a pretext for neglecting the divine laws either the burdens from their rulers or the necessities of human life or the ignorance of the shepherds sent to them from a long time, speaking indeed in silence because they know nothing of importance, but in deed showing all wickedness and turning away those who look to their life from God, it would neither be of the present time, nor is it difficult, and they may obtain pardon from God, in the things in which they sin; for it is necessary for them to be chastised for the fulfillment of divine justice, but there is hope, and a very great one, that they will not be deprived of eternal life, because they have preserved the faith in Jesus amidst so many adversities; for being weak, they will not be severely tested, and as much as they have resisted the war of unbelief with a worse preparation from their works and with less grace, so much the more, overcoming the obstacle of sins through divine mercy, they will be justified. But for them to show a bare faith, or in no way caring for the few works of love, the good shepherds and the sheep entrusted to such shepherds for so many years will be required to give an account. But for us, brethren, it will be beyond all excuse not to go through all the commandments of Christ, not to be exercised with all diligence in the teachings of his holy disciples and our leaders; for to what apology shall we have recourse, we who are men freed from all kinds of bonds, with which all those who are enslaved to this life are bound, and being free in body and having a mind unenslaved, and having subjected them only to the law of God, and hearing the divine scriptures not once a week as those who are fastened to the necessities of life, but almost throughout the whole day and night, and having also the very nature of the place concurring with the purpose of such piety, being removed from most of the scandals of the world, and having the necessities for living even more than needed, though perhaps laboring more than you in these things, yet it is absolutely necessary for those who are able to do so, and the need being urgent, because idleness and lack of labor are wont to produce all wickedness in those who are free from voluntary or compulsory labors. And yet the rule of our salvation, I mean the evangelical law and the apostolic law which agrees with it everywhere, is laid down simply for all Christians, which all of us together promise to keep after baptism, and it is the same thing to say a Christian and one who has promised to submit to all the law of salvation, whence all Christians will be required to observe it; but we, not being satisfied with the agreements in baptism with the divine law, have also bound ourselves with second promises,

and having cast away all the obstacles to submission to this law, and having promised to cast them away throughout our life, in the body we have taken up the image of the cross, and in the soul we have received all its power, which is the crucifixion of the desires of the world and the flesh, so that we may live only by the law of God and all our movement of both soul and body may be by divine love and towards it. Therefore, for us who neglect the promises and are dragged from this most beautiful and highest servitude to the destructive freedom, there will be no pardon from the just judge, until we return with tears to keep the order again; for no other judge will be seated for us concerning the promises, but the same one is both our master and judge and prize-giver, and holding the promises in his hands, he will justify us from our words, if we prove them true by our works, and he will condemn us if we lie.

9.In addition to those promises, other things, and not a few, compel us to care for the evangelical way of life. First, that we all must strive not to appear much worse than those who have handed down this most sacred community to us in succession. But just as we inherit the place and the habit and the name, so also we must try to appear successors of their virtue. Secondly, that we must fear the heavenly judgment, lest, being angered by our negligences, it use us more harshly for the future, and this most beautiful work of divine providence may seem to be overturned in our times through our sloth, just as God preserved it from many dangers through the virtue of those who dwelt there before. Or do we not all know well that this sacred Athos has been put forward as a great harbor of souls in this sea of life, to which those who have been in danger from the evils of life run in repentance, one from one part of the earth and profession and manner and rank, and though many such harbors existed in earlier times, this one now remains alone for all Christians, and everywhere else there are reefs and robbers and all misfortune of human souls? Thirdly, that the eyes of all are opened towards us and seek whether we are showing a life befitting the promises, whether we have taken up a hatred towards the world befitting the withdrawal from the world, whether we are bearing any fruit through our leisure in the wilderness, so that they too may at some time be moved by similar hopes. Above all, that just as in a human body all things suffer together with the better part that has fallen ill, and all things rejoice together with it when it is healthy, so all the Christian body, as you see, has fallen ill, with those from the seat of authority first being corrupted, who, flattering the rulers with the hopes of human dung, which they desired, both made them commit sins and themselves did not refuse to share in sinning, receiving in return for the license they gave, the license and the worthy reward for which they gave the license to sin. Which indeed overturned the church in our times, first of all when every canon and law was transgressed, and then also when the dogmas were shamefully betrayed, God justly permitting it.

10.Therefore, if our wretched race is ever to see the sun shining upon them more auspiciously, it must be from us again, the priests and monks, that the beginning of spiritual health must rise up vigorously, and having taken up such a resolve with much zeal, and there is much hope in divine philanthropy that our whole race will be completely restored in every way, with this sacred place being more carefully turned towards the evangelical way of life. Did not the death of Eleazar with pious reasoning and that of that most beautiful mother with her seven children have the power to appease the divine, so that through it they rescued the city and the whole nation from the tyranny of Antiochus? And nine alone had the power to intercede with God for so great a multitude. I do not say these things, but God himself through the Scripture. But if we lament for the salvation of the race, he will not hear us, though we are worthy and silent to be heard; and yet now day by day we cry out for the freedom of the race to him who is able to give, but we accomplish nothing

more. Why? Because we are very far from the Maccabean resolve, though we are more enlightened than they by the death of Jesus and of all those who died for him. And how shall I give my life for the salvation of my brethren or for the truth, I who needlessly scandalize my brother and strike his weak conscience? How shall I endure my flesh being torn or roasted on the fire or willingly submit my neck to the sword, I who cannot bear a brother mocking me, but instead of a mere word, I strike my brother or kill him if I could, or bear a grudge for all my life, though a law is laid down for me, having struck my brother first, to offer also the other of my cheeks or not to let the sun set on my anger, I who pass by a brother physically or mentally fallen or, what is worse, even trample on him lying down and condemn him? But even if we should establish a martyr's resolve (and the resolve of martyrs and monks is the same; therefore, when the tyrannical violence ceased and piety reigned, the peaceful martyrdom in the deserts was devised by those who thirsted for death for Christ; for still the longing for the eternal was flourishing in human souls), it is not difficult or impossible for us, being more numerous, to appease God for the freedom of our fellow countrymen, and what could be equal to our being mediators beyond our own duty and our own salvation?

11.Having many things to say to you, I will leave them for another time. But now, wishing to give you some rest, being sufficiently weary, I will complete my discourse with a small addition. Not blaming you, brethren, and those monks in all this sacred consecration, nor judging you negligent of the evangelical and apostolic laws, I advised you these things, or rather, it was not even I who advised, but I set forth the very words of the holy apostles—far be it from me! For my own disposition, as far as moral purpose is concerned, is not inclined to examine and meddle in the affairs of my brethren or to speak ill of them, deeming it sufficient for me to look after my own life. But as far as the conscience of works is concerned, I am not even able to judge any of my brethren, even if he be the most worthless, being conscious of myself never having served God in anything throughout my whole life, transgressing indeed daily every law, both divine and human, and having managed the gifts of God to me, some poorly, others having buried them; for which things also I tremble at the punishments threatened to the slothful and wicked servant, unless the mercy of him who also justifies the ungodly anticipates me by his unsearchable judgments, whenever he wills. Such is my state. But this sacred place was both long ago desirable and pleasing to me, and now, having arrived at it by divine providence, there is both hope and joy and a crown of boasting, to speak according to the divine Paul; and I have breathed freely from the misfortunes of my homeland, having come to it, and I have enjoyed it above all others, having been left alone of all the captives for a considerable time in the cares and sorrows for all, and I delight my soul with the hope of true repentance, needing much purification, which can scarcely be sought and obtained anywhere else, God cooperating. But I consider you all and the brethren in the other monasteries to be holy men, and I am persuaded that you are. Therefore, not having anything to blame you for, I said those things, but you all know well that the blessed Paul, in one place boasting in the Lord that he has finished the course, has kept the faith, and the crown of righteousness now awaits him from the just judge; and in another place fearing lest, while preaching to others, he himself should become disapproved, and being timid and trembling lest he should be found to have run in vain, and after those many struggles, still being gripped by pious fear. Therefore, it is no wonder that I now instill such fear in you for greater zeal for good, or rather, that heavenly racer and beholder of the unspeakable is the one who instills fear in you, which he himself, doing well concerning himself, had and having did most beautifully and in a manner most pleasing to God. Therefore, praising you and rejoicing in your zeal for good things and the orderly fulfillment

of the divine laws, I wish such zeal to be intensified in you, and what good things you are zealous for, to appear more zealous about these things, and what you touch upon less fully, to cultivate these things now more carefully, wisely seizing the time; for we do not know what the future will bring, either concerning the life of each of us or concerning the things that concern all together and all this Christian remnant. And as a summary of this whole counsel, I add this to those present here and to those absent of the brethren, or rather, these also are the words of the apostolic sirens.

12.Behold, brethren, the fashion of this world is passing away; the time of consummation is near, both of each one individually and of all in common. Let us humble ourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt us in due time, casting all our care upon him, for he cares for us. If we are reproached even now in the name of Christ with all Christians, let us consider ourselves blessed for this and let us not be ashamed as Christians often enduring, but suffering according to the will of God, let us commit our souls to a faithful creator in well-doing; in which we are involuntarily afflicted, let us endure voluntarily and let us wisely trade necessity; for God is faithful, who will not allow us to be tempted above what we are able; but let us also be afflicted voluntarily, because narrow and strait is the way of eternal life, and it is impossible to enter unless through temporary afflictions and temptations into eternal rest. Let us be judged according to man in the flesh, that we may live according to God in the spirit; for he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin. Let us have fervent love towards one another, for love will cover a multitude of sins; and though there are many fruits of love, let us take care of the greatest, that of mercy, and even if you have nothing to give, groan with tears at the need of your brother, show a disposition of one who feels compassion and suffers with him; but rather if you are not able to do any of the seven corporal works of mercy, either to feed the hungry or to give drink to the thirsty or to clothe the naked or to gather in the stranger or to visit the sick or to redeem the captive or to bury the dead, yet you can certainly do one of the spiritual mercies corresponding to these, or rather all are possible for you if you are willing. Teach the ignorant, counsel the doubting, comfort the sorrowful, admonish the erring, forgive the offender, bear with the troublesome and burdensome, pray for all. These do not require metals, but can be given from the naturally inherent treasure of love in all; these do not require much preparation, but you have their provision ready, if you wish; and the more readily available these are, the more rewarding they are, inasmuch as what is given is more precious; for the gift is spiritual, by nature surpassing the corporeal, and what is helped from hence is more precious, inasmuch as the soul is more precious than the body.

13.Let us confess daily to God concerning our daily sins, to him who knows all things. Let us also confess to men, physicians from God, having the power to heal through the church, and of these, as many as will cleanse the festering corruption with the harsher medicines and bandages, not those who will leave the whole of our wounds in inflammations with softer touches. Let us continually confess, because we also continually sin. For the enemy of our salvation continually hides many traps for us, in thoughts, in senses, in tongue, in foods, in clothing, in cares, in listlessness, in idleness, in labors, in sorrows, in pleasures, in quietudes, in interactions, in superiorities, in subordinations, in light, in darkness, in sleep, in wakefulness, on the right, on the left, and it is necessary, after the awareness of the fall and the wound from there, to run immediately to the infirmary of confession. Let those who receive confessions guard with all diligence the transgression of their brother much more than the misers who bury gold under the earth, and let them not, either openly or through any insinuations, make light of the entrusted wound. For the blood of that soul will be required from

the one who dares, or rather, the blood of all souls who do this will be required. For the rashness of speech of those called spiritual has made many flee the medicine of confession, and now among Christians the great good of confession is either not at all or dimly practiced, but just as they say that God forgets none of the others in all eternity, but forgets the sin of man when someone turns to him unchangeably through repentance and confession, so also much more should he who receives confessions forget the transgressions of his brother, so as neither to reproach him with it nor to condemn him in his soul, remembering that being a man he is subject to like passions, and that he who keeps a brother's secret and for the sake of keeping it endures death, if need be, has the place of martyrs, and that he who does not keep it is a traitor as Judas, and by harming the mystery of the church, invalidates it as far as he can and grieves the sweet Jesus who saves the faithful through this mystery, who did not come to call "the righteous," but sinners to repentance. Before all things, each of us ceasing from our wickedness, let us be reconciled to God, who immediately being reconciled to those who cease, will also make a way for the cleansing of the filth from wickedness.

14.Let us not remove the ancient boundaries which our fathers have set, and these manifestly have benefit for those who keep them, and the harm is most evident to those who transgress them, and are the cause of ten thousand scandals for the provocation of the God who watches over the love of the brethren. But if even patriarchs have fortified the laws of the fathers with letters of penalties, being moved by a spirit of paternal care, what hope of salvation then is there for those who despise them, or how should one not expect every trial from God and men and all creation? Above all, let us keep the priesthood inviolate. For among the first causes of the Christian misfortunes was this also, that some, making this great thing a pretext for prosperity or honor, either receiving it unworthily or having fallen after receiving it, and some even often falling more shamelessly, nevertheless attempted sacred things and did not preserve the order, and those who were aware of them being such did not prevent them and associated with them in sacred things. Let us carefully render the worship appointed by God. For it is cursed, he says, "who does the work of God negligently," and again, "He who does the work of God negligently will be put to death." But let us render it piously, not serving as a custom, not being ashamed of those present, but as owing this to God alone, as him seeing and judging our innermost purpose, and whether we perform each act of worship with a mere presentation of the body or from the whole heart and looking intently only to him with the eyes of the soul, and as we are often accustomed to sing, that standing in the temple of your glory, we think we are standing in heaven. Simply put, the anointing of God, which you received through his disciples, remains in you, and you have no need that anyone teach you, but as the same anointing teaches about all things, so abide in him. Therefore, following him and walking with reverence in the conscience of the divine laws in all things, we shall know well how those who have authority will care for those who are subject, and how the rest of us will be subject to those who shepherd us, and what we will give to the flesh, and what to the spirit, and what we will care for our own life, and what we will strive for the establishment of the common good, which being established first, then also our own things will be well, and how each of us will love our neighbors as ourselves, and how God above all the world. For in the rule of nature, which was implanted in our nature, and in the rule of the evangelical way of life, which Jesus gave us, all things lie open to those who wish to pay attention, needing no teaching. If therefore in our thoughts and in words and in actions, each of us follows the rules and clings to them, we will live worthily of the promise and the name, and then, when the power of the anointing, the hope of our salvation, our sweet Jesus is revealed in glory, we shall have boldness and shall

not be ashamed at his presence, but even as long as we dwell with this clay, we shall not be deprived of divine visitation in all things, either not being abandoned to the depth of temptations or having received the grace of endurance from God for trial, from which is the sure hope of eternal life, which may it be…

12. THE REGRET OF ST. PETER

12. On the regrets of St. Peter after his denial.

† A. Letter from the monk Laurentios to the patriarch Gennadius.

Most holy and divinest patriarch, and to me in the Lord most wondrous lord and master and father, I pray to the all-good God that your greatest holiness may be in good health and flourishing, and be in cheerfulness of soul and body. My lord, even though I am far away, yet I am always mindful of your greatest holiness and I place your memory as a kind of feast, and there is no day that I do not celebrate it with your sweetness. I beseech you, pray for me the unholy one, that the Lord may have mercy on me the wretched one. Reading therefore in the holy Gospel, I found the saying that "Peter denied and went out and wept bitterly." I said to myself: "I wonder what were the words he said and wept, so that I too may weep for my soul, because I deny him daily by my evil deeds?" Therefore I entreat and beseech your greatest holiness, according to the wisdom given to you by God, to take the trouble and write to me with what lamenting words it was likely that the most wise Peter spoke then, what kind of lament he composed, what words of compunction, generators of fiery repentance, so that I too may have an occasion for lamenting, because I am very hard-hearted and unrepentant. And do not be reluctant to write the lamentations at length, so that perhaps late and with difficulty you may move my insensible soul to compunction, and you will have a reward from God and from us prayer and thanksgiving.

The last in spiritual things, Laurentios, and your ever-abiding son.

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† B. The Reply of Patriarch Gennadius to the Monk.

† The least Gennadius to the most honorable and reverend Laurentios, among the hieromonks and spiritual fathers, in the monastery of Dionysios, greetings in the Lord.

Most honorable and reverend father and brother in Christ, having written to us and requested that we describe to you, as in some image and study, the lament of the blessed Peter, the chief of the apostles, we then immediately avoided fulfilling the request for good reasons, of which the most persuasive reason for the avoidance was that he who is about to study that lament and is repentant for one single transgression of denial, ought not to be at all far from the soul and mind of Peter; but we are so far removed, as cannot even be said; whence we neither know how to lament for our many sins, nor do we lament, but living a life of abandon, we have not yet tasted the benefit from tears; and you have the reason for that refusal sent to you through our brother Acacius, of the holy and God-loving soul. But now, being moved by another purpose, we fulfill your request. For it was necessary both to understand and keep in mind the avoidance immediately, and not to completely overlook obedience. Therefore, we send you the present discourse, in which, according to your request, having studied as much as possible, we relate to you what words the blessed and chief of the apostles Peter might have said to himself, weeping bitterly after the threefold denial. But do you, in return for the fulfillment of the request, give us a fervent prayer from love and continuous supplication to our Lord Jesus Christ, that having granted us true repentance and compunction and contrition, he may loose, through his philanthropy alone, the burden of the many and great sins with which we are bound, using as a pretext his greatest leniency towards us, with his own gift. And we hope that the great foundation of the church of Christ will cooperate with your prayers for us; for he knows us to be sinners indeed, but always with much reverence and awe extolling his most excellent virtue and faith and Christ-imitating zeal for the salvation of the world and the swarm of heavenly gifts upon him. Repentance.

12. THE REGRET OF ST. PETER

† C. Prosopopoeia.

† What words might the blessed Peter have said to himself while weeping after the denial.

1.Woe is me, wretched one, for this most terrible fall! Alas for this sudden and utterly dreadful change! Woe to my folly! Alas for the Lord's just abandonment! I was stripped bare once in the games, hoping for temporary gain, but with a certain reverence towards God who gives all things. I was stripped bare after this willingly, though my possessions were meager, and leaving all, I followed Christ in the sure hope of greater and everlasting goods. But now I am truly stripped of the true and eternal and spiritual garment; willingly I am now deprived. I have lost life itself, the true and truly life; I have lost my salvation. The Lord daily taught me that this temporary life must be betrayed for the salvation of my soul; and now, clinging to life, I have lost my soul. Alas, what shall I become? I have denied my Lord, the savior of the world! He dies willingly, that He may make all alive, and me with all; but I, fearing death, have denied my benefactor, my master, my judge. The Master renamed me Peter from Simon, and promised to build His church upon me; but I, by the blasts of the evil one, have been terribly tossed about like chaff. Woe is me, that I waited for the cock, the teacher of my misfortunes, and the cock signaled my fall. Now, too late, I have remembered the Master's foretelling, and after suffering, I, a babe, have learned by suffering. Would that my mouth had been sealed then, and I had not uttered that boast, and set myself above all the brethren, as if they would be scandalized at the Teacher's suffering, and I alone would remain un-scandalized. That boast became the cause of these evils for me. For I ought rather to have said: "O my Lord, concerning the brethren I know not what to say; I only pray that they may remain steadfastly in the faith towards You until death. But I, conscious of much negligence in myself, need Your visitation, so that through it I may be able to remain steadfastly in Your faith and love." Thus I ought to have spoken, but being confident in my judgment until then, as if for my own good, I established my faith and my perseverance in the faith on that alone. But without trust in God and strength from Him, the soul of man is weak, changing in many and various ways. I ought therefore to have sought the confirmation of my pious intention from Him whence I had received it in the beginning, and the Master foretold to me immediately, that I, who alone boasted of not being scandalized, would alone of all the others deny Him, and would suffer this thrice, and He gave the voice of the rooster as a sign of this my triple folly. I ought therefore, for this very reason, to have been humbled immediately and to have been of a more moderate mind thereafter. But as it seems, I now follow what is happening to the others except John, and paying more attention to my boast and confirming it, I follow, rather than trembling at the Master's threat and foreseeing it. For if I had remembered well, if I had trembled as I should have, I would not have denied Him.

2.And perhaps I would not call what was said a denial, but rather an avoidance and concealment out of cowardice? But it is truly a denial. For to the Master himself I answered when asked, "Are you the Christ, the Son of God?" and to the unbelievers and crucifiers I said now, "I do not know the man." For not only did I say that I did not know him, but I even said that he was a mere man, even if I do not think so, but my tongue alone will condemn me. For our Master himself has rightly determined the reward and the punishment by his confession and denial before men. How then is what was said not a denial, since he who foresaw this and foretold it and thus called it? Perhaps I will say that I rather showed the Lord to be truthful? For if I had not denied him, he would not have been truthful. And I confessedly showed him to be truthful. But neither did

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he say it so that I might accomplish the word in deed, nor have I fulfilled the deed, so that I might show him to be truthful. For he foretold the danger, as knowing that I would do it; but my deed was the cause of that wonderful prediction of his. For he did not know it as about to happen, but as already present. Whence neither fulfilling the prediction nor remembering it at all in the very danger, but rather being beside myself, I fulfilled my own folly. But the cock taught me the fall and reminded me of the whole prediction. And even if the Master had not foretold it, I was about to do the dreadful deed, and now the prediction is rather an increase of my sin, because even after the dreadful deed was foretold, I did not take heed.

3.Woe to me for this misfortune! How many fountains of tears will suffice for its magnitude? How many beatings of the breast? How many dashing of the head against the earth? But even these it is not possible to do now amidst the enemies, and I am prevented from withdrawing and doing so in the wilderness by the longing for the Master again. For I do not wish to be completely removed from the sight of these paradoxical events, but to see from nearby the end of the awesome dispensation. But all the time after this will be an occasion for me of lamentations for this misfortune. For I denied him not disbelieving, but clinging to life. But even if I believe firmly, I will also await the joy after a little while. For he will rise, as he often said, and appearing, he will gladden us and dispel the cup of sorrow with a myriad-fold cup of pleasure. But I fear lest the things of pleasure may well befall the brethren, whom I set myself above then in faith, but for me the cup of bitterness may be increased terribly, being judged unworthy to partake of the delight. For they are hidden now, waiting to see the end of these paradoxical things, which are indeed paradoxical in magnitude, but not unexpected otherwise. For the Master foretold them to us daily and strengthened our minds. They are hidden then only; but I have denied him openly, since even then they were silent, conscious of human weakness and not having complete confidence in themselves, but I with my tongue emptied out the inner conceit. And now for them both the soul and the tongue have been guarded, but I, remaining in disposition still with Christ and remaining to the end, have been separated by my tongue. O Simon, wretched one (for I will no longer call you Peter, deeming you unworthy of the name from the Master), you have lost the firmness of the rock through cowardice. But would that you had even the former calling now proving true. For you were rightly Simon and yielding, when, at the Master's calling, you quickly obeyed, throwing away all that was in your hands, and you continued thus far. Woe then to you, that you no longer have even the disposition to be confident in. For how will you say that you love Christ, who did not wish to lay down your soul for him? No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's own soul for the one loved. Our Master himself thus defined perfect love. But if the enemies of the truth made your denial an occasion for joy, the very truth would not fail to grieve with you, the beloved, destroying yourself by the corruption of your love towards him. For it was surely not for his own sake that he was to be grieved. For neither did you benefit him by loving him so genuinely as to be willing even to die for him, nor have you harmed him now by shaking his glory as far as you are concerned, but yours would have been the gain if you had planned well, and yours is the harm now, having terribly gone the opposite way.

4.But why do you still weep bitterly, examining these things and recounting them wisely? Why with such reasonings do you pour forth floods of tears from your eyes and the first drops from your heart? You will lament continually if the evil is to remain incurable for you, and you will be eternally bewailed by those in Hades, with no means found for you towards the healing of the wound. But as for the present situation, postpone the lamentations a little and consider the things of healing, if by any means they could be

successfully accomplished, shaking your hopes by the great philanthropy of the Master alone, and do not suffer the things of those who have despaired, reckoning the present deprivation of good things, and neither hoping for nor seeking deliverance from evils, if it could happen. Therefore, it would be necessary for me to consider such things, having recovered a little from the lamentations, and either to seek the brethren with good hopes and to use them as counselors with a confession of the transgression and to await with them the fulfillments of the promises, or, if such an order no longer has a place for me, I must not depart from the faith in Christ, but confine this body to the holes of the earth and afflict it with hunger and thirst, in exchange for which I was led to prefer his love and the love of the temporary life in him to my Master. Therefore, I must cry to him, the common savior, seek counsel from him concerning what is to be done, and grant leisure in the present for tears.

5.O Christ, king! O source of mercy! O you who were willingly crucified in body then, but being God are always present everywhere, and the salvation which you were working out from afar for the world, you are now wonderfully completing, you have heard me now denying you thrice, you who also heard it before by your divine foreknowledge. But not only have I denied you now, but I owe equal reckoning to those who deny you always. For things are judged according to the final outcome, and just as you did not reckon against the prostitute the long-standing turnings away from the divine will and attachments to the evil will, when she offered you her last repentance and began thereafter to bear the fruit of divine love, and you, foreseeing it, accepted and approved it, so also those who withdraw from you after much attendance and in deed depart from your love, you reckon as never having attended you, and very justly so. I confess therefore that I have become an alien to your un-denied glory and a fugitive from the love towards you that dwelt in me until now. And you receive those who repent (for you came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance); but my fall is deprived of all repentance and the hopes from it by itself. For I must no longer look to your philanthropy alone, but also to your justice in me. For some, hearing you once teaching the word of truth, both believed and clung to you and were ready to die if the time called, and many will die, the times fulfilling your promises, which you have come into the world to fulfill. But I, being with you continually, since you called me to your beneficence, was not only a partaker of the common teachings, but also of those which you admonished us more privately, much greater and more divine, to those enrolled in the choir of the disciples, having called private and unlettered men to the participation of heavenly wisdom and immediately given them the power to rightly participate in it. Who could count the graces which you inspired both in common to all the disciples and separately to each one? I, therefore, in return for all these, have denied you, alas, and have I confidence to trust in the hope of repentance? Woe and often woe is me! But again the pain of my heart increases and the tears bitterly flow down, and I am in danger of being completely overcome by speechlessness, considering the excess of the transgression. But having paused a little, I will return again.

6.My case, therefore, is worthy of continual tears, O my Master Christ, and even if it were to happen for me to obtain forgiveness from your unconquerable philanthropy, I will be continually tormented in my conscience by the memory of the present denial. But I beg your clemency before all things; add to me life and may I not tear my soul apart at this very greatest and most terrible fall. For if this is granted to me, there will be some better hope concerning the rest. For I am comforted now, when I remember those things decided by you concerning my wretchedness after that my confession. For I say boldly, you called me "blessed" then, and you added the reason for the beatitude, "because flesh and blood did not reveal it to me, but your Father who

is in heaven." But if the work of the Father is also your work, then you also revealed it. If therefore that confession was revealed to me, being blind from the beginning and unworthy of the height of such great mysteries, and through it I have been blessed, now I am at a loss (and forgive me, most loving Jesus), how you have allowed my mind to be darkened now by cowardice and to become most wretched instead of blessed? And if then the greatest of all things was revealed to me, that which conquers all human mind and word, how was I not also emboldened now by your grace, so as to run readily to death for you and the truth? I still remember you saying that you would build your church upon me, for which you became man, so as to establish it well on earth, a seed of the church in heaven, from here the good fruits of piety will be brought forth there. You also promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so that I would be able, strengthened by your power, to loose what is bound with a reasonable and gentle release of the bonds, and to bind what is loosed with a reasonable and just chain. How will all those things be lost, having become idle because of my present folly? And how will they even be accomplished in me and come forth in deeds, instead of a foundation befitting such great good things, since I have laid such a foundation, a most terrible denial of you and your truth? Alas, and how shall I endure again, and how shall I not be broken apart, when the magnitude of the evils is examined by me, and these things in the comparison of your benefactions? But it is necessary to come to the matter at hand, the tears having ceased a little. If therefore none of those good things will befall me hereafter, having become such from the beginning and having foolishly deprived myself of such great happiness, at least grant me not to suffer the eternal punishments in Hades, nor to be condemned with your deniers, through your clemency alone, both repenting now immediately and continually crushing my heart with the memory of the sin, and show me numbered with your merciful sheep. It is enough for me to be freed from the eternal punishments, not to be separated from your love forever. Being given over to the doorkeepers of your kingdom, I will eternally there hymn your clemency and marvel at the bond of your justice on me, having loosed it, and as one numbered with the blessed, so I will live then with insatiable pleasure.

7.But perhaps, O Christ and Son of God, you will give what was promised, and as about to give you promised it entirely. For not as owing or repaying or as one worthy to receive, but freely you were about to give, and planning something known only to you before the ages and to the co-eternal Father who sent you into the world. But me, though able to silence and strengthen and inspire the fitting answer even now in my soul, to whose awareness I have come late, yet you allowed me to use rather the weakness of my mind, which you knew well for the greater benefit of my soul. But perhaps also wishing me to live and serve your proclamations, you did not inspire the boldness, but you allowed the flight from cowardice, so that I might not be arrogant at the greater good things after this, being humbled by the memory of this fall, and from thence becoming more gentle to those who stumble and come to you and your faith, and not refusing them the forgiveness from you when they repent. And now you will loose the punishment for the fall by philanthropy alone, and the fulfillment of those things foretold will follow, so that both predictions will be seen as proving true by the deeds. Imagining these things, I ponder, being constrained by great necessities of both longing and fear, and I am not yet bold to confirm in myself the reasons for this permission, lest perhaps again instead of obtaining forgiveness, I should come to another precipice of overconfidence, as then before, from conceit. But you alone know, and you will show it quickly. This only I say and promise to you, O most benevolent physician of human souls, who came into this world for this purpose and shared our

nature without sin, that if such a great and all-conquering leniency, surpassing the mind, is purposed by you concerning me, the least of all and now alas a denier of you, I will live with the continual memory of this sin, and with your help, from now on I will consider no good as my own, and I will counteract the denial with all zeal after this, as being humbled more by necessity than by choice, and I will no longer pay attention to the transgressions of others, intending to live for myself alone, and fearing to prescribe to others, since you command this, I will appear more gentle to those who have sinned and are repenting than a strict judge by the zeal of your compassionate philanthropy, which you have shown and will show even more, not only to all men, having become man among them for this, but especially to me of all. After these things, having yielded now to commoners and slaves and a woman because of cowardice and terrible folly, I professed to ignore my master and benefactor, and thus I tore myself away from the choir of brethren and fellow disciples. But being about to live and being deemed worthy of your influence in all things, I will oppose both tyrants and kings, fighting for your glory, and sowing the word of truth everywhere, I will make no account of life and flesh. And before I promised to die with you, if need be, and though I have not kept the promise, I grieve and am pained thus now. But again I repeat this, repenting of the irrational flight, and if it is now granted to me to die for your name, I will die very gladly, you strengthening my weakness, and even if you preserve me, being kept safe for a long time from the persecutors. Finally, I beg you to grant me to choose death for you with a joyful soul. For I no longer promise from myself, fearing that precipice, and I will teach all others hereafter to walk my path. These things I promise, you inspiring the grace, if I am to live and not be deprived of those good gifts, nor be torn away from the company of the brethren, and if I have been instructed now by you allowing it for my benefit and that of many others. But if only repentance is needed for me, I will lament thereafter, as I said before, silently bewailing my folly under some recess of the earth, and in all ways I will chasten the flesh and my tongue which has plundered reason and has become the cause of so many evils for me because of this, not even in these being without hope in you.

8.But, O Christ Jesus, both Son of God and God, and for our sakes also man, and now for our sakes willingly glorified by such sufferings rather than dishonored, if you have not utterly forsaken me, inspire my heart now which of these paths you wish me to choose and which hope of salvation to open up and complete well for me, and inspire it now. For your appearing after the third day, as you promised, is awaited by your disciples, sitting and awaiting your vision or inspiration concerning what they should do. If therefore you would inspire me even now, this time being urgent, both to be with and associate with the brethren, I will be greatly comforted, as if the transgression has been forgiven me henceforth by your most goodly philanthropy, and I will be with them immediately, and we will together accomplish your will, you commanding and cooperating. But if you inspire me to pursue the other path, that of repentance alone, I will gladly embrace even this. Inspire only, O king, inspire; comfort my afflicted soul; reveal your will; may I not be deprived of your accustomed grace. I am silent then henceforth and close my eyes and attend with my mind to you alone, awaiting your inspiration.

9.Glory to your philanthropy, O Christ, heavenly king, that you have not forsaken me your suppliant. For you inspire me and command me to associate with the brethren. Therefore, you also give confidence concerning the other things to trust in your philanthropy, and that you will show him who was a little while ago a cowardly denier to be a confessor in due season. I go therefore according to your command, associating with your disciples and apostles, and we will all together await your command. But I, even of the things

promised now in a few words, will take care in the breadth of deeds, you enlightening and guiding and strengthening my weakness. Amen.

SERMON 13. THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION

13. Sermon for the Feast of the Assumption (1464).

† On the Dormition of our Most Holy Lady Theotokos. It was written in the Monastery of the Pammakaristos, and was read on the Feast of the Dormition, during our third forced ascent there, in the completion of the second indiction, in the year 1464.

1.The beginning of the year brought us the nativity of the blessed Virgin, which became a beginning for all people of the true and spiritual birth. This last month of the year, bringing her translation from earth, places, as it were, a most beautiful seal both on the Lordly feasts and on the gifts of God honored through them, so that, as it were, in a continuous cycle, the Mother of the Word of God might be for us in this bodily life, not only a boundary of the spiritual life, because after the divine providence she also governs the present life for us, just as indeed she made the way to eternal life evident to us, with the ministry of the mystery, being a co-worker with God, fulfilling the order of a connatural instrument, but also in her own life was both an exemplar and a forerunner. And to all men, and to me with all, she gives such an annual adornment, she creates such a fair fame, not according to what pleases them more than what fits the circumstances, of those leaders among us who have set forth the laws in worshipping, but to me, after many other good things which existed from the very beginning of all, she granted, as it were, a first-fruit of all kinds of contests in words and a fruit of my increasing age, the eulogy for her annunciation, or, since this gave the melody, and it was successfully begun then and completed, she granted that, remaining still and now in the decline of that ambition and of the times befitting it, as it is likely, a seal of our life and zeal, as it were, to add the farewell offering after many other discourses brought forth to her in between. And thanks be to her for all these things after God; glory to him who has provided her to us in respites, in sorrows, in the present things, in the hoped-for things, in private things, in common things, as a rule and type and expectation and prosperity and haven, not only to us alone, but also to all who are dependent on the wonders concerning her, but rather even to all men, even if not all wish to see with open eyes.

2.We sum up, therefore, with her the offering of our words, just as her ascent to heaven was a summing up of the benefactions of God through her to us, which is now celebrated by us in an audience not indeed fortunate as the former ones, but pious and laboring through piety and similarly serving in the early gatherings of the faithful. And of the things pertaining to her mystery, hymned as far as possible by many others and by us in those former discourses (for it is not possible for the mind and word of men to comprehend them, not even if all were gathered together), and of the wonders worked in her translation, narrated very well by others, we do not think it necessary either to go over them again or to innovate, neither of which is customary for us, but we will nourish you with newer things and we will honor the feast with gifts, stirring up the hope of success, with her both consenting and enlightening, nor do we think it necessary to use rather a love of words than philosophy, honoring the mother of the wisdom of God. Indeed, we will add nothing superfluous to what has been previously elaborated by others and by us. But if it is necessary also to connect the hypotheses of the mystery with the proposition of this discourse, no one could justly blame us as thus transgressing what has been agreed upon.

3.For all those indeed who are predestined to eternal life, as they naturally and reasonably advance towards such an end, rightly the beginning of this most fortunate path is a zeal conjoined with inherent ability

of nature and the admonition of parents and the guidance of teachers and the leading of zeal and habituation in the better things, through which, having obtained the best guidance, as well prepared for acting according to virtue, they bring all the inclination of the will towards the good, with few of the instigations from the senses standing against them, but springing up indeed like shameless little dogs, and being immediately scourged by the rod of reason. But the middle state for them is the progression towards the impassionate life, which they live having been purified, as if they were not even at the beginning yoked to bodies, and all their longing is directed to God alone, and they disregard nothing through which it is likely to run such a course towards him. But the end is the Godlike life shining upon these from above, no longer readily rising up to the participation of God, but by attaining it, as is well possible in this body, they turn very readily to the contemplation of the judgments of God, when they have God within themselves and under that cause of all they consider all things, as is likely for those who possess the divine and are filled with the gifts from thence. And having used the beginning as an enemy to the body, then having cared so much for it and for the life with it, as one would take account of a vehicle or a fellow worker, it yielding henceforth and not resisting, finally as much as they endure of the shadow accompanying them or of the burden attached to them by God, and there is nothing left for the body, but they live all by the spirit.

4.Such, indeed, is the life here for such people, or rather, was when it was, as it is likely to hint at it in a few words. Which the eternal life must necessarily follow, whenever and however the only one who knows and is able perfectly may will, just as endless misery to those who have lived the opposite way. But this life, out of superabundant freedom, he will at some time also impart to the bodies from the souls to be gathered again and to be joined with them more fortunately under dispositions befitting such a life and such a place. But the man who has been supernaturally assumed by the Divine Word did not follow the same path at all as the others. For as a true man, it would have been sufficient for the whole dispensation to live the most earnest life according to man, as it is likely, living both in soul and using flesh. But as the Son of God and God in himself who supernaturally sustained the assumed man and personally united him to himself, it was fitting to impart to the one united a better entrance into this life and all the sojourn in it than according to man, not even as much as it is possible to say. Therefore, not only did our Jesus live truly and better than according to man in all things together with all others according to man, and I do not speak of those theandric miracles of his, but only of the human way of life, but also in the order of such a way of life. For he did not advance gradually to the end of virtue, nor did he seek the end as lying somewhere else, nor from restraining the desires of the flesh and purifying the soul by the humbler works was he led to the greater virtues befitting the purified, nor did he rise orderly from the practical to the contemplative life, but at once he was both man and comprehensively had all human virtue, choosing indeed, but having the human reason perfectly and without war against the senses guiding to the good as if naturally inherent. And he himself was both the end and the one immediately befitting the end. And Isaiah prophesied him to choose the good before knowing or choosing anything evil, setting forth the prophecy, as is likely, weaker than the height of the mystery, though being great. But in reality, there was no way that he would choose the evil, nor was there that he was then ignorant. And the body advanced in age, but the heavenly grace was immediately present to him in swaddling clothes, and being immediately perfect in soul, yet by the progress of the body according to age, he seemed to those who saw him to have virtue increasing with it, and as it is possible to fit the reasonable to the supernatural of the mystery, the Divine Spirit fashioned the flesh in the Virgin, immediately organized and as

it would be immediately ensouled, and the Word of God immediately fashioned the soul in the flesh, being nowhere absent as God, but being there more particularly. For thus he willed with the Father who sent him. And he himself fashions the other souls among men, but producing these by others, he fashioned for himself and the flesh then united with him the soul proper to it.

5.And she was born according to law no less and was raised having been born as a true son of man and man. And thus she advanced indeed in age, but the perfection of her soul was present to her from the very maternal womb for the perfection of the instrument needing, not to practice herself nor to exercise for purity and wisdom, but so as only to use it being such according to law having been born and to less amaze those even in childhood suffering this towards the ineffable wisdom and understanding in her. For these things therefore she needed both the mother and her betrothed and guardian, obviously the things befitting the body, until it was also necessarily necessary according to law to need these. But the grace from above was present both to the infant and the babe, not only changing the first age and a second. And she led the contemplative life immediately from the beginning, as in her very youth to amaze all with wisdom and answers, but she made the practical life the end of the way of life among men, as having become among men for this sake.

6.And each of these matters requires many words, indeed, no discourse could fully grasp any of them. But it suffices for the present need to say this much: that while all those considered worthy among humans, progressing from action to contemplation, as is natural for those incomplete in nature, using a spark and ember of perfection, advance step by step with zeal toward a more perfect life, our Lord Jesus, being superior to what is human, immediately fulfilled the contemplative life, not even for long without the active life directed toward Himself. But when it was the opportune time to turn His zeal toward the salvation of humankind, He অতিnaturally practiced the active life, which was to bring salvation to all others, but to Himself, υπερφυς glory, in exchange for which He humbled Himself most exceedingly, being υπερ-exalted, and in exchange for which He willingly yielded to the verdict of the wicked, with the earth and heavens and all creation being subjected to Him and bending the knee, and in exchange for which, being sinless, He endured judgment for things He had not done, satisfying both the divine Logos who was with Him and the Father who sent Him, the justice owed to human nature for so long a time. And all these things were consequent upon His being born without seed, not only because of the dignity befitting the divine Logos's human nature, but also indeed for the salvation of human nature, which could only be thus. For it was necessary for the pure one to make a defense on behalf of the impure, and a man on behalf of his kin, having a counterbalancing worth to the whole race's nature and strength from the God who was with Him. But if He had been born of seed, it would not have been possible for Him not to also share the defilement therefrom, which has descended upon all humans through such succession. But to make a defense on behalf of all His kin, it was sufficient for Him to have a true mother, and for His conception and gestation and birth and nourishment and all the rest to occur according to the natural law prevailing among humans. Thus, having been conceived without seed, that most extraordinary life reasonably followed.

7.Hence, it was fitting that she who was to bear such a one should immediately have all things appropriate to the mystery concerning her, both the life she lived, occurring with such paradoxes, and befitting the Mother of God. For she was to bear a child without a husband, and the reproach of childlessness, which had preceded her into the light, was lifted, and the pain, beyond all expectation and the prayers of those before

her, even concerning matters of extreme difficulty, was met by the divine predetermination from above. And she, a virgin pure in both soul and body, was to share in the flesh of her Creator, while for her parents, all things were fitting for such a child, both lineage from above and a suitable life and purity of soul and body. And she was reverently informed by Gabriel of the blessings soon to come to her from heaven and, through her, to the whole world, and of the long-foretold prosperity of her lineage. And her parents, in many ways being revealed, saw that she would be divine and was a fruit from themselves, and that God desired to honor the whole race through her. And Zacharias, not even able to believe the angel of God concerning the childbearing in old age and barrenness, of the one who was to leap in the womb and go before and bear witness and prophesy and minister to the baptism, paid the penalty of silence until the outcome, in the extraordinary birth of his kinswoman, a virgin. And at her birth, the angels' doxologies filled the air, and magi, journeying from afar, reverently brought gifts to the newborn, and they made it no more a matter of wonder at the apparent lowliness than of the greatest joy at not being deceived in the hopes from the divine lot. And at her earlier birth, more divine revelations foretold her future glory. And the Holy One of Holies was to be born from her, as Isaiah and Daniel say, and her parents, not without divine inspiration from above, dedicated her to the Holy of Holies. And all things, to speak concisely, both those wrought as wonders for her who was to be born and for her who had been born, were preludes to greater wonders, with which He who was incarnate from her adorned His own presence, mingling the comprehensible radiance of truth with the humility of the divine economy for humankind.

8.And these things, indeed, are to be recounted, lest we go beyond measure and necessity, or the present purpose. But our subject is the life of the blessed Virgin, which, as was fitting, was in harmony with that of Him who was born from her, surpassing all other humans, which it is necessary to consider and diligently examine. Therefore, neither did she advance toward virtue, nor did she acquire the order of purity by purification, nor did she receive the angelic rank in the flesh by zeal alone, having the Lord of the angels dwelling within her even before herself, but she was an instrument fashioned by God, immediately suitable for such a ministry even before the time of the ministry had arrived, not seeking purity of soul and body alone, but also awaiting the maturity of her body. Whence, He who was to use and prepare her first took care, since for this ministry to be deemed worthy of it, no soul could be so fashioned from the beginning, considering the inherent nature of the body. Therefore, He not only cooperated and lent a hand to her good intention as in other worthy persons, but rather enabled her to act worthily of the preparation implanted in her, so that the activity according to the given habit and power would precisely befit her will, and the habit was not acquired by her from a multitude and order of actions compounded by time and zeal, but was bestowed upon her nature from heaven, so that in this way not even a trace of the deficiencies of nature would be with her, and what the conception without seed wrought in Him who was born from her, the divine grace wrought in her who was born through seed, so that in both, purity would be wondrous, in Him who was born from her both more glorious than any due to having no cause for defilement by nature, and in her who bore Him, it would be present only by grace, and she, having been born most pure immediately, as if about to bear the most pure one, even though having the cause of defilement inherent in her nature.

9.Therefore, with the purity of this most fortunate mother in human nature, the first and the last, all things were indeed consequent: her consecration to God, her alone being deemed worthy to dwell in the Holy of Holies, surpassing other virgins who resided in outer cloisters, as being beyond the types there and as

herself typifying them, her most extraordinary life in the inner sanctuary, the angelic guardianships, the simultaneous progression of her bodily growth with her perfection in soul—not from acting to contemplating, not from being purified to being made pure, not from the realm of the hirelings to that of the children, not from the changing to the ever-constant and steadfast attendance on God, but her progress was in the degrees of love and the illuminations from above, by addition illuminating her soul, which by addition was being attached to divine longing, her body gaining life from the indwelling of such a soul alone, providing no other hindrance and for this reason being most pure, the most pure one being both with her and serving her. Beyond these things, I say concisely, as the mystery was still progressing, she was being prepared to piously depart from the sacred [place], to be remembered in due time by Him who was to minister to her and the mystery, by Him who would well guard her, no more than those who were about to be entrusted with the paradoxes concerning her or be shaken by them, she being illuminated from afar for such things, not to be troubled at the sight of Gabriel or at the excess of the messages, nor to disbelieve as Zacharias did in a less extraordinary matter, he being both high priest and elder and not himself unaccustomed to angelic appearances. But her zeal after the birth, befitting a Son and God and such a mother and servant, was the beginning of her active life, having previously been occupied with and living in contemplation. And such action was an addition to contemplation, not a diminution. For [she acted] neither for herself nor for others through herself, nor bestowing grace on nature, nor from mere philanthropy toward others, but constantly serving the Lord diligently out of love, and to Him whom she served insatiably in her mind, being also physically present and ministering when He was manifest, she bore the subsequent labors with complete sincerity and purity and, to say all at once, with ardor, both the others and those in the far-foretold border regions.

10.Since our Lord, occupied with the struggles of the economy [of salvation], gave little attention to his mother thereafter, she, content and suffering with the labors and cares of her son and Lord for all, though not physically present with him, was yet present in a higher and more divine manner, until she was present at his crucifixion. And after his resurrection and ascension, she rejoiced with those who had seen him, and she shared in the labors of the disciples during their journeys, rightly appropriating to herself the most philosophical life, living in humility, conforming to the sufferings of her son and God, so that as he willingly endured these things, she also, with a zeal for him, nobly endured, so that not only as the first to receive sanctification from God, but also being further sanctified by such communion with the divine, she might rejoice in the heavenly good things above all, but also by the justice according to the law, as she neglected nothing of what was earnestly pursued by others. And if it was necessary for her son and God, when legislating to mankind the path of heavenly life, to first accomplish this in deed and to make it easy by his own example for those who otherwise would have been reluctant because of the narrowness that accompanied her, how was it possible for her, being satisfied with the beauty of grace, to disregard the contribution from her own household, or not to repay the possible grace of the supernatural visitation, or not to show the law of her most beloved to others, as he himself showed it by his works, and especially to women, so that the female sex might by no means be left behind in the struggles of men, having such a leader, as indeed she also nobly struggled, both in the struggles against impiety and in the labors for virtue, having become a partner and conformed to him as was possible? Therefore, the grace of heaven which sanctified her as was fitting before her conception and the birth [of Christ], needing no labors for the

supernatural sanctification for such communion with God, was such. But so many were her struggles after these things and so very fitting to the order from God, that even through them she would have been worthy of the ministry. But that she should thus become worthy through them for which she was predestined for the ministry, is no different from having become and from the beginning being altogether worthy of the ministry.

11.From here, since it was also necessary for her to depart, desiring this exceedingly and much more than Paul the dissolution [of the body], as was likely, since she would be with Christ in a much more divine and intimate way than he, and as she had attained the end of her striving here, while Paul was yet to increase his own crowns by the addition of preaching, her whole life and also the circumstances of her departure were harmoniously ordained. I mean the foretelling of the approaching fulfillment of her desire, the illness proportionately arranging the time until her departure, for the demonstration indeed of the supernatural philosophy in her, but also for the benefit of those who were waiting upon her as she was being prepared, the heavenly rapture of the apostles to her from such great distances, giving great consolation to them and to her who received them, the funeral hymn mixed with sorrow and joy for her, the doxologies of the angels singing together and filling the air as she ascended, penetrating through the ears into the hearts of those present there, the miracles of the all-holy body that was left behind, the reverent and awe-inspiring laying of it beneath the earth, the subsequent search for it and its not being found. Not in vain, therefore, was it translated [assumed], but that the flesh which provided the flesh to God might have something more than all other human bodies. What indeed this might be, God alone would know, but we humans conjecture one thing or another. For some say that that most sacred body was transferred to the paradise on earth and remains there until the second coming of Christ, not to be resurrected then like the others, for it remains as it was immediately after death, but will only be ensouled again. But others say that it was ensouled a third time, the soul descending from heaven, and having undergone the alteration and change hoped for by those who will be resurrected, it was taken up together with the soul, with whose opinion we also rather agree, as it is wise and has reasonableness from every perspective.

12.But what words are sufficient to relate the proclamations of her boldness [before God] after these things, with which our Lord honored his mother from the earth? For concerning her benevolence, there would be no one of mankind to doubt, and concerning her care for those who call upon her here with reverence. But the ability to do almost all things [comes] from her boldness toward him who is able to grant it, [an ability] whose proof through works confirms it. For which of those who have piously fled to her has departed unbenefited? And what city and nation and community, greater or smaller, has not been delivered from every impending evil, having fled to her in despair of human help and bearing repentance for sins as a branch of supplication? Who is guarantor and intercessor for souls turning back through repentance to divine fear and longing? Who in the various necessities of life is a harbor and refuge except her? To whom after the creator of all does all the earth weave praises, except those who even ignore the creator, because they willingly blind themselves to the light?

13.She now in heaven leads the choirs of the blessed souls and also of the angels, by the communion of the good things and divine gifts fitting to each individually. But by surpassing all in measure and being alone adorned with the advantages of all, she is above all the choirs. For immediately, of those who lived uncomplainingly in the deserts, with the [ascetic] practice of humbling and purifying the flesh, how is she not much greater, having been sanctified even before such struggles and afterwards having well accomplished

these, so that even without the former splendor she would most rightly have the summit of those who have engaged in such a life through them? But the martyric choice, being adorned by the surpassing of love, which is in laying down one's soul for the beloved with pleasure, is indeed more [evident] in those who thus testify for the truth with the obviousness of death and its urgency. But in the voluntary and daily dying by the hatred of the flesh and the continuation of the labors for the sake of sacred love in the saints, it is no less, and such as these also rightly testify in peace, there being no opportunity for them of the testimony against the persecutors, but if opportunity were to call, they would not refuse even that. And who would not say that the blessed virgin would have chosen death for the truth most readily of all people, where she would have shown one and the same philosophy in both the truth and her zeal for it and herself, where also in the martyrdom of peace, as it has been said, she was seen yielding to none of the first? But that priesthood and the order in it belong to her from every perspective, it is clear, as drawing the whole lineage of the race from there, as having been raised in sacred places and having lived the time of her ownness and thus filling her soul with the things done there, so as to extend daily even beyond the patterns in them, as having borne the highest high priest, who sacrificed himself for the creation. But the prophets are also surpassed by her, not only as having been mostly occupied because of her, wherefore also the manifestation of her was the limit and end of the prophecies, but also as being hymned by them as a prophetess of the prophets and having been shown such in deed, when she foretold that she would be blessed by all generations and that the greatest providence from God would come to other people, from which she herself would be magnified by divine power. And she is therefore also mistress of the apostles, not chance but virtue making the order for her, and because of her having become mother to the common Lord who willed to take on the form of a servant. Therefore also, going around the earth, they made her the beginning of the accounts of the economy, and fulfilling the debt to the Lord, they were doing service to her as she was leaving the earth. For being unable to be present at his death and burial because of the fear of death and other matters of the economy, they reasonably dedicated their service to the mother, their purpose being cooperated with by the grace from above, and leading them willingly indeed, but not being able through themselves, in a way that is strange.

14.If therefore the ranks of the blessed from the earth are classified with the angelic orders, so that it happens that those assigned to the higher angels are superior to the lower ones, not only of humans, but also of the angels themselves, with whose ranks they are numbered, and this is so from the last to the first, it is reasonable that the blessed virgin, being above the human ranks in heaven, also surpasses indeed the angelic orders, with which the ranks of the blessed from the earth have been distributed, and is assigned to the first and greatest with preeminence. And this is a great gift of God to humans, but has much reason; for the blessed who happen to be classified in the eighth rank of angels, since they themselves also have such an order among those of the same kind, are more blessed than all the angels in the ninth, overcoming these by the gift of supernatural blessedness, even if not by the gifts of nature, since it has been once determined that the incorporeal beings by nature excel the souls created here in bodies; nor is it improbable that the blessed humans are distinguished by ranks both according to the measure of their philosophy here and the proportion of the divine gifts upon it, nor is it incongruous that the ranks of the blessed are classified with the angelic orders, since also godly men say that the purpose of the human creation has been the filling up of those who have fallen from there for God; for it is clear that the souls purified here from matter must, with precise zeal concerning this, be no less than those who by nature have received from God, having nothing in

common with bodies, I mean as much as pertains to the attainment of supernatural blessedness, which is given by way of struggle, which I said before. What therefore is surprising, that what happens to the other blessed in relation to each other happens also to her who is above all the blessed in relation to all together, and that, surpassing all, she obtains the gifts of grace there, with which she conquers all the gifts in all, even of the first themselves, among whom she is numbered? For she must, as a servant of God, be numbered with his servants and creatures, but as mother of God and having received there the more supernatural blessedness proportionate to the supernatural gifts here, obtain and hold the first place among the higher of the creatures.

15.Of the praises therefore of the Mother of God all time is [fitting], even if indeed all speech comes afterwards, but she, imitating the divine philanthropy in intentions, not in works, repays benevolence; but of the present feast, demanding the funeral hymns, all the choirs of the faithful everywhere sing, and just as then, when she temporarily left behind that sacred tabernacle (for it would not have been possible for her not to be separated from it first, and then to be joined [to it again], if indeed this was thus ordained for the Lord of all, and just as, being sinless, he paid the penalty for those who had sinned, so also, being greater than to die, he nevertheless died, for he was not from seed, through which we share in this and every other penalty so to speak in dying, with the first origins of the race, since also of sin, which the penalties followed), just as therefore then a mixed hymn was woven from all, of the sacred choir of the apostles, of the multitude of the faithful, who were performing the sacred burial for her, of the swarm of angels, some indeed with reverence receiving the kindred and equal-to-angels soul from the body, others meeting her, others accompanying her, with unspeakable and fitting speed to spirits, others preparing the heavenly gates, others withdrawing as she entered up to and including the immediate standing before God, so also now the whole world and the creatures of God filling this [world] above and below, dwelling on the memory of that day, make this whole [day] one of hymns to the benefactress. But we have now made the supernatural grace of God in the blessed one and the following practice of virtue, in which she can be compared to none of the other humans, the only subject of our hymns, just as indeed Jesus, who bore her humanity to us, showed it, as much as was possible, worthy of himself who had assumed it. Since therefore all things fittingly belonging to her and concerning her, not only now but also on each day that is sung, and such a life here, and so most glorious a departure, and such boldness in heaven, and such hopes for her [given] to us and gifts from her, with which she fulfills pious hopes, so that for all she is all things after God and thus all offer themselves to her in the possible way, it is reasonably sufficient for us also, in showing the blessedness of her who is above all humans, both living and departed, given completely from God, and then also confirmed by proper efforts, in this alone indeed to complete our purpose, the one set forth in the introductions; and indeed, she having given [the means], it has been completed.

16.16. But O blessed Virgin and Mother of the Son of God, O adornment of the human race, wonder of the angels, delight of all creation, crown of virginity, summit of impassibility, truest image of God, most benevolent queen, do receive this gift from our hands, the last in these last times, offered by me to your worm, but brought to completion by your will, and present us to God in sincere repentance, seeking the mercy from there, and beseech Him to grant it through Himself and through you, but not through us and our unworthiness, for it is not sufficient for such a great Father and Lord to be treated with insolence by transgressions and then to turn back to piety, but the good that is accomplished in us is the smallest

repayment of the greatest debt, even if this also were not rendered useless and blunted by any of the other shortcomings, but the shamelessness in stumbling against the divine laws remains indeed wholly worked out. This indeed would be the rule of justice, but the benevolence of the Creator, which conquers all reason, also takes into account the weak repayment of the debt by the counterbalancing of the transgressions, being thus the greatest, thus altogether supernatural, so as even to go forth Himself, the Most High, from His abode to send down to earth His eternal and consubstantial Word, to die for humans still impious towards Him, not that the divine Word Himself suffered death, but the humanity taken from you in a supernatural way, this being advised by Him who assumed it and is consubstantial God, or rather, it being willed by Himself and willed from afar, but being advised by her, as having been assumed for this purpose.

17.This suffices us to ask from your benevolence, for in this one thing all things are contained. But concerning the other things, which we all commonly ask for daily, we are content with the divine decree and yours, for you would not beseech Him for anything that you do not also know He is about to grant. Whence, in those things in which we, fleeing to you, are unsuccessful both from afar and now, this does not happen from your not caring for us, or from your caring but not accomplishing, but from your being content with the divine decree concerning us, which you know is in accordance with our worthiness, for it is impossible for you to be unaware, if indeed not even God Himself [is unaware], both how our works stand in relation to our dispositions and how the scale of the most philanthropic justice has to judge concerning their agreement or disagreement, nor is it sufficient to approach and beseech and pray, but it is necessary to bring the preparation from works and to please thereby Him who is able to grant, having with contrition renounced the former follies. For there was a time when you once provided a better fortune to this country and to the whole race with God, to those precisely adhering to His laws, but when they began to stray and for this reason to be entangled in trials from the heavenly justice, you delivered them from the impending evils, fleeing to you and adding to the supplications the change for the better in deeds immediately and with many promises concerning the future, but when, wickedness having increased in us, the trials came with much deserved severity, as it is likely for the last ones to have, and they would not have been the last if we had immediately wished to repent well and to investigate and solve the causes of the trials, but we on the contrary both added whatever of baseness was previously unattempted, we drank the cup of the final wrath and with our fruitless cries neither did we persuade nor did we further provoke. If therefore, living, you allowed us then to be deadened because of living so frivolously and in all ways grieving the cause of life in us, and with us immediately also those following us, what hope of revival would be left, when even being deadened we are not aware? And what more than the last things ought we to expect from this just series of those being brought upon us, if anything is left of the last things in healthy reasonings and rightly judging? Concerning these things therefore, we will not trouble you henceforth nor God, being content with His decrees, but from what we know about ourselves and others, having no good hope concerning these things, except as much as is possible from a sufficient and rare example never to despair in the God who died for sinners, we beseech you only to be delivered more quickly from the present life, because we are weary from sheer love, conforming to the common misfortunes in the neglect of others by the way, because we see the whole deformity of the race unworthy of the gifts from God and you to us, but worthy only of our own sins, through which, being known from afar in the school of all good things and at the end alas we were permitted both to become and to live, and you would lead us out to ancestral piety and virtue, God being witness and

you, even if it were to be hidden from all people. This we entreat from God through you after the first recent supplication, because to Him is due glory and worship from all beings unto the ages. amen.

SERMON 14. THE FEAST OF THE BEHEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

14. Sermon for the Feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist (1466).

† A homily on the commemoration of the beheading of the honorable prophet, forerunner, and baptist John.

1.The blessed John, both Baptist and Forerunner, being on the border between the type and the truth, and as it were a link of both times, reasonably provides much material for those wishing to praise him. And some, [focusing] on the yearly honors paid to him, each having a different reason for the wonders concerning him, share their own discourses. Others, however, undertaking the entire history concerning him as a subject, attempt to encompass in one discourse what requires many discourses. But I, owing the grace not only of the common benefits to nature, but also of many particular ones to him, will make the end of his struggles on earth the subject of my contribution according to my ability now, not at all unpleasing to him, as he theotropically regards not the order of those speaking, but the zeal of the one speaking, but to me also very fittingly, rightly considering both the general time and my own, well leading [them] to the end. And let my [own concerns] be disregarded, for it is not right to be entangled in all [these] greatest matters. But with the beginnings of the second coming of Christ clearly appearing, what subject is more necessary than the death of the Baptist for those speaking concerning him, just as indeed [concerning] the sufferings of Christ himself, if ever now is the time, and [they are] present both in soul and tongue to those who care to be conformed to Christ and to prepare for his coming? For as he rose then, having died and suffered, he was glorified and ascended into heaven, having descended in soul even to Hades, so also now in the few souls predestined for life, [Christ] both suffers and dies and is dishonored, with [these souls] enduring all things with a view to him, shortly, as it is reasonable to suppose, being about to return gloriously to the world and to make a judgment and an end of all human affairs and what he has struggled for in them. Therefore, he who then ran before Christ both being born and dying, and now suffers with and co-dies with the pious souls, reasonably also runs before the second coming of Christ and gives to us all a fitting end of the hymns due to him in this time, who then suffered before Jesus, but now suffers together with those who suffer well for him.

2.This therefore is the reason for my discourse. Whence it will not even require the attention of those listening (for it will be accessible to few, and having previously in a separate discourse given the lament concerning this), but just as it will be a foundation for all in both knowledge and judgment, so it will use all its power for the preceding voice of the discourse, establishing its own weakness by the apparent sword drawn against the truth and by the power of the evangelical words, it will run under the guidance of the divine word. And you, forerunner of our salvation and herald of the proclamation that sent the beautiful [message] to the world, repaying the grace of your guidance to me, who, solving the difficulties not without God, have moored to your mountain and the calm in it from the terrible wave of the cities' storm, give a second grace: to weave the crowns for you upon your death, which we shall weave for you from the evangelical words, and to equip for us the rest of our life with repentance and peace, the good provisions, and if it is necessary to die with the truth, to arm my heart with your zeal, well mirroring in it that prison and the executioners and swords and your philosophy in all things, and to all those who honor your departure or who will also have this our discourse as far as it is possible both to speak and to see, breathe the same grace.

3.3. Indeed, the material of the struggles was fully accomplished by John, some of which he undertook by his own choice, being impelled toward the good and as it were insatiably thirsting for God, while others he

struggled through, being moved by God, concurrent with the subject of universal salvation. I mean, of course, the separation from his parents, the flight from the world, the withdrawal to God (for the things brought about by God to him before his birth and being born and nurtured were preludes of the good things after these), the lengthy sojourn in the desert, the improvised food from trees and wild animals, accompanied by the paradoxical narrowness and other unpleasantness, the nakedness of the body constantly exposed to cold and heat (for with a girdle and his hair he only ingeniously shaded the surface of his flesh, neither wholly nor densely), the association with wild beasts, at first fighting relentlessly, then even leaving their tracks and returning to their natural timidity by the so gloriously restored dominion over nature, the expanse of divine grace in his soul in such bodily hardship, the constant contemplation of God, the angelic visitations, the preparation through all these things, which cannot be shown by word nor numbered, for the divine ministry, the return again to the world after the sojourn in the desert, the guiding Spirit sending him, the turning of the peoples to repentance being immersed in waters and putting away their personal stains (for the ancestral ones and those naturally transmitted, with which also all misfortune was necessarily concomitant, the baptism of Christ was about to become a cleansing, typifying his death made for their solution), the clear prophecy concerning the coming one and long expected, confirming the prenatal proclamation hidden from many, which was rightly and with superiority over all those born accorded testimony. For greater indeed were the prophets than other men by many measures, but he prophesied similarly to them, and was deemed worthy both to see and to baptize, laying on hands, enduring him and not permitting him to withdraw, and both to see and to hear the testimony from above, making known to not only himself, but also to all those present, him who until then had willed to remain hidden. For he foreknew and foretold that one would come greater and more divine than himself and of lordly rank, as having been eternally begotten and being God, but having been begotten and come in flesh and the visible afterwards, being truly inspired, as was shown by the works themselves. But he did not have [the power] to make known him who was present and traversing the same land and appearing to the same people, [Christ] still willing to be hidden even from him. But then first he made him known and served, and first undertook the order of those who would be disciples afterwards, not foretelling him as coming, but advising that it is necessary to receive him as having come, and what those of old prophesying and desiring to see did not see (for the time was not yet), he was present at these things being fulfilled in deed and rejoiced and served, and testifying to some he was believed by those worthy to believe, but to others he was even burdensome, and the children of the devil greatly pained against him, pleasing their father, whom they chose instead of the true Father and Lord. For John himself called them offspring of vipers, but the Savior set a clearer appellation, he who came to save as his own children, but having found them unruly and rather attached to the corrupter. Of such struggles being accomplished by him, being beyond all number and all praise, it was necessary also to be crowned finally, placing an end to his life with such fitting honor.

4.4. It was necessary, therefore, for the death of Jesus to precede and for him to die first, so that not only going into life would he be a forerunner of common salvation to the living, but also to those under the earth about to be saved and to partake of the fruit of the economy, he himself would come as a forerunner, and in all things a forerunner, or even preserving the order of the angels who serve the divine economies, being well rendered in the flesh according to the angels. It was necessary also, having shown the purest love towards the Lord as he had it, not to yield to any of the disciples afterwards of the first ones, having himself first laid

down his soul for the beloved Lord, even before receiving the clearest proof of the divinity in Christ, as it came late to them. It was necessary for the baptist of Christ also to be conformed to the sufferings of Christ, and just as he willingly underwent death, so also should this one receive such an end as a reward for his advocacy for the laws, not being crucified as that one was about to be, not being mocked, not having his side pierced (for these and such things were required by the purpose of the economy and the deed, wherefore also it was foretold long ago), but enduring the pain in the head alone, which indeed felt pain knowing what was about to be revealed, but rejoiced in another way, considering the gain of the world from this. These things therefore being thus necessary, thus also they happen, and these things are the subject of this day and of the things done and said on it. The pretext, therefore, is no more of the penalty than of the crowns, the long-standing hatred of Herodias and what was then brought about at the feast. But the true cause [is] the plots of the good guardians of the law, who were killing Jesus as going beyond the laws, which he seemed to them to be breaking, not breaking [them], but they were allowing Herod to transgress lawlessly incurably. For they could not bear John proclaiming Jesus everywhere after that heavenly assurance and raising a bright (as was fitting for him) reputation, both living and enjoying such respect from Herod, fearing lest even the whole multitude of Jews be drawn along with Herod, which it was also very reasonable for them to fear. For they saw Herod paying much attention to him and pleasantly associating with him and pleasantly listening and being persuaded in many things, for he considered him a holy and righteous man, and as such he paid much attention to him.

5.They themselves, therefore, flattered Herod, the good leaders of the law, and did not remove the pollution of lawlessness from him, being very able [to do so], thus wishing to clash with John turning [him] away and dissolving the goodwill. How did they allow him to feast on his birthday and have so many fellow diners? How did they not prevent [him] from the sacred rites, so that even [Herodias] would have a pretext that it did not seem so only to John, the beloved [of Herod], nor did he alone prevent [Herod], but much more the others, whom it would not be right for you to deceive? But while they were silent and tolerating the lawlessness, because they were lying in wait for the righteous and wise advocate of the laws, who did not even have the necessity to defend the laws which they [had], but being moved by a theophilous goodwill also wished to save the souls of those approaching, Herod indeed thus seemed to bear John paternally advising [him], and the virtue of the man preceded the passion of licentiousness for a long time and the goodwill towards the partner of the passion, not only not disobeying, but also being forced to kill [him]. But she, attacking more vehemently, prevented the righteous man, pleasing her, but did not kill [him], nor would she have been able to kill [him], if all the things after these had not conspired, a timely day having come about, on the one hand for the crown of the righteous, on the other for the destruction of the lawless ones, so that they themselves, along with the unbridled lawlessness, would also become liable to the murder of the one wishing to save and purify. And God was able to dissolve the whole drama immediately, just as [he is able] to send legions of angels, if he willed, and to overturn the whole city, he who also made the sun, without harming anyone, miraculously eclipse, with the moon moving before it, and to darken the whole world. But just as that drama was thus written and thus it was necessary to happen, so also what was determined long ago concerning John, and with one method God wrought for the prophet the prizes of virtue, but for Herod the judgment befitting wickedness, neither forcing this one to piety nor that one to the opposite intention, but assigning to each what was proper to their intention and what they themselves chose beforehand. For neither

would Judas have an excuse, that it was necessary for Christ to suffer those things, nor for the salvation of men, such as was the purpose only of the Lord, but with wickedness and envy and lust for glory and money he betrayed the teacher, and receiving the devil entering with the bread, not then first attempting to enter, but surely then first being fully indwelt, which happens to all those who partake unworthily of the divine [gifts], instead of receiving grace, and if any was in them having been cast away. Thus also here, the necessity for John to be crowned with martyrdom does not take away the judgment from the one who killed [him].

6.6. Therefore, all things concur opportunely, through which what is about to happen may be accomplished. And our Jesus was about to become a secondary matter to his murderers during the great feast of Passover; for it was not Pilate who was killing him, who even often wished to acquit him, and not being persuaded by the criminals, washed his hands with water, and our Lord said that those who were handing him over had sinned more greatly; for he was of another race and served other religions, but they were Jews and followers of Moses, and the disciple who initially contrived the drama, saying, "What do you want to give me and I will deliver him to you?", perhaps, if he were not successful in this and if he had [something] to give, he would have said otherwise, "What do you want [and] I will give you and you will deliver him to me?" Thus also here, with a birthday feast being celebrated and the table for it, the prophet was a secondary matter, and just as the disciple of those who became mystically [present] at the supper, leading the dance, betrayed the nourisher and teacher, so also Herodias contrived the murder of the prophet by the dance of her daughter—and he valued the betrayal at thirty pieces of silver, but she valued the dance of her daughter at the golden head of the prophet. And if John is a baptist, why do you dare to kill, O woman, the baptist? And if, when the half of the kingdom is offered, you prefer to weigh the head against it, why do you so easily take it away and declare dead the one worthy of so many treasures? There was a time, he says, when all were praising the baptist and the baptism and it seemed of great [value] to all; but since, having baptized Jesus, he wished to clearly prophesy concerning him and to advocate for him, both are honored with the same penalties by the leaders of our customs and laws and they deemed it right to subject them to the same judgments; but for me, not one of the teachers of the law caused such a great disturbance, nor did even Philip's brother strive to dissolve the bond with me. Therefore, neither do I exchange the head for [its] worth, but [it is] a passion that has seized me [and] which, as a slave, draws the queen very terribly.

7.Well, therefore, does our Lord rebuke those who, in pretense of keeping the law, transgress it, because straining out the gnats, they swallowed the camels of private individuals, and much greater their own, as of those sinning in greater knowledge and allowing others what it was possible to prevent, and because, being overly righteous concerning the tithe of the law even to the smallest fruits, with penalties exceeding the measure of transgressions, they stripped the houses of the poor and orphans and widows and plundered [them] like enemies. O wise over-justifiers of the exactness according to the law, you cry out against Christ for the breaking of the idleness on the Sabbath, because he cleansed a leper and gave sight to a blind man on the Sabbath and restored the power of walking to one confined to a bed for a long time and paralyzed, but you tolerate Herod, flattering him exceedingly as he thus lawlessly lives with his beloved and kills his brother's wife? Whether allowing [them] to live together by a law of marriage, or not being indignant at him disobeying you, nor preventing [him] from the communion of the pure, but even feasting with [him] and sharing table and salt? Is the solution, O poor, of the law concerning the Sabbath the restoration of the sick? Did not even Moses, who legislated the idleness on the Sabbath, thus relax [the law] with indulgence? For with such a

judgment he established the law, nor did he intend to make philanthropic [men] inhumane, or Moses would not have been nor [would he be] divine; but if he did not add [this], "except if someone could give sight to a blind man and thus benefit those in need," this is what all legislators do, allowing those who wish to judge rightly and know how to apply the circumstances to the laws, which they could not, being many and countless, neither gather well nor record in writing. Whence those knowing and pre-judging to judge rightly, with the necessary narrowness of the laws, use them well for beneficence, not invalidating the laws, not blaming those who established [them], but where the wording of the law could not agree with what is according to nature and reason and simply good and beneficial, preferring these, which also the one who established the law would do if present, and would know the grace even if not present, to the one judging thus lovingly and wisely. But we see the other superiority of the Lord and the order of both laws, for you would never learn this, it least appearing to such [as you]. Therefore, you thus blame the maker of the law and guardian; but you, clinging to the literal [words] of the law, where it is least necessary, show an unreasonable zeal to many, you who praise the objection, not seeing the passion, and envying those who are rightly indulgent, you are entangled with the wording of the law; but where it is necessary to gain an advantage or it is necessary to serve or to show favor to a friend and need, there indeed both the wording of the law and the purpose of the legislator are set aside and the naturally just is lost, just as indeed they allow Herod to use his brother's former wife contrary to the law, and this does not seem to you to be terrible or incongruous, and then you rejoice at him unreasonably killing the baptist, the one previously favored and doing no wrong, and adding evil to evil, much more grievous, defending the baptist as being connected to Christ both by family and by choice, but grieving Jesus himself and frightening [him] and opening a door to the murder being plotted against him.

8.Such furnaces, therefore, did they kindle for their own souls and the whole race. But the king was indeed very grieved by the matter of the murder, but because of the oath and those reclining with him, he did not wish to send her away empty. You are a worthy keeper of such oaths; those dining with you are worthy of your complicity. You fear to break the oath, and killing a righteous man you do not tremble at the judgment? If indeed you had condemned the imprisoned one, to whom you were previously paying attention as to a sacred one and were showing much respect, why are you now becoming so distressed? But rather, exposing the wickedness long hidden, do you not royally bring on the judgment? For it was necessary for you rather to grieve about yourself, if even having appeared such [as you are], you again showed kindness through goodwill. But if you have nothing to blame [him for], why do you kill the one doing no wrong and very much previously beloved? Or do you then feign necessity, but have arranged everything with the adulteress: the dinner, the dance, the promises of reward and the oath upon them, and being very much seized by the passion of licentiousness, do you remove the one turning you away and admonishing you, and make yourself liable to another worse transgression, or have you appeared worse than any madman, because you willingly involve yourself in double evils, being able to be freed from both, and neither to kill unjustly nor, killing, to grieve? But why do you respect those reclining with you and dining with you? For if they are silent, there is no fear from there; but if they advocate for the girl demanding what is not right, it was necessary to despise these as chaff; for perhaps, suspecting your change towards the divine man, using the imprisonment as a sign, they also spoke from afar of their complicity; but if judging poorly thus, where is the worth of your kingdom, that you gratify slaves seeking the destruction of your soul? Or would you even have endured [them] rising up

and dancing indecently? But if, being restrained by an oath through reverence, you endure to kill, you would have been reverent by not killing nor even fulfilling the rash oath; but now you seem to be pious by acting impiously, and you are very much fighting against the justice towards God; for he would not want us to act impiously under the pretext of keeping oaths. Or having perhaps sworn in drink to kill your father, would you have been forced to keep your oath by committing patricide, having become sober after drunkenness? But if, being driven out of your mind by drunkenness, you add the most unholy murder to the evil of adultery, you must not blame the oath and those reclining [with you], but your own revelry, through which, having willingly thus driven yourself out [of yourself], you have received the portion of pigs or wolves instead of human, for such an evil is drunkenness and such things it does to those who are caught [by it]. And how was it possible, while preserving human order, to divide the kingdom as a reward for the dance and to be bound by oaths to give the other part? But it was necessary for you even to postpone the whole kingdom, not rather than for such a head or your own soul being terribly cut off, if you could not find when the oath is to be kept and when it is to be dispensed with.

9.Herod, therefore, did such things at the dinner and seemed such to those present and dining with him, and thus it is recorded. For the word of history, being true and just, cannot proceed beyond what happens and appears. But the blessed John, having been conceived and born and nurtured and dwelling in the desert for many years for the service of the mystery concerning Jesus, whence also he was sent, proclaiming the Lord's coming and crying out to prepare his way, a voice of the Word running before and a lamp before the light, so that in this way also he surpassed all the prophets, by being prophesied of himself alone with Christ and through Christ very brightly, fulfilled for him all the service as was fitting, then also is sacrificed and offered beforehand through him, and indeed a public executioner, having been sent from the dinner, brings out the angelic soul from that sacred flesh and delivers the head, bringing it as a reward for the dance to the girl, or rather, to the mother, a pleasing spectacle, so that it would be possible for her henceforth to transgress lawlessly without reproof, and to act licentiously with all knowing, and none turning [her] away. O blessed life indeed, but more blessed end; for having nothing to accuse [him of], but not bearing the correction (for the plot of the Pharisees and lawyers was known only to Herod and his wife), they kill the noble one, or rather, they remove [him], of whom he had much love. For what would be more pleasing to a philosophizing soul than to die, and that with virtue? O that joy, which saw the executioner and the sword being prepared, and before rightly perceiving the striking, was released with a light wing and bearing no burden from the association of the body, so that if the ancestral impediment had not dragged [him] down to Hades, he would have spent time with Moses and the others, even if much more fortunate than them, because with clearer hopes and a very near ascent from there again, even to heaven he was immediately led; but [his] progress to heaven was still altogether untrodden, awaiting the forerunner of all, for this very purpose having come down as a father, so as to gather the genuine children, having found some ready, and to receive those who would be led up in an orderly way by the ministry of the generation, until coming again and bestowing the bodies much more brightly, with such a perfection of nature, he would also accomplish for them the perfection of blessedness, rejoicing in double robes from there and doubly succeeding in the prizes. And the other prophets, as many as the Jews repaid with the same grace, the people killed with much shamelessness and more bitterness, but the executioner alone freed this one from the prison alone and rendered the end proper to his sojourns in the desert; for neither has the desert differed at all from the prison to those knowing how

to treasure [things] there, nor can the prison, to the one knowing and being accustomed to philosophize, be less able to lead the soul than the widest desert, and the boundaries of life being fulfilled, it does not differ to those philosophizing well, whether a beast bites in the deserts or an executioner kills in prisons, to be released. But the excess after these of the shamelessness of the Jews against Jesus was an excess of misery for them doing [these things], but an excess of humiliation indeed humanly for the one having been humiliated to such an extent and so many struggles, but of goodness for the one having taken on human nature to save [it] with such methods, but an excess of good fortune for those about to be saved through these and not about to [be saved] without these; for as all things were necessary for the purpose and end of the one saving, and were foretold long ago and were allowed thus to turn out in deeds, as I said before; then also for those about to be pious for Christ with many kinds of tortures, there would be need of a great weight in the reasoning, persuading both to be bold and to bear bravely, and there would be nothing stronger than the Lord himself enduring for them, to be hung like robbers and to be requited thus with the other honors, so that being first well fortified with such reasonings, they would thus immediately breathe the supernatural philosophy from heaven, so that there would be no longer endurance, but contempt, the disposition in all the things being brought upon [them].

10.With these things, O blessed baptist and forerunner of Christ, we come together today, we who have heard your voice, and even before hearing the word, we who have begun to look towards the truth, [guided] by you as the lamp, before being fully illumined by the light; for not as to those who have passed away, but as to those present to all, we pay attention; and as now to your being perfected by the good departure, we are already present, not being with Herod and those dining [with him], nor cutting off [your head] with the executioner, nor receiving your head as a gift, a reward of eternal judgment (may these things be far [from us]), but suffering together indeed with your disciples and those following [them] covering the fallen body with earth, and grieving with those terribly lamenting at the report of your unjust end, we who have become nourished by your baptism and your words concerning the Lord, as a guide of salvation having appeared from God, rejoiced everywhere [at him] being heard and seen in that land, and again grieved reasonably, being deprived of such a great good. Suffering together therefore with these, but by the rule of sacred love pitying the murderers, though being most vile, then we rejoice with you for the most fortunate lots both of birth and life and end, as all things were according to God and very useful to the common [good] of men, and we ourselves rejoice, having met with such a teacher and provider, and we consider your end to be the life of your children; for you live for them no less, even having departed, and with the narratives concerning you, as being present and with [them], you delight [them], and with guidance from above you direct and govern [them], having the power to persuade the all-powerful with reason and much boldness. For these things we honor this day; for these things also the present discourse has been brought forth.

11.But it has in no way escaped us how much you would wish to be rendered by us, your children, in the odes themselves and the hymns, without which you would not even be pleased with these being offered. You wish, therefore, those indeed attached to this life neither to transgress wantonly, nor to be joined in lawless marriages, nor, using wine, to be given over to the innate passions, which an awake reason knows how to lull to sleep and not being clouded by the fumes of the stomach, and having been enslaved to some things by desire, to others by anger and their offspring, to corrupt the love towards God and neighbor, nor to wish to be bound by oaths, but to do the good things even without oaths, so that they would rather be adorned by the

voluntary, but in the case of the vile things even more to spare the tongue, nor to be established by necessity from rashness, either transgressing by keeping oaths, or doing the vile things unwillingly, to act impiously in another way, or to seem so to those not knowing how to manage [things] and judging poorly concerning them; and to observe these things more especially those differing from the order of the many; and those appointed over the sacred rites neither to allow them to go beyond [the proper bounds] and to try to bring them back in all ways, not respecting fortune, nor serving need, nor fearing about living, for with such indulgences of the truth and the just being extinguished and souls being lost by those doing [these things], those able to save and deliver, neglecting the word of God, will be negligent; but if, [they] doing all that is necessary, they do not wish to be persuaded, to wish to have nothing in common with them thereafter, but as having been torn away from the gentiles and tax collectors; and themselves to uphold the evangelical law of their own life, and what they themselves wish to become to others, being rightly corrective to those deviating, being moved by divine love and no passion, not to be angry even if these things happen to them from love of others, nor instead of having gratitude, to slander, nor being covered by the passion of envy, to stumble against the truth and to become a cause of scandal both to themselves and to those standing outside. Further, you wish them, wherever it is necessary and reasonable, to yield to the children transgressing, putting forward the necessities of the times, and in what they are able to be indulgent, to know and well preserve the difference between divine laws and human, all indeed considering the good, but not similarly considering [it], but the eternal and eternally [binding] of the divine, but the human ones being established by themselves for the times; whence neither is it necessary to be altogether exact in both alike, nor to be indulgent; for as impious and hucksters of the divine, all, along with Paul, call those easy in the unyielding [matters], thus with cauterized consciences those unyielding in the lighter [matters]. You wish all together to prefer the common [good] to their own, deeds to words, the never-ending to the temporary, zeal to indulgence, to suffer evil rather than to do [it], to set God before all things, and regulating both word and life by the divine rule, thus to live safely.

12.You love those who sin and repent; for you also labored, going around baptizing with the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, as neither are men able to be saved without repentance, nor is it possible, if they rightly repent, not to be saved; for our Jesus, whose forerunner you came in life, came to call not the righteous, those ready for salvation, but sinners to repentance and through this to lead to salvation, nor did he come to judge, but rather to save the world. And he indeed, with the kingdom opened, leads those repenting into it thereafter; but you were preparing for repentance, as [the kingdom] was also immediately about to be opened to them—for in earlier times repentance did not immediately have the kingdom following, nor the exact attainment of the end (for the path to it was closed by a very strong barrier, the transgression of our first ancestors), but it was as a kind of intercession of those succeeding in life towards the benevolence of the justly educating God, begging [him] not to overlook the personal righteousness in themselves because of the common sin of the race, of which even those not yet born were required to partake, as being about to be born from such seeds; and doing well they thus reasoned and became prophets of the divine leniency, which would once look upon these things in deed, and as David says, mercy and truth, peace and righteousness will meet and kiss each other," concerning which they stood apart in earlier times; but with the barrier loosed by the divine incarnation and the very strong and wise economies concerning it, henceforth the possession of the kingdom is near to those repenting, and attaining it lies in each case for

those wishing to repent; and for this reason you indeed proclaimed to all the nearness of the kingdom, so that they might come more eagerly to repentance, as no longer would the good things from it be placed for them in delay, but to repent immediately upon some transgression, not only looses the trouble and opens the door of salvation, all things being done well which are sought for true repentance, but also makes [them] safer for the future, with divine grace fortifying those purified by its presence, as it withdraws whenever someone unrepentantly serves one evil, it is necessary for many worse things to befall [him], as indeed happened to Herod; for if he had fled the rush of licentiousness, obeying your admonitions, such a heap of evils would not have come together for the forsaken one.

13.You wish all, if it were possible, to enter the life of perfection and what has been wisely entrusted to the will ("If anyone wishes," he says, "to follow me"), if it is possible, and for all to choose it by necessity, entrusting the difficulty accompanying such an order to God's providence; but if it is not possible for all to will thus to act manfully, at least those having begun and having sanctified themselves to fulfill the promises in deed and not having put their hand to the plow willingly, then to turn back (for such are condemned not for not having begun to plow, but for not having remained having begun), and even if they could not exactly cultivate your husbandry and gather your fruit in complete contempt of the world and the body (for your [ways] are better than all imitation), at least to bear fruit with the intention of such a life as is possible, and not to be reckoned in the form and order of those repenting, but to be dismissed empty of the fruits of repentance, nor to be proud only of the virtues of the teachers, as the Pharisees once boasted of Abraham in words and their kinship to him, but in deeds were as bastards and in no way belonging to him. Simply put, you both wish and pray that we be obedient to the laws of the common Father and Lord, whose forerunner you came to us and who in deeds led us by his own laws, and to lay down our souls for him with pleasure, not [laying down] the [lives] of the bodies and this temporary life, but averting the destruction of souls. With such odes you rejoice from your children; with such hymns you are pleased; such fruits of your struggles for us we all ought to bring to you, and may we all bring [them], but the end is near and all things befitting the end; but I, O divine and sacred head, O blessed soul and shining in the choir of the spirits from earth, concerning this boldness, having both apologized for some things and entreated in the introductions, will add nothing more; but for all other things, it suffices for God indeed even when I am silent to be conscious [of them], and for you, hearing our prayers to him, [to intercede]; because to him is due glory unto the ages. Amen.

SERMON 15. THE NATIVITY OF OUR LORD

15. Sermon for the Nativity of Our Lord (1467).

† On the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ according to the flesh, by Gennadius the monk. Written in the Monastery of the Forerunner on the Mountain of Ferres.

1.The most luminous luminaries of the Church of Christ have expounded this greatest and foremost of the sacred feasts to us with the most excellent and profoundly wise words. They have explained the salvific mystery of this feast, wondrously and fittingly arranged by the immense providence of God concerning human nature. Consequently, it is neither fitting nor possible for us—or for anyone living in the present age—to attempt to surpass the insights of the holy teachers or to discover anything beyond what they have carefully examined. Instead, with reverence toward God, who has shown such lovingkindness to us, and with reliance on the prayers of the holy teachers, we too, though the least among the least, bring forth a humble gift. We hope that this pious boldness will not be utterly rejected—neither by Him to whom we offer this gift, knowing the intention of our hearts, nor by our leaders, who, by divine decision, are rightly guided and breathe forth God and His truths.

2.Regarding the creation of this world and the making of the first humans, the book of the marvelous Moses expounds these matters to us. Moses, being great in soul and eminent in life, was deemed worthy of divine inspiration and bore witness through the many extraordinary works performed in and through him, not only to the Jews but to all nations, as his fame spread universally. The words of the philosophers outside the faith also align with this book, where reason allows them to stand wisely. However, none among them were capable of comprehending the complete truth concerning all things. From all these sources, one can gather testimonies to the truth, drawing different portions from different sources, as is proper for those who are truly wise and intelligent, with God as their ally in this pious and wise endeavor. For the notion that the world came into being by mere chance—an opinion held by some of the ancients, perhaps due to their simplicity—is refuted even by later philosophers among the Greeks. By their diligent study and, at times, through the inspiration drawn from Moses, they came to understand the truth, as their histories demonstrate. They assert that the cosmos has a Creator and a providential Lord. Some among them claim the world to be created and to have begun its existence within time. Others, though erroneously considering the cosmos eternal, still affirm that it originated from God. They identify one principle of all things, one God, thus condemning the irrational error of polytheism, even though they disclosed such truths only to the wise and not to the multitude, whom they feared while navigating between these views. Thus, even from the wisdom of those outside the faith, the sacred teaching of Moses receives adequate support. This teaching proclaims one God as Creator and Ruler of all, along with all that is revealed in the Book of Genesis. It was necessary, however, for the dullness of our nature, corrupted by the sin of our first ancestors, to be gradually diminished through the insights of the most earnest seekers, and ultimately to be overcome entirely by divine grace. Therefore, the matters concerning the blessed state of our first ancestors, their exile due to transgression of divine laws, and their subsequent fall into this state of passion and misfortune were not as clearly revealed but were instead veiled, as was appropriate. This veiling arose from ignorance of the sacred truth and fear of the unrefined masses, as previously mentioned. Yet, some among the wise outside the faith have perceived these truths, to the glory of that sacred truth which was later revealed through heavenly

inspirations to those worthy of such grace. These individuals bore witness to the truth through their works and made it known to others. Nevertheless, for us, in addressing those who disbelieve—whether out of ignorance or, worse, willful obstinacy—it is permissible to draw upon the wisdom of those outside the faith as allies in defending the sacred truth. But for ourselves and those illumined like us by the light of faith, the authority of the sacred teaching suffices. Its divinity and holiness have been made manifest by numerous works and signs, more brightly than the sun. To recount each of these in detail does not belong to the present purpose.

3.After the creation of the first seeds of humankind, the gradual and widespread dispersion of humanity occurred over a greater span of time, as was to be expected. This included their autonomous and anarchic lives, followed by the establishment of kingdoms in the most central part of the earth, where the nature of humankind first flourished. For the dispersion of humanity across the other regions of the earth remained without kings for many ages. Even if we set aside what lies beyond the comprehension of the many, our own ancient homeland, Greece, though it was settled in many parts of the earth with autonomous communities, was never genuinely under a single governance, even until the times of our salvation. Each region was ruled independently by its own authorities and laws, living in continuous conflict with their neighbors, despite their way of life being nobler than that of others. What need is there to speak of the barbarian nations everywhere? These things, then, are attested not only by sacred but also by Greek histories in harmony with one another. Yet the sacred accounts among us go further, testifying to the divine oversight and providence exercised over the most excellent race of humankind in the finest part of the earth, where the first blossoming of human creation emerged. For it is said by the wisest among us that the Syrians were the first people and that the Syrian language was the original tongue, and that the Jews, being Syrians, spoke a language indistinguishable from Syrian at that time. These earliest and most excellent humans, through the spark of natural knowledge within them, were thereby able to ascend to the knowledge and worship of the true God. This spark remained within them, even after the darkness that resulted from the first transgression, as a divine purpose permitted it to endure in humanity. Thus, by the providence of God, they were reasonably affirmed and further guided by many means toward an even greater elevation. I say reasonably because the divine goodness never bestows its graces upon humanity without justice, through which they might be led toward the happiness appointed for them by living in accordance with reason. For this reason, divine grace also cooperated with their own diligence, making it easy for those willing to strive to discern from the sacred scriptures the divine visitations beginning with Abraham, and those that followed until Moses, and those through Moses, which were yet greater and more numerous. However, all of these were pedagogical, serving as lessons or preliminary remedies preparing for the ultimate visitation, which God, in due time, would grant to human nature. No less significant than the miraculous signs of divine favor were the chastisements delivered by divine justice, both threatened and foretold, and then lifted again for those who repented. These revealed well the divine power and providence, for God disciplined them as one who loves and heals, desiring that their nature might yet endure. This endurance would not have been possible if disbelief had prevailed entirely and universally in every way.

4.From all divine and human wisdom, and from the twofold narratives therein, concerning the entirety of God's economy toward humanity, revealed from above until now, it is evident to those who examine these matters with wisdom, diligence, and the grace from above. To recount each of these in detail, as I said before,

neither suits the present purpose nor would be easy, even in many days, for us to recount and for you who are present to listen, being concerned with nothing else. But so much has been said to demonstrate the reasonableness of the divine economy now celebrated—not only as it shines through faith to those who believe but also through reason to those capable of following it with understanding. To this we owe the greatest thanks to the One who is the giver of all good things, for granting to even the least of us a pure and firm faith, and for adding the collaboration of reason to His many and great benefactions. With these preliminary points established, we now proceed to the greatest, most transcendent, and ultimate manifestation of God's providence toward humanity in this life, dedicating ourselves to the service that is possible for us to offer in response—a fruit of the gifts He has bestowed within us.

5.That God is one by nature, yet distinguished in Himself by three properties, which we more clearly call hypostases or persons, this we have received among other truths from the great Moses and the most wise and divinely inspired David, though not entirely with clarity. Furthermore, external wisdom, like a servant to the masterly sacred wisdom, collaborates in this regard, for there is no doctrine wiser or truer than this. While it is not easily comprehended by the majority, as it requires great subtlety and a more profound intellect, for such a mind, it is brighter than the sun. Let us now leave aside the direct revelation of this truth by God Himself; for since it was not yet revealed in such a manner, we walk along the path of reason up to the moment of its revelation. He who is to be born for us in the path of reason will Himself be an undying teacher of this truth and of all others. I say, then, adhering to the order of reasoning, that one would more easily remain ignorant of or deny every other form of wisdom than to deny that the one and only God is one by nature but distinguished in three hypostases—being intellect, possessing thought, and, to put it another way, an intelligible Word, and at the same time an intelligible Will, which is also a Holy Spirit. For it is impossible for God not to possess intellect, or for Him, being such, to lack wisdom or goodness, the primary principles and sources of all divine perfections, without which no other perfection could rightly be attributed to God. Nor could He be wise without the most perfect intellect, nor good without the most perfect will. Will is shaped by goodness alone, and wisdom is united to the intelligible Word. God eternally contemplates Himself, for He is the Truth itself. Likewise, He eternally desires Himself, for He is the Good itself. Contemplating Himself, He eternally brings forth the Word, and willing Himself, He eternally produces love. Thus, contemplating, He brings forth the Word, and through the Word, He contemplates Himself; and willing, He produces love, and through this love, He wills Himself and loves Himself. These natural offspring and emanations of His intellectual fruitfulness are distinguished from Him as true emanations of the true One, yet they are united with Him in nature. However, to engage in theological discourse at length on these matters is not for the present time, as the books of the holy teachers are full of such discussions, providing a theology sufficient for faith and demonstrating with undeniable reasoning what they had previously embraced through faith. Moreover, they refute the servitude of even the wisest among the Greeks, who, willingly or unwillingly, bore witness to the truth of the heavenly Trinity, even before its full revelation, through the methods of human reasoning. We too, through books and dialogues, have often addressed these matters in particular treatises for those who are perplexed about such things.

6.And that the human soul was directed toward such a path as likeness, this is also what is meant by the saying that man was created according to the image of God. This is confirmed by sacred oracles and demonstrated by the truest discourses, from which some were naturally led to a knowledge of the heavenly

Trinity, albeit dimly, through the image within themselves, even before the light of faith shone forth. And that the ultimate purpose of such a soul is the communion with God and the direct comprehension of Him—for it was not possible for it to have been created in vain, but rather for the sake of some end—and no other end can be conceived for the intellect except the contemplative and intellectual delight, or rather, the knowledge of truth, which brings with it such delight. There remains nothing else for the noble soul toward such perfection except to perceive God and to be united, through the triad within itself, with the supreme and transcendent Triad: here as in a mirror, but there directly and face to face. And such an end is natural to the soul, as it is intellectual, yet also beyond nature, since it is clear that while it can perceive by its own nature the lesser things and those beneath it—over which natural contemplation fittingly extends, encompassing the understanding of the works of God ordered in correspondence to it—it cannot ascend to the comprehension of the infinite intelligible and the properties of the Trinity within it, unless it is advanced by God. And it is not possible to be advanced unless it strives and makes itself worthy of being advanced. Therefore, it was necessary for it to be placed in a certain arena, and having been trained and contended worthily, to justly and supremely receive from the Creator the reward of such labors and crowns, and thus to be made blessed. For this reason, it was joined to the body and its diverse sensations, so that spending time temporarily within it, using it as a servant and instrument for the higher life and the good things within it, and resisting bravely its difficulties—difficulties which are expected in every struggle and without which there is neither victory nor crowning—it might ascend to the heavenly realm, receiving as a reward for its effort here its order there and the ultimate blessedness. However, if it uses the gift of free will to live a life contrary and full of passion, it becomes itself the cause of all the justly inflicted punishments upon it. Thus, the necessity of the soul's association with the body arose, and through it, with all external things that in some way depend on the body. In short, since it was necessary for such a nature of spirits to be brought forth, bearing fruit through time and labor, and not immediately united to its end but after a slight demonstration of gratitude, it was fitting that not all souls should be brought forth at once, as are the angels who have nothing in common with matter. Rather, the beginnings and seeds of humanity were created in an orderly fashion after the creation of the entire cosmos—the pair of the first humans, so that from their union, as the efficient and material causes, others might be born like them, and from those others in turn, until it should seem fitting to God for the generation of humanity to come to fulfillment. And while bodies were begotten from their parents—the one sowing the seed and the other nourishing it—souls, once the bodies were formed and received the arrangement of their organs, were infused through divine creation: new souls joined to new bodies being born in succession. This process continues until those coming afterward also fulfill their proper roles in succession, and those who beget are then taken up to the heavenly realm, ascending to the end originally appointed to them, as has been said, with their souls and bodies transformed and elevated together.

7.But the lack of will in the first seeds of our nature naturally filled both those immediately affected and all their subsequent fruits with countless evils. For it was necessary that, just as blessedness follows a life according to reason, so also the deprivation of that blessedness should follow its corruption. Thus, the body, which was previously potentially immortal, became mortal in reality and deed. The soul, too, instead of being a mistress, became a servant; and after its separation from the body, instead of dwelling happily, it became most wretched, residing in Hades among demons rather than in the heavenly abode among angels. And who could recount the exceeding extent of their misfortunes? Henceforth, the divine purpose concerning us was

in vain because the corruption of the seeds naturally passed down to all who were born thereafter. For it is natural that in all seeds, both those that are pure produce pure offspring, while those that are corrupted produce corrupted ones. Thus, the divine purpose regarding humanity failed, not due to any deficiency in His goodness—indeed, His goodness is exceedingly steadfast—but being hindered, as was fitting, by the wickedness of mankind. For during the course of this life in the flesh, they preferred the demonstration of evil over virtue, making the ancestral sin everywhere the pretext and origin of personal sins. For action necessarily conforms to habit, and fruit to seed. This law of nature is rarely overcome, and everywhere upon the earth, even after the Mosaic law, among the few who observed it—namely, the Jews—the majority still resisted in their deeds, even if they believed it to be divine. Moreover, even for those who seemed virtuous, the ultimate goal was inaccessible, being closed to all on account of the disease of the seed. Indeed, even those who were earnest in life were often found to falter. For the virtuous disbelieved, and the wicked, although they believed, lived poorly. Thus, the ill-intent of humanity, finding a willing accomplice in the deeply ingrained wickedness of the fallen nature, became in turn an accomplice to that same wickedness in its rebellion against the Creator. And the evil one rejoiced, being honored instead of God by miserable humanity. For neither heaven, nor the stars, nor the elements that were worshiped by the blind race of men—nor even things inferior to these by nature—were themselves aware of the honor they received, nor did they rejoice in it. These things neither understood that they were honored nor deserved any such honor. Rather, it was he who was honored under their guise, along with the band of wickedness that stood allied with him. He was the one who rejoiced—rejoicing most wickedly and in a manner befitting himself—because he shared his own calamity with such a great multitude. For his joy was rooted in retribution, an excess of wickedness, and everything appropriate to the father of lies and of all evil.

8.But it was altogether impossible for the divine purpose concerning human nature to fail completely. For it was necessary that the spirits of humanity remain bound to bodies on account of the aforementioned reasons, since it was also fitting for a spirit to be created that would join itself to the body, so as to demonstrate the vast goodness, wisdom, and power of God. Yet the human soul, although it misused the body—which was excellently suited to collaborate with it toward virtue, had it been willing to use the provisions given to it rightly—nevertheless had some argument to make before divine goodness. This argument was that it had been corrupted through the misleading suggestions of the body to which it was united, even though it should never have been persuaded if it had not been joined to the body in the first place. Such an argument, however, is not available to the demons, who suffer incurably and perpetually in their wickedness. In like manner, if human nature, after its extraordinary and most evident healing, continues to sin unrepentantly, it will thereafter undergo inescapable and perpetual punishment. Therefore, it was both necessary and foreordained by divine goodness that the disease of humanity should be healed, and that the divine purpose for this most beautiful nature and His most beautiful work should not ultimately fail. Since God intended to heal, the manner of healing was determined by Him to be the most fitting and excellent. Indeed, it was one particular way, unique and incapable of being otherwise, precisely as it has come to pass. Let us examine this, as far as we are able, through rational contemplation. It was fitting for divine wisdom, and for the nature that had spread throughout the entirety of the inhabited world, to accomplish this healing universally, in such a way as not only to reach those living at the time, but also those who had lived long ago, as well as those who would come into existence until the end of time. This healing, moreover, would extend

universally to the whole of human nature. At the same time, it was necessary for the healing to remain not entirely manifest and explicit, so that the nobility of free will and faith would not be diminished, for it is in conjunction with these that rewards are also diminished. For that which is entirely manifest and indisputable provides no opportunity for the demonstration of virtue or wisdom among those who follow it. Indeed, it is the behavior of the deranged not to pay heed to what is most evident. Furthermore, human nature had to promise satisfaction, so that it would not receive the benefaction entirely without accountability, for this would not be fitting for divine justice. Divine philanthropy had to prevail over the demands of justice in its desire to save humanity, but in the manner of salvation, divine justice had also to be preserved. Yet how could all of human nature render this purgative satisfaction, since it could not all be gathered together at the same time, nor could all the individual members of the nature, scattered throughout the divisions of time, be assembled together?

9.It was therefore necessary that a single man should come into being, one who could stand as an equal counterbalance to the entirety of the fallen nature, to offer in himself the just recompense owed by all creation. Yet, it was not fitting for one who bore any measure of evil to assume this responsibility on behalf of all, for it was impossible for any human being to be wholly freed from actual sin, given that all inherit the ancestral corruption and are thereby burdened with the stain of our first forefather, the source of all our ills. Such a person, even if superior to all others, would scarcely be sufficient to rid himself of the guilt that rightfully clings to him on account of ancestral sin. Moreover, it was not fitting for divine goodness to permit wickedness in the very instrument through which salvation would be brought about, for such a notion would render divine goodness complicit in the cause of its own purposes. This is unthinkable, given that God, who made all things exceedingly good, cannot be reconciled with evil, which is either rooted in matter or in will—both of which are entirely alien to Him. Therefore, the one who was to save humankind must not only be good but supremely good, embodying virtue that would counterbalance the evil of the whole fallen nature. Yet such a being could only be God, for He alone is absolutely and perfectly good, surpassing the goodness present in all creatures. However, it would not be appropriate for God to assume guilt, having neither sinned Himself nor partaken in the sins of creation, nor would it be fitting for Him to be simultaneously the one who pays the penalty and the one who absolves others from penalties altogether. Thus, it was necessary that the one who would accomplish these things be both God and man—God to uphold the divine nature and man to fulfill the justice owed by human nature. Yet this could not occur by a fusion of the Creator and the creature into one single nature, for such a union is impossible; rather, it must take place in a single hypostasis, which is entirely possible and in no way contrary to reason. For just as God unites an immaterial, rational, and immortal soul to an ensouled mortal body, not according to nature but according to hypostasis, so that these remain distinct in their essence even after their personal union, so too could He unite the created nature with His own being in one hypostasis, while the natures remained wholly distinct. This union was necessary, so that, as a man, He could suffer on behalf of all humankind, though owing nothing Himself, being in nature like all other humans yet without any share in ancestral sin or personal defilement. And being united with divinity, He could by the worthiness of this union counterbalance the entirety of humanity, allowing the salvation wrought through Him to be reckoned as extending to the whole human race. Moreover, what exceeds human power—the will and ability to effect such a healing—could be accomplished by Him as God. He would also reveal the truth concerning divine matters, previously unknown, in unchanging words spoken

in human fashion, for only thus could humans comprehend them. These words would proceed directly from the truth itself. He would demonstrate the truly human life to those who chose to follow and emulate Him, living it perfectly and in a manner befitting God, though for others to follow only insofar as human capability allows and not without His aid and provision. For as they would ascend by faith and life toward true life, they would partake in the fruits of divine providence. Thus, He Himself would fulfill the purpose of the divine dispensation in the place of human birth, teaching and acting, and would finally suffer willingly, being glorified with divine glory through the suffering that followed. This was not merely to manifest the truth concerning Himself but to show through His works and His sufferings the path to share in His glory for those who chose to conform themselves to His sufferings. For it was impossible to fulfill this divine work by merely traveling the earth, nor was it necessary for Him to do so. Rather, He employed His disciples, who knew all things, as witnesses and collaborators. These disciples, guided invisibly by Him, governed their own lives and ministries with gifts of the Spirit before they were sent forth, being prepared to serve most excellently. While His workings remained hidden from others, to the disciples He revealed Himself most clearly. These good witnesses of God, having sown the truth and borne fruit throughout the earth, conformed themselves to the One who sent them and prepared others to rejoice even in dying for the truth. In this way, they drew the entire earth into the worship of the true God and to a life of reason, freeing it from the deception of polytheism and idolatry and from the dreadful darkness of human souls in both life and doctrine. The disciples themselves fulfilled the divine work while alive, drawing others to follow their example, with God, who is all-powerful, present and cooperating with them. Thus, the beginning of true worship and rational life among humanity arose with the release from the ancestral and natural guilt, which had been the source of all evils in former times. Now, those who are transformed in faith and life could be saved and begin to partake in the fulfillment of the long-established purpose, for that sin had been miraculously undone.

10.Such aids, then, were fitting for nature, granted by God, and it was thus destined to use them as instruments. With such methods suited to the recall of human nature—both future and predetermined—it was inevitable that, due to weakness in intellect and intention, as well as the assaults stemming from evil, not all humanity would unite with these wondrous gifts, just as not all respond to the most radiant light when it is revealed. However, God, knowing this, did not neglect humanity, nor did He consider it fitting to abandon the provision of remedies for those who would not initially respond. Instead, He prepared other means to pave the way for the reception of these great gifts, showing extraordinary beneficence in this care. For this reason, He inspired Moses concerning the One who was to come for the salvation of humankind. Moses foretold the coming of the Savior of the world and also the destruction that would follow for those who would disobey Him. After Moses, God revealed the same truths to other prophets, and they too, through writings and speech, foretold them—each in their respective times and manners. The ways in which these prophecies were administered were manifold and varied, and it is not possible now to recount them all, as doing so would require a longer discourse.

11.When the divine preparations for the reception and faith in such an economy had been sufficiently fulfilled, progressing harmoniously with the course of time, and the wickedness of humanity had increased to the extent that they had entirely turned away from God in both life and doctrine, it was fitting that the remedies should then be prepared. This was so that the power and goodness of God might be more fully

displayed in the midst of humanity's excessive infirmity. God, who both willed and was able to accomplish healing, brought this to pass in due time. The state of affairs on earth also cooperated in this: for the first time, the entire inhabited world came under a single rule. This made it easier for the apostles to carry out their mission, which otherwise could not have advanced. Moreover, the visible monarchy among humanity served as a sign and prelude to their eventual submission to the one God and to the fact that henceforth the divine governance would be singular and monarchic among men. This was in contrast to former times when they had been led astray by various created beings and demons. The external circumstances, now gathered in readiness to serve the divine philanthropy, aligned beautifully. God then carried out His economy, manifesting His love for humanity and perfecting the purification of our nature and the goal associated with it.

12.Since, then, the Word of God is the Creator of both ourselves and of everything, and through Him all things were made and exist with the Father, the Creator, and the Holy Spirit in the unity of natural essence, it was right for the human nature to be refashioned through Him. God, the Father, sends this Word to carry out this renewal, yet this Word arrives, in no way less than the one who sends Him, with the same authority as the Father who sent Him. Indeed, in a temporal sense, He arrives as the One who will accomplish this work, yet in accordance with the divine foreordination and eternally, He carries out this renewal just as He brought forth the entire cosmos. Eternally, He brought it forth in a firm and immutable way in the realm of the intelligible, and He created it outside of Himself when He chose to do so, with time coming into existence alongside Him. Moreover, this Word does not arrive in a local sense (for He is everywhere, as it befits the infinite love of the Creator), but He descends to meet our humility, which had long been corrupted and turned away. He made Himself known, not as before, not revealed to us as He was in His divine nature; nor did He come separated from the Father and the Spirit, but, while He is inseparable from them in essence and in eternity, He is distinct from them in the properties of His person. Thus, even now, He exists in heaven, and everywhere, with the Father and the Spirit, yet He alone takes on human nature, not sharing the substance of the Father or the Spirit in the same manner. He takes on this nature in order to undergo, in His own person, the sufferings of truth, for the salvation of humankind, and to open the path that had been closed, a path leading to the final goal. He is the first to walk this road Himself, becoming the firstfruits for those who will be spiritually reborn through faith and baptism, purer than the first seeds of those who had fallen. He is the forerunner who ascends into heaven to present the true fruits of His own work. And everything else we can discern from the divine Scriptures and from the deeds of Christ is part of the work of this most wise divine economy.

13.Without seed, He is conceived, in order to be pure for the impure, and sinless for the sinners, to fulfill the penalty of the justice He Himself has created, actively and practically. For had He come from seed, He would have been responsible for the ancestral transgression and would have needed purification Himself. However, it was not fitting for the pure God to be bound to such a human nature. Rather, it was necessary for Him to be born of a true woman, with the divine power of the Creator fulfilling the cause of His coming. I speak of seed in the sense of completing and restoring the order of the first and common cause of all things. Since, then, He had to be born without seed, it was fitting that a virgin would necessarily bear Him, preeminent in virtue. Her conception and upbringing were rightly brought together with divine grace, according to the need of this very purpose, from a line of both priestly and royal heritage, so that her humble origin might not overshadow the sanctity of her ancestors or the manifestation of the fruit of this divine

mystery. Her poverty and lack of wealth were not only because of her virtue (for it is difficult, if not humanly impossible, for virtue to dwell alongside wealth and flourish), but also to prevent the miracle accomplished through her from being perceived as a feat of wealth or glory. Many would have been inclined to attribute to riches and power the success of the work, but by her lowly position, the greatness of the divine mystery is more fittingly revealed, bringing forth a greater marvel for those who truly understand. Therefore, the circumstances of this humble setting — the place, the cave, and the manger — are all in accordance with the prophecy, and the surrounding events fulfill the divine plan. The visit of the Magi, their offerings, the guidance of the star, the praises of the angels, and all the other events recorded in the Gospel, confirm the truth of this mystery. In these matters, remembrance is necessary, for the service of the Virgin was indispensable for the miracle and for protecting it from any possible accusation. If the miracle could not be explained by human understanding, it was immediately clarified by angelic teachings, and the Virgin was guided as a servant to the Lord. The righteous man who was betrothed to her was also in remembrance, for he served with virtue, worthy of such a role, and believed in the truth of the miraculous events, not allowing any slander to rise against her in malicious gossip. He continued to serve as a faithful witness to the truth of this divine mystery, and it was fitting for him to serve with virtue in the manner of the righteous, living humbly in accordance with the will of God.

14.Thus, the Lord of the angels and of the whole world, having been conceived by the angelic message, is immediately formed by the energizing power of the Spirit, who gives life to all things, creating both His body and soul. At another time, without a doubt, this miracle would have required many paradoxical elements, but fittingly the ordering of the miracle was arranged, even for the time of His birth, which appears in accordance with the natural order. For it was necessary, except for being conceived without seed, that He be truly human and fully partake in human existence, living as a man, suffering as a man, and experiencing all that is typical to human nature. He was indeed born of God the Father in an eternal birth; not only was He born, but He is also eternally being born, as the eternal Word, understood as eternally and inseparably begotten from the first Mind, proceeding in thought. However, He is born once from the purest Virgin, in a temporal birth, becoming fully a true man. For even though the temporal birth from the Virgin differs from the eternal generation of the Word of God, the temporal birth is fully consistent with the union of His divine and human natures. The two natures are united in one person, as the divine Word has assumed human nature, which was fittingly born of the Virgin. For, since there is but one person in the divine Word and the man whom He assumed, it is logical to affirm that the divine Word is born in time through the union of these natures. Though the divine Word has been eternally begotten by the Father, this unique union in time results in the birth of the Word as a true man, taking on human nature from the Virgin Mary. By this, He restored our nature, fulfilling the divine plan that was preordained. He assumed human nature in the form of a servant and as the Son of God, displaying divine power. In this way, He is both fully human and fully divine, participating in both natures as one united person. This birth of Christ, the present feast that is celebrated, is the fulfillment of all previous feasts and divine plans. It stands as the culmination of all sacred celebrations, and it is this feast, above all others, that completes the whole of salvation history.

15.And all the other matters, as I have previously mentioned, the words of the luminaries of the Church manifest very wisely and nobly. But we, with reverent faith, have offered the appropriate fruit to the Savior and Redeemer, who was born for us, through His power, who grants this to us. But, O Word of the first and

greatest Mind, O highest reason and sign of the first and beginning of all understanding, O inseparable and unchanging image of the one and first cause of all things, O only-begotten Son, naturally of the Father who is also ours by grace, O Creator of the entire universe, and after the angelic and prior nature, O model and pattern for us, as fitting for the Creator and Architect of all, the image and idea of reason, and inseparable from the first Mind who gave birth to You in thought. You have assumed our nature, so that through this You might truly be born, so that You might reshape us, who were originally deformed, and restore the beauty of Your image, which we had corrupted, and reshape us when we were disordered, and bring us, who had become dead, to life with the power of resurrection, and raise us, who were cast out of the visible paradise, to the heavenly and spiritual realm, leading those who, through faith and works, diligently honor Your grace and strive toward the excellent way. For this reason, You were born of the most pure Virgin, and after Your birth, You grew in age and grace, astonishing all who saw You, and performing miracles, teaching, and giving laws to those who would come to believe in You. You suffered voluntarily for our sake and were glorified, rising and ascending to the heavens, sending the other Comforter from there to Your apostles and disciples, by whom You used as instruments to distribute Your good deeds throughout the whole earth, so that those who were not yet fully perfected, and who were running towards the life in You, might be saved. Thus, after Your birth, You brought to fulfillment the ultimate goal of this extraordinary birth and the purpose of Your incarnation, and brought us to true faith and worship. We were delivered from the earlier most shameful error, and the enemy of lies, who rejoices in our destruction, was shamed. And through the part of Your birth, You have made us partakers of faith and baptism, through which we were baptized into Your death, receiving the freedom that You imparted to us. Again, through Your personal and active manifestation of Your divine laws, we have received the state of the dead, but through Your power, You show us how we can rise again and flourish, recovering the grace we had lost. Rebirth us, then, O greatest and most compassionate King, showing mercy upon us through the second bath of repentance, preparing us for the life in You by Your compassionate providence, so that the enemy of our salvation may not rejoice over our being deprived of all Your gifts. Yes, Christ, King Most High, to You, and to the eternal Father, and to the Holy Spirit, belong glory, honor, and worship, to the ages. Amen.

SERMON 16. FRAGMENTS OF PANEGYRIC ON ST. DEMETRIUS

16. Fragment of a Panegyric on Saint Demetrius.

† ……

1.…iron, and towards those who were equal, they needed to endure struggles. Did you not, each one of you, arise with fervor towards the zeal of the martyr's athletic endurance, and were you not stirred by the word to imitate him and to be ready to engage in the same struggles, if the need arises? And now, even with the resolve of your soul, you are already martyrs, though not yet in deed, as the time does not call for it? I, for my part, wish that each one of you would be and become such through deeds and not merely words, honoring the testimony with the intention of the soul, and being ready to endure death for Christ, similar to the martyrs of Christ, and for all those who are now completing their martyrdom through their struggles, their wrestling, and the victory that comes, along with the grace flowing from it for the martyr and for the Lord of the martyr through him. And you yourselves, you should also join me in the confession of the faith and the effectual prayer, not only agreeing with what is being said, but also praying the same things, demonstrating much zeal for the martyr's willingness, and praising and desiring to imitate this disposition. From this, we, too, will be able to join in the struggles of the martyrs, and in the heavenly rewards they receive, with the crowns being placed upon them according to their worth, not because of the quality of the torment but because of the resolve and intention of their soul, which was granted to them. The torments vary in kind and intensity, for others experience different types, some being greater, some lesser, or more severe, or less so. There are braziers, and frying-pans, cauldrons and molten lead poured over the body and the entrails, wheels and iron clubs, and obelisks, as well as tortures involving pulling on joints, and stones, and catapults, and throwing rocks and spears, fire, water, and the cooling cold air from the open sky, along with the concurrent freezing. These and all similar tortures, some more severe, others less so, they do not matter; for it is the willingness to endure for Christ, the love for Him, and the death through that love that matters. For those martyrs whom they honor, their struggle was not against those outward tortures, but their love for Christ kept them unwavering, never separating from Him, no matter what they encountered. Therefore, with boldness, all should speak: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" As it is written, "For Thy sake, we are killed all the day long; we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." And again, "I am persuaded that neither death nor life, neither angels nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height nor depth, nor any other created thing, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

2.Thus, the same [mindset] and eagerness was in all equally, and thus with the same and equal disposition all hastened towards dangers for the sake of not being separated in any way from the love of Christ; but if anyone surpassed another in choice and desire conquered desire, each one being ambitious to draw the victory to himself with the greater love of Christ, or if even in this all were similar to one another and to themselves by the extension of desire towards the greater, each one being ambitious to surpass all, if it is possible to say, even himself, but with all having equally [the same disposition] towards all and themselves, since all were suffering the same passion and disputing the victory and yielding nothing more of desire to anyone nor tolerating to appear less than anyone, as if they thought they were being left behind by all, but

always extending their eagerness towards the greater and more perfect things, both vying with one another and themselves and hastening to conceal the past by the ever-present, as if by the youthful [zeal] of love both flourishing and not at all fading, but always being nourished and increasing as if by some fuel, the soul's eagerness like a fire always seizing abundant fuel, - if therefore one surpassed another in this, or the equality is thus observed in all, I indeed, considering the present [situation], avoiding the length of the discourse as unprofitable, forgo examining [it], otherwise also because you are not accustomed to such exact scrutinies of words, your ambition concerning such things having long ceased; whence silence is better, lest I even seem to attain [mastery] over you in this, but others perhaps will take care, both enjoying more time and being aided by greater knowledge of such things and at the same time being fortunate in [having] such listeners, to whom such earnest endeavors of words are no less intelligible than very serious and have no small grace, with whom we seem to be altogether alien. But that one thing only I would justly say, that perhaps it is not right to judge the martyr's choice by the quantity and quality of the punishments - for thus there will not be so much [emphasis] on the martyrs' [acts] of good repute, as on the punishers and those inflicting the tortures, and by the cruelty and leniency of those punishing, not by the martyr's choice, the goodness of desire and of good repute will be ascribed to the martyrs, so that not through themselves, but through others, one or another of the martyrs is shown brighter, which I think would not be reasonable; for perhaps thus the one having endured more kinds of punishments from a lesser desire, because this seemed to the punishers from cruelty to devise many kinds of punishments intensifying the sharpness of the torments, perhaps therefore this one will have more reason for ambition than the one proceeding to the struggles from greater desire, but meeting with milder punishers and therefore having endured fewer punishments, those having been inflicted which had a swifter release from life, so that the one having undergone only the cutting of a sword or [being thrown] headlong from a cliff or immersion in the sea or something else of the non-varied and simple [punishments] and bringing about an easier release, having been simply disregarded by all, will have the second place and will be defeated by those subjected to a variety of punishments and having come through sharper scourges, even if he happened to be victorious in all other respects by his choice and the disposition of his soul, with which he came hastening to the struggles. And where is the justice, not to be proclaimed brilliant through themselves, but thus by chance and through others, which even necessity might give, not the intention of their eagerness, and they see this even in those proceeding to military struggles, [who], not from the disposition of the enemies, but from their own preparation, with which they came to the struggles, receive the prize of valor, even if before and altogether coming to blows, the enemies would give them their backs, not even affording the work of the bravest to be shown by the deeds themselves? Therefore, I do not think it necessary for the things of the martyr's choice to depend on the harshness or leniency of those punishing, even if from there what is approved and less so is judged, but from the very disposition of their soul and from the instance of the love of Christ against those prevailing everywhere on earth and the confession of the truth, by which all equally hastening to dangers were and despised all death, and were prepared for every kind of punishment and dared all, yielding to nothing cowardly, looking to one thing only, not to tire in the face of dangers, even if the sharpest [punishments] should be brought on, and to miss the sought-after end, which is to exchange the temporary for eternal life, the corruptible for the incorruptible and the fleeting for the abiding and everlasting and the ephemeral for the blessed and imperishable, in which it is possible to reign with Christ; but as for the [kinds] of punishments, let them depart from this present life, and

these [we leave] to the punishers and the tyrants, as it will seem good to them to punish those altogether prepared for death for Christ, and no longer living this present life, but the future, and having crucified the flesh, even before the torments, with the passions and desires, rejoicing in the greater and sharper attack of dangers, when thus the disposition of their soul and the nobility of the spiritual state are tested in them, with how much and of what sort they hastened to the struggles.

3.This is what is striven for by the martyrs; this is their most expedient end; with such preparation they hastened towards dangers; one was the purpose set before all, the standing firm for the truth unto blood and death; one struggle, death for the love of Christ; one eagerness for all, not having been cowardly in the face of the onsets of dangers, to yield anything of the fitting exactness of the truth for martyrs; equal the desire, from an equal and similar love always being kindled, even if for some the manner of departure from this present life and the path leading to the intended end was more concise and easy, for others more extended and laborious by the length of time increasing and intensifying the dangers, but rather even this is one and the same for all, if indeed it is necessary not to bring the judgment from the quality of the punishers, which has often been said, but from the martyr's resolve and choice. Whence, having once armed themselves for death for Christ, they were all ready and [ready] to endure even the most terrible, so that even from there the equality is gathered for all no less; for if for all the end was the standing firm for the truth unto death, whence it was to reign with Christ forever, and for this all considered everything and anything of the much remaining [in life] secondary, and all that was about to bring about this end, everyone was willingly prepared to endure, preferring nothing of all these to this nor fearing anything more than to fail of this, how will not also in this way the equality be gathered for all? I indeed thus have an opinion concerning this and thus equally place [it] for all the martyrs; but may the martyrs be merciful to me, if having very much of the unacquaintedness of the martyr's purity, I have dared to speak concerning them and have dared to propose our opinion concerning them in the midst [of you], as someone being a worthy imitator and lover of the martyrs of Christ; but if saying these things I am perhaps about to displease some, but let it be allowed for me to enjoy my opinion, until no one else persuades me otherwise. Whence no danger follows the truth of the matter; for it is not necessary to change the matter contrary to the word; perhaps it is even necessary to think thus concerning the martyr's choice, [for those] keeping both the [aspect] of proceeding to martyrdom with reason and right judgment and the [aspect] of the desire for Christ not faltering and undiminished, each of which is not small, if not even all is capable for the account of martyrdom, if indeed the yielding of the desire towards the desired accuses some unacquaintedness and some beginning of alienation, whence it is likely even to be brought to the extreme of separation by the power of the beginning, with the subsequent [steps] progressing according to reason, but the irrational and towards the opposite for the most part knows how to turn the attempts, so as to be in danger whence they seemed rather to be related to Christ, from here to be separated from him having despaired in the face of the onsets of the painful [things], to which they thus irrationally subjected themselves, hoping for other things instead of others, instead of the more laborious and sharper [punishments] the easier and having an easier release, but falling into others and greatly reaching the soul by the exceeding sharpness, which no one would ever have expected, one might say reasonably [that they] are able to do nothing other than to seek, not how they might be more related and united to Christ, but how they might be most separated from him by the unforeseen bitterness of the punishments, to which it is likely that they would yield something of the resolve by the irrational. And who

would dare to let fly this dart against the saints, accusing them of a final, as one might say, from the likely thus unexpectedly resulting unacquaintedness of the desired and alienating the lovers of the beloved, from the not all being equal in desire and the not being adjudged indifferent the [aspect] of love and the similarity of endurance towards all and the most terrible from the preparation of the soul, equally having [it] towards all and the most terrible of all things, with which all equally hastened to the struggles, even if different punishments were ever devised by time for different [martyrs], with the number of those ever suffering for Christ increasing from the ever greater madness of the persecutors of Christ, of the number of quantity and quality and of the instruments of punishments, with newer others being found for the pursuers of the truth in addition to the previous [ones]? Let the most blessed John Chrysostom also concur with me in the things being said, saying those things in the encomium to the martyr Barlaam: "For let no one say to me that he only gave up one hand, but let him consider this before that, that the one giving up the hand, this one also gave up the head and gave up the ribs and presented himself to fire and beasts and sea and cliff and cross and wheel and to all the punishments ever heard of and endured all, if not in experience, but in intention; for not to defined punishments do the martyrs meet, but to undefined punishments they expose themselves; for they are not masters of the tyrants' mind nor do they set boundaries and measures of punishments for them, but as many evils as their cruel and beastly mind may desire to inflict, so many they enter to suffer, unless in the meantime the body having given out leaves the tyrants' desire unfulfilled in the midst.

4.Let this, therefore, be thus for us in this way; but nothing stands against the word [i.e., the argument] of one being proclaimed more illustrious than another; for this is perhaps of the desire and of the disposition of those honoring, with one being placed more [highly] by one than another of the athletes for Christ, according as each one always has [a relationship] of connection and intimacy towards each one. But if for someone even the time before the martyrdom knows a virtue successfully achieved not small [in amount], this is not small for a reason of good repute; for each is reasonably more illustrious from here through each other, both virtue adding to the martyrdom and this again, having received the violence of death for Christ, and again this sealing the virtuous life, placing a successful end and worthy of the preceding manifold struggle. Whence it is not thereafter to be suspected [that there is] an alteration of understanding by wickedness or some deception of the soul by guile, with life ending there for the one struggling, where the whole desire and yearning and what was most expediently achieved [its] end, by dissolution becoming related to Christ to be always with [him] and to reign together with him, which course of martyrdom for the athlete, more laborious indeed, but more illustrious nevertheless and glorious, both completed and with what one might say is safety sealed [it].

5.From here also, speaking of the present cause of these [words], (for it is necessary whence we have proceeded to these words, as if in a circle to return again), from here therefore also [we speak] of the valiant martyr of Christ, Demetrius, [who], adding the martyr's choice to the preceding purity of life from virtue, and adorning the life in virtue with the martyr's end, and multiplying the light of virtue by the addition of the martyr's light, [who], from a most luminous lamp, kindled a greatest torch, and thence became light and illuminates the ends of the world. A testimony of the word [is] also the source of myrrh; for from a few drops of blood shed for Christ upon the earth, an ever-flowing and abundant source of myrrh is given in return, gushing forth no less from the preceding purity and cleanness than from the blood shed for Christ for the martyr, having received this grace richly from God, significant of another incomparably greater grace, the

end in eternal blessedness of the kingdom of the heavens, [which are] two greatest [things] for a reason of both good repute and radiance, [namely] a preceding virtuous and pure life and a martyr's end having been brought upon this and adorning and sealing at the same time the preceding purity and holiness, with his martyr's choice being served by no small military hand, which, through the side, with much harshness and cruelty, drove the spear through his entrails, as if one [wound] was not enough for him for death, but rather as if not one death was sufficient for them for the martyr and for this reason more [men] condemned him; for as many spears as were driven through [his] entrails, so many deaths of him it is necessary to reckon to have been condemned, with each of the serving soldiers vying in the slaughter for the tyrannical rage of the martyr and for this reason myriads having sharpened myriads of spears against him. Or did the multitude of spears please those slaughtering the athlete? For to those for whom even one alone was sufficient for the thing being sought, the multitude [was] superfluous; but if one did not seem sufficient for the slaughter, with rage slaying reason, conquering all things and not allowing even in the impiety itself to see what is necessary, all the [spears] thereafter brought about the end and through all the athlete was seen dead, so that, as I said, as many spears as were driven through him, so many deaths for him those [soldiers] inflicting the slaughter also brought about, and not once thereafter did the martyr of Christ, Demetrius, die beyond [measure] for the love of Christ, but myriads of times, if indeed the military cruelty sharpened myriads of spears against him and much [blood] was seen, tinged with blood of the athletic [one], with all vying individually with the raising of the spear being sprinkled and stained with the blood and thus as if raising a trophy against the athlete, if only they might be seen having stained the point with the blood, even if somehow thus the opposite happened to them, with the athlete irrationally raising a great trophy against themselves by the multitude of spears and publishing their own defeat; for indeed everyone has been defeated truly, with the martyr having bravely endured all things and raising a trophy of victory against all, not having given his back to the enemies to boast against him, having long prevailed over what remained [of life], and so much the more, by how many more they armed [their] right hand against him. Thus the murderous hand of the soldiers and before this the intention breathed murderous [intent] against the athletic [one], not being taught to be armed against many enemies nor extending the spear against many enemies, but against one, [being] many, it marched against the soldier of Christ, so that even from there the things of the defeat might be more brightly proclaimed for them by the death breathing [itself] for Christ, for whom to be fond of life and to refuse the impending death was truly considered death and the most shameful of deaths, alienating [one] from the immortal life never fading by a phantasy of the supposed life and quickly dissolving by itself, even if no one is forcing the departure, but to despise this [life] and to make it a personal philosophical stance for Christ, which is commonly shared by all those coexisting in generation and which by itself simply follows all, to choose [it], and before it comes by itself, having become a forcer of the forcer of the kingdom of God being seized by forcers, this was considered life and a life not coexisting [with corruption] nor being cut off by any temporal interval, but extending beyond all temporal interval and through eternity holding for itself the one having become worthy of such a life, reigning eternally with Christ.

6.Thus the valiant soldier of Christ was valiantly armed for the death for Christ; thus he despised the spear of the many soldiers, even if they sharpened many times more against him; thus nothing of the things happening or about to happen terrified him, but the soul indeed was lifted up to heaven, where also before being released from the body it was dwelling, but the body, falling to the earth, showed much spear in itself, in

this place where you now celebrate the feast-day commemoration for the martyr. And the martyr indeed joins the dances of the multitudes of martyrs in the heavens, but the entire multitude loving martyrs upon the earth in dances sends up praise to him and to the Master through him, honoring him with the yearly feasts and celebrations; but you have some advantage beyond all others in this part too, both having to point out the tomb of the martyr and the ever-springing source of myrrh from the tomb, from which the grace of the martyr's glory is distributed to the ends of the world. Would that you also had something more than others in the desire for the martyr and through him towards his own and simply everyone's master and creator; but now I fear lest in this you have nothing more than what one might say, to speak most moderately, and this makes [me] fear this fear concerning you, both [from] seeing you not having a disposition similar or at least moderate towards all the other martyrs of Christ (for if the desire was genuine and not pretended for you for the great martyr, you would also share some of your disposition with the rest, in which [disposition] the memory and the honor for it, in which you seem very much to be contained, now participates) and [from] seeing you being altogether abandoned by the most sacred gatherings. And I pass over the things being accomplished in the morning and evening hymns; for these indeed have been very much despised by you, as if they were not even considered at all, with some putting forward a not very reasonable fear for the morning hymns of the nation, which we have been justly handed over to serve because of a multitude of sins, lest something of the dangers happen during the night on the way; for this is what is put forward by you, and these [things] [are said] when no one has ever suffered anything at all, for whom the things of their own salvation are eagerly pursued before all else; but for the evening [hymns] they prefer worldly cares and drinking parties and drunkenness and everything rather than coming to church, dedicating the evening hymn to God. But who of you chooses to meet in church, of the holy mystery of the Eucharist being accomplished and of the most mystical gathering in it? Who endures to examine the apostolic and dominical oracles, with the church always resounding these with a loud voice and proclaiming [them] more brightly than any herald? Who comes to share in the priest's prayer? Who after…

SERMON 17. PANEGYRIC OF ST. LEONTIUS OF ACHAIA

17. Panegyric of St. Leontius of Achaia.

† ……

Sp. Lampros, in Palaeologian and Peloponnesian [Studies], vol. II (Athens, 1912), pp. 161-68, published a rather long fragment of a eulogy in honor of St. Leontius, the founder of the Monastery of the Taxiarchs, in the mountain that dominates Aegion, the medieval Bostitsa. This piece is anonymous, and the editor relied on a marginal note by Maximus Margounios in the Venice manuscript to attribute it to Scholarius. We do not share this view, and for this reason we had to exclude the piece from our collection. First of all, Margounios does not affirm the authorship of Scholarius on this fragment; he merely expresses a suspicion. Secondly, it suffices to compare the style of this eulogy with the pages of Scholarius published here to realize that we are in the presence of a completely different writer, both in the expression of ideas and in the construction of the sentence. Moreover, this St. Leontius, whom local tradition makes die at seventy-five years old without telling us around what era, seems to us too insignificant a person for Scholarius to have made the very inconvenient journey to the convent of the Taxiarchs to deliver the founder's eulogy. On the life of Leontius and the problems it raises, see I. C. Bogiatzides, The Holy Leontius of Monemvasia, Athens, 1923, 16 pp. On the various editions of his particular office, see L. Petit, Bibliography of Greek Acolouthies, Brussels, 1926, p. 129.

ORATION 1. IN HONOR OF MARK OF EPHESUS

II. Funeral Orations.

1. Oration in Honor of Mark Eugenicus, Archbishop of Ephesus (1444).

† Of the most wise teacher, Master George Scholarius, later also of blessed memory Patriarch of Constantinople, Master Gennadius, a funeral monody on the most blessed father and teacher, Master Mark of Ephesus, in the world Eugenicus.

1.Alas! Now, O those present with us, all the hopes of good things are gone; now nothing is fearful [as] unexpected, except as much as it lies in the better one both to give a hand and again to release the source of good things, but it is not necessary to despair even in the greatest misfortunes. O unbelievable thing even after experience! For we would have expected everything rather than what has now come upon us, although even the things which we endure individually, are nothing lighter than the evils from a siege; but the present misfortune is as a crown of all [evils] and truly a misfortune of misfortunes, after which there is nothing more painful to suffer and which is fitting to suffer for those no longer going to enjoy any pleasure. Alas, a man equal to all of us departs from us today, adorned not with two or three good things, but having gathered all together with excess, better indeed than any example, if ever anything such by divine lot has come to pass among men, and superior to all imitation; for no one setting that one before [himself] will seem to do anything, not to mention even being accurately likened [to him].

2.Indeed, there is no possession more beneficial for a nation and city than wisdom, but he alone was almost [the only one] among us; and even if there were more and very good ones, he would be better than all, and this anyone could know well comparing his labors with those of the ancients; for they are inferior to none of the best for those knowing how to judge such things rightly, so that it will even seem to be jesting or not to understand the Greek muse, if anyone would wish to compare his words with those now being made, and would not say that they are from the school of Isocrates and Plato. But it is more your [task] to praise his piety and purity, as many as care for virtue in deed, but I admire the earnest ones, but I do not recognize the excess in them, which has happened to you who are not very much concerned with words in the judgment concerning words. I have so much to say concerning the father's purity, that being younger and choosing the mortification of Christ beforehand, he was more prudent than those dwelling in the deserts; but since having cast aside all things for Christ, he submitted to the yoke of divine submission, neither did he lie [regarding] the promises to him nor again did he turn aside to worldly turmoils, being swept away by temporary glory, and until the end he remained in the warmth of love for Christ, dwelling indeed in the city, but being without a city because of not being attached to any of the things in it, and being honored indeed by all by the one having granted [him honor], neither desiring honor nor choosing anything shameful through it; who also appropriated the degree of the church upon the word to lead the church, it being very much in need of the influence from his words, since he was about to contend against those introducing novelties, for no other of human [reasons], as the experience of events showed. He was better than according to justice, since he did not even endure ever to judge, fleeing the turmoils in the courts. In gentleness and philanthropy he surpassed all those being admired from these [qualities]. Who is gentler to approach than him? Who is more skillful to deal with? Who is more sufficient to say what is necessary, but more ready to listen? Who is more beneficial than him to those approaching [him]? Who is less painful to those having stumbled in any way from some

chance? Who is superior to envy like him, except where he suspected the deceits against the right doctrines? For he stood against these with [his] good repute, so that power might not befall the instruments of falsehood, so that even concerning these things he appeared more timid than necessary and to some of his friends he became burdensome, and they, not understanding the cause, both in silence and in words grieved the man, suffering some human passion.

3.Oh, how I endured that rash utterance which someone let fly against him while addressing him in a public gathering! For he called the teacher of truth a deceiver, and one who turns those using [him] away from the truth. If indeed even those introducing novelties were able to escape seeming to err, when, having shown [it] by another path, they might persuade [others] to arrive at the same opinion, then he would not be a deceiver who leads through the worn path and which all those coming to salvation have walked. Indeed, he would be contentious and an enemy of peace who does not establish [himself] on the same path with us, which he knows being more unerring, so that co-traveling with us, he might become a mediator for himself and for others of both the rewards of the best journey and of peace. But if, thinking that we are erring, he concedes in word not to err, so that being puffed up and believing the praises, and ceasing thereafter to contend for [our] own safety, we may follow the path which he himself points out, for the time being full of much suspicion for us, this indeed is deceiving, truly even deceiving himself, because he has conceded from the beginning to be true and unerring what he denies in the common agreements. But that great father mildly endured that wicked utterance; for neither did he have [the habit] to praise himself because of humility, and he thought the refutations for the slanderers sufficient [were] the defenses for the truth; but it was necessary that even our Master, having been thus blasphemed.

4.He indeed thus endured [it], but alas, none of ours defended [him], and I alas was silent, acting not so much for myself as for what was advantageous for the time; for I was not unaware that the matters would not be separated from conflict, with me openly joining the struggles, nor did I wish, showing off wisdom, concerning which I think none of those having understanding is unaware, to corrupt somewhat the matters needing careful management; then I indeed explained the reason to the father, and he understood and agreed and was ready for the impending struggles, no longer at all doubting concerning our opinion, and he hoped indeed to prevail over all by the support from the truth, considering it a great thing that we also would cooperate with him, and no less than Theseus is said to have joined Heracles in those struggles, but rather from magnanimity he granted us greater [things]. These [were] the incantations of the most sacred soul and tongue, with which, having bewitched my friendship, he renewed [it]. And indeed, towards the knowledge of the truth, he contributed nothing to us except those first seeds and the prayers, which he spent much time [on] and with which he often sought our fruitfulness; but towards the zeal for the truth, he stirred us up very much, with which he very well joined us by his goodwill towards him and with which he genuinely trusted us and was confident in us, at the same time using the time as a co-worker no longer needing such a dispensation. And now if he were alive and had come to contend for us in the struggles, since the things previously having happened were only some skirmishes and rather a display of wisdom than a judgment for the truth (for not yet was anything of the sacred teaching being proposed and examined, but only some deductions discovered by the ambition in words and as it were preliminary contests, which is accustomed to happen in all struggles), he would have departed bringing a decisive [victory], if anyone dared to say that this sacred father [was] a deceiver and those attached to him, such as we are accustomed and are able, with God to

say, from the oracles of the Spirit, and he would have quickly inherited the worse designation with many just [reasons], before attaching to us the censure of those thinking badly.

5.But now you lie, alas, most blessed father, and you are silent yourself, and all our preparation has ceased for you, and it will no longer be a judgment of words, but perhaps it will be of hands; and some will even defect, whom your reverence held back, and to say all, there will be a great struggle of consciences and war in the souls of all, with each judging himself and either remaining in the former [opinions] with suffering evil or abandoning these for the sake of outward prosperity; and those formerly very much loved [by us] will appear more burdensome than the others, although they do nothing burdensome against them, except that they war against the true dogmas of our ancestors. But having once taken thought, we grieve for what we have erred or having been silent where it was not necessary or having abandoned something worthy of silence, and we call upon the divine philanthropy, whose custom it is to heal such infirmities and of the now-praised teachers many [were healed] having intruded from human weakness for some time; or the things of the church and the truth, which is connatural and manifest to it, God will care for after you, but we will no longer hear you speaking in public, we will no longer use you as a counselor of our labors and a praiser, we will differ in nothing thereafter even from the very laborers to those who judge our things badly because of envy, your vote having ceased, which having previously as from God, we despised those otherwise opining as nonsense; for you alone were able both to see together the exactness of art and the form of words and the power of thoughts and the truth of dogmas and all such things indeed by the canon of art with you, and to testify without envy to those having [them], just as no one more than me beheld your power in all these things, if I must boast somewhat. Therefore also it is not necessary to wonder, if of all others I loved and admired you more, and being ill I was distressed being in pain with you and fearing this terrible [thing], and now by despondency I do not know what I shall do, the terrible [thing] having indeed happened. We will be silent therefore and we will be a great burden to the earth, both from the pain, which it is necessary for those dependent on your friendship and virtue to suffer upon you lying [dead], and lest someone increase anger and insolence against us, and the fertile [power] of our soul will now be barren, when it was more necessary to give birth, since now more [than ever] we have understanding.

6.Alas! How I speak as if to my father being present! But he cares little for me and for you; for having shaken off the burden of the body, which in many ways led [him] to philosophy, and for this reason he will again sprout towards the hoped-for animation to receive the prizes of the labors for virtue, now with [his] naked soul he is filled with blessedness, which he knew well and eagerly sought to obtain from here, having lived the life hidden in Christ, and he is with the sacred teachers of the faith, being in all respects just to be numbered with them; for he renounced the pleasures of life like them, or rather did not even partake of them at all; he was subjected to God and through him to a man who was then the best of the teachers of virtue among us; he shone forth among priests; he radiated among high priests; he contended for the church very well; he was seen more solid than adamant against change; he honored our ancestors, whom he wisely very much believed neither to contend in vain against the newer [teachings], nor to be ignorant of the truth like children; he cared for the flock in times having the greatest difficulty; returning from there, he again held fast to sacred quiet, having endured many disturbances indeed from demons, more [and greater] plots from men and having persevered through all with good examples, [like] those sacred fathers, and he would have endured more evils, if the emperor's philanthropy had not rescued him, who indeed if anyone had admired the man's

virtue and wisdom. He therefore, as I said, will no longer care for us, having acted as best as possible for himself, being satisfied with the votes of God concerning us, being most wise and most just; or if it seems to anyone that the blessed even there take some thought of our works and prayers proceeding immediately from their will, it is necessary to believe this same thing also concerning him among the first of the blessed, as it is likely to hope, being placed in ranks.

7.But we, beyond all hope, alas, are deprived of him and we will not use any of his good things [with] a successor; for neither from equal, nor from lesser good things has anyone been so well harmonized, nor in a very long time will [anyone] be harmonized, and just as it is not possible for us to return [to] the age, in which each of us once was, so neither is there hope to find that divinely-given soul and tongue again in any of mankind, either [for] us or [for] our descendants. For schools have been closed, and the ambition concerning words has been extinguished, and a good nature [is] a rare thing; and the choice of labors in good things is absent, and virtue must be brought forward by the cooperation from the better one, and you would not easily find virtue, and practice and experience require a long time, and the inclination from the times must also be present. But for him all these things coincided with excess and above all as if he had a certain inheritance descending to him from [his] fathers, both virtue and wisdom; whence having taken care of a genuine and as it were naturally ingrained matter, he has not unreasonably been able [to do] great [things]. But what is more [a cause] for despondency for us is, before him growing old in the acquired good things, before us purely enjoying him, in the prime of this temporary life he has been snatched from the midst of our hands, not lest wickedness change his understanding or deceit deceive his soul (for he had virtue both productive and unadulterated, and Olympus would sooner fall than he would yield from the intensity of virtue and be dissolved and suffer anything against the difficulties of the times or yield anything of [his] wisdom), but [lest] with one of the only light having set among us, or the lamp having been extinguished, or the salt having become foolish, or the spring having failed, we, thereafter without moisture and hardened and barren of all good and without salt and living under shadow and darkness, may pay the penalty, since also the scarcity of good men as an extreme penalty the divine [power] exacts upon the neglecting cities, beyond siege, beyond famine, beyond all misfortune simply, because also for those to whom such sufferings might happen, it is easy to be freed from them by the oversight of best men.

8.O sorrow of ours, receiving no consolation; O wound of unhealable nature; O suffering that cannot be borne; O tears of a situation that will never cease; O slanderous reputation, which spreads through the entire world, making all those who are subjected to that voice and opinion lament together! Yet none clings to that one, but those who guard the confession of truth, both in word and deed, honor, in an exceptional manner, the noble champion of it, and owe respect and gratitude to him and to those who, for the sake of this truth, fought before him in honor of their forefathers. O earthquake, shaking the earth throughout its succession, as much as the sun of truth can see, and today shaking our own city, which was the first to lose the abundance of goodness, and it is fitting that, by its loss, it should tremble. Alas! We have not yet known such a calamity, one for which we would gladly have given up all our possessions, our family, and the most necessary things if it were possible to escape this disaster. I pass over those who are indifferent and unsympathetic, whose sorrow will one day be revealed and made known, but now they rejoice, not only in the excellence of the deceased and in his wisdom, but also in the golden legacy of our teachers and forefathers, of whom he was the last, making little of it as if they had become the wisest of all. And for this reason, we

must suffer and pray for the former unity of those things, or that which God may grant us in His glory for our benefit. In time, O present ones, we have envied the sufferings of the barbarians, by which, in the funerals of our relatives, we are disheartened and defeated. But we have no right to weep excessively nor to give way to wailing. For the virtue of our father teaches us to bear the calamity with dignity. Therefore, I, today, break the law of those who mourn aloud, and with moderation, as if in praise, but not in lamentation, I refer to the words concerning the blessed man; and I myself shall compose eulogies, while others will perhaps carefully rehearse the hymns in his honor. But let us depart. For already the matter of the holy has come to an end, and we zealously desire the virtue of the deceased, and we remember what he taught us.

ORATION 2. IN HONOR OF THEODORE PALAEOLOGUS

2. Oration in Honor of the Despot Theodore Palaeologus (1448).

† Funeral Oration for the Emperor's Brother, Lord Theodore Despot.

1.For the brother of our most powerful emperor, it is the third month since [he has been] laid [to rest]; but I have postponed the speech concerning him until this day, neither being at a loss as to what it is necessary to say concerning him, nor considering it necessary, as if [it were] some other misfortune, to add my silence to him, but (for the truth will be spoken) thinking that the ill will of the many concerning him would subside with time, and then indeed the judges of the words would appear more just to him, and to me [they would appear] less burdensome, those who at his death would not even bear to hear at all concerning it. Now therefore, having first hoped to prepare everyone's opinions for the words as was possible, I dedicate to him the honor owed from many places, which even if I had not yet rendered to anyone of all, I would reasonably repay it to him, having loved all speeches, and having even truly been enamored of mine; and having spoken many [words] in the previous time at the tomb, I could not reasonably deprive him of such a contribution even after these [words].

2.Most people, focusing only on external fortunes (for they are fixated on outward prosperity and the pleasures derived from it), neither easily recognize virtue in others nor in him. Instead, because his life did not end in a conspicuously glorious manner, they judge all his circumstances as worse. For my part, I do not believe that all people who fare poorly do so because of wickedness, nor do I think that all who live virtuously necessarily achieve a fortunate end to their lives. Indeed, I have known many who, even in death, were least like one another in their character. How such matters are judged by the divine is, of course, impossible to discern clearly, though holy men offer many noble conjectures, to which it is not right to object. To base our judgment of each person solely on external fortunes would deprive us of a true understanding of most people, or even of nearly all his brothers—if you will, of his father and, further back, of his grandfather. We would be led to cast a vote contrary to the truth, drawing our conclusions from the misfortunes that befell them. For all have suffered in this way, each enduring some terrible fate—some throughout almost their entire lives, others as they approached death. Yet no one disputes that they were all the best of men and remain so, nor do we take their other misfortunes as evidence of inner failings or wickedness. For striving toward the best is not entirely within our control, and the outcomes of external events are governed by another power. While it may seem that many such fortunate outcomes result from wise planning and accompany it, in truth, all these things depend on the will of the divine. Even in matters where we have the power to act rightly, the greater part of our success comes from the inclination bestowed upon us by divine grace. Sacred tradition affirms this.

3.If we were to examine this man justly, we would find that he appeared better than many who are considered good. For instance, in his piety toward his parents, he cared for them while they lived as much as he could, and after one of them passed away, he honored them with all that he had, sparing neither words of praise in their memory nor deeds in their honor. To his younger brothers, he was like a father, neither plotting against them nor claiming the best parts of the island for himself. He treated his subjects as free men, transforming both their fortunes and their minds, so that they loved him in person and longed for him passionately in his absence, desiring to be ruled by him alone, even though they had good rulers after him.

Such was his justice and gentleness that they would have rejected even Alexander or Caesar, preferring to remain under his rule rather than become masters of the entire world. So powerful is the goodwill and partnership of a ruler combined with virtue. In other respects, he was equally praiseworthy, naturally inclined to do good, giving generously, and most eager to praise and crown virtue in those who pursued it. Yet he was also most skilled at dismissing the unworthy who pursued the opposite path and at exacting justice from those who had committed irreparable wrongs, setting measures for punishment guided more by reason than anger. He sought to benefit those who observed his actions rather than to inflict the utmost pain on the wrongdoer, unlike many rulers who feed their anger and seek revenge through the suffering of others, wishing to be seen as wronged so they might indulge their passions. He, however, was so self-controlled in his anger that he considered it a serious offense even to be provoked to harsh words and never reproached himself for saying anything to anyone that was better left unsaid. He took pleasure in the usual pursuits—hunting, feasting, and fine clothing—which few in positions of power neglect, yet he never allowed these pleasures to interfere with his duties, nor did he consider them worthy of the highest value. He listened attentively to anyone who offered advice, for he did not believe he was sufficient unto himself and considered everyone better than himself in their respective fields, except in governance. In this, he took some pride, not so much for himself as for the confidence he inspired in those around him, who shared in the responsibilities of his rule. He believed he fell short of the best rulers, whom he took as models of virtue, striving to be and to appear like them in every way. He was far removed from the character of a tyrant, having no trace of such a disposition, but was most like a just leader who governed according to the laws.

4.One might criticize him only for his neglect of the Isthmus, which led to his own downfall and the capture and death of many island inhabitants. But if one does not attribute external causes to his actions, one must also refrain from blaming his brother, who fortified the Isthmus a second time to defend it (for he believed the wall would protect them all from invasion). Yet he was unable to repel the enemy or send them away empty-handed and barely managed to save himself by fleeing. He employed workers, both willing and unwilling, to labor on the island's defenses, but they lacked the skill and will to perform tasks requiring courage and intelligence, and the wall, though built through the ruler's virtue and effort, was undone by betrayal and folly. Therefore, neither the most noble Constantine, who deserves praise for the finest and greatest achievements of his reign, nor his brother can justly bear the blame for the failure to secure the wall. For the same weakness of those within the Isthmus caused both the earlier and later collapse of the wall and the subsequent misfortunes that overwhelmed the entire island. Just as Constantine raised the wall, overseeing and directing every aspect of its construction, yet could not save it afterward, so too did his brother once labor alongside the great emperor in fortifying the Isthmus but could not protect it when the enemy attacked, despite his strong desire to do so. Thus, the Peloponnesians neither know how to aid others nor, when aiding, how to defend and save. They neither willingly confront danger nor, when they do, dare to endure and persevere. Instead, they choose to risk danger by fleeing and hiding rather than striving to save themselves through virtue. They bring disgrace upon their rulers everywhere, who, trusting in the numbers of their forces, attempt to save them with glory, but when the people perish due to the cowardice in their souls and minds, the rulers are thought to have governed and managed poorly by those who do not understand the diseases of the governed. Thus, it can be said that the current inhabitants of the Peloponnese are heirs only

to the land of the ancient Peloponnesians, bearing the mere name of their race, but they have inherited none of their virtue, not even enough to pass on to their descendants.

5.Such was the ruler who recently passed away. But what virtues adorned him as a private individual? Was he not strong and vigorous? Was he not swift in running and skilled in horsemanship, even on the most treacherous horses and steep terrains? Was he not ready to execute with his hands anything one could conceive in thought? Did he not surpass even skilled artisans in the dexterity of his hands and natural ability? These were the qualities of his body, but those of his soul were far greater and more excellent. He was a lover of learning, quick to understand, and, as a result, deeply knowledgeable. I omit other details, but who could surpass him in the precision and mastery of arithmetic, geometry, and the so-called syntactical sciences? He even discovered many gaps in these methods and became the author of books, achieving this amidst great turmoil and the distractions of many affairs—a feat scarcely possible for one entirely removed from such pressures. His eloquence, the grace that adorned his speech, and the sharpness of his intellect were such that they could not have arisen by mere art or without it but seemed rather to have been bestowed by God. Who, hearing him speak in public, would not immediately forget his troubles, find delight, and wish to listen to him forever, forgetting his own necessities as much as possible? Who was so irrational or so stubborn and iron-willed as not to be persuaded by one who sought to persuade? Yet most people overlook these qualities to admire and scrutinize, but if there was any flaw, they investigate and criticize it relentlessly, not understanding that we do not praise the entirely perfect man (for such a man cannot be found among humans) but rather one who is free from blame in most or the most critical matters. For we do not praise Alexander's temper or drunkenness but, overlooking these as blemishes on an otherwise beautiful body, we recognize the excellence of his character through his deeds and consider him among the greatest of leaders.

6.Thus, this man, trusting in the goodwill of all, unknowingly yielded to rash and reckless advisors. Yet he did not lose his reputation for being the best among those who judge rightly, nor will he ever lose it. God Himself bears witness to this truth from above, having taken him away from those who would lead him to worse actions—not so much for our salvation as to prevent harm to his soul, which was worthy of being saved for the sake of others. Otherwise, he might have been allowed to accomplish something we would have regretted, leaving behind the reputation of one who destroys and harms. For we are not always free from all evil, so we must attribute the entirety of that good providence not only to the sparing of our misfortunes but also to the fact that many of our calamities have been and will perhaps continue to be mitigated by others. He, however, though expected to cause great harm through his companions, departed without having done anything of the sort. We lamented his death, fearing that, had he lived, he might have committed some injustice and deprived us of our freedom, though we had previously loved him and greatly desired his preservation. Yet the fear of common misfortunes left no room for other considerations. For what would become of us, who wish for the salvation of this homeland even before our own good? Thus, we felt, but the divine listened not so much to us as to the cry of his virtue, pleading not to be abandoned or betrayed to the designs of wicked souls. For it is one thing to choose evil out of wickedness and another to be deceived by companions and, against one's will, commit some terrible act. Nor is it uncommon for one who trusts in men to encounter deceivers instead of leaders and enemies instead of friends.

7.Therefore, what neither we deserved to suffer nor he chose to witness, yet might reasonably have occurred given the actions of those who were responsible for those evils—he has been delivered from them,

and we, contrary to all expectation, have also been delivered. And what would have been the best outcome for him and for every living being, even before such a fate (for it is a release from all the evils of life), has come upon him at the right time: death. This has proven his virtue, testified to the baseness of those around him, and confirmed that the most excellent king was unjustly harassed in every way. And if what is said is true, blessed is he in his passing, having departed this life before committing any of the terrible deeds he might have done. For now, there is no one to cry out for the wrongs suffered. Many are indeed weighed down by grief, having lost their nourisher and guardian. But as for the rest, nothing prevents them from indulging in luxury, as if his departure has not yet altered the hopes we had for the affairs in Sparta. But if these things are merely tales, and his intention was only to outmaneuver his brother and king so that he might easily obtain what he could not achieve peacefully, he is nonetheless blessed in this regard as well. For he departed having wronged no one and without any intention to do so, though it remains uncertain whether he might have become worse afterward, given the difficulty of the times, which often compels our leaders to choose many things that are admittedly base and to pretend to accept many others that are dishonorable, believing that in this way they will secure their rule more safely—though they are greatly mistaken in this belief. He began to pretend to some extent, but God, knowing the future, raised him up from this fall, deeming it better for him to depart to his ancestors with less pomp, pure and untainted, rather than attaining greater power and, in his persistence, neglecting his duty toward the divine. Moreover, he once prayed to God for true philosophy, and before he could be entangled in other marriages, the begetting of children, greater concerns of rule, pleasures, and the neglect of those sacred covenants, he was transferred to the truly human life—not initiated through the philosophy of this world, but, like many who have risen from obscurity to the purple, he was snatched from the tumult and ignorance of this life to the knowledge and tranquility of the next, fulfilling those promises, whether willingly or unwillingly.

8.He, then, having lived so virtuously in his private life and so fortunately in his public affairs—so much so that he was blessed with honorable marriages, became the father of an excellent child, and united his family through marriage to one of the noblest houses—has also met a fitting end. He did not enslave foreign cities or impose a yoke upon nations, nor did he harm any of his fellow Greeks. Instead, he departed this life just as he was about to do such things, or when it seemed to some that he might hesitate to do so. Indeed, in such a time of shared misfortune, it is a blessing for someone to have caused no irreparable harm to the common good. To such a man, who lived in this way and met such an end—being both the son of a king and the brother of a king, and having done much good for us and loved us sincerely—it is fitting that we offer some praise and recompense. Therefore, we have paid him what tribute we could, avoiding all reproach, lest we seem to have done better by remaining silent. But you who are present, as you acknowledge the praises due to him and recognize the good he accomplished, strive to emulate his virtues. And where you think we may have praised him beyond what is fitting, take care to ensure that your own praises are more truthful. Let your worth be measured not by flattery, strife, or deceit, by which you might seek to outmaneuver one another or your leaders, but by the virtue through which you prove yourselves faithful to your leaders and beneficial to the common good. By striving for this at all times, you will not only act in the best possible manner but also preserve the fortune you now enjoy for your children and heirs, leaving them a legacy of greater devotion to virtue and the possibility of becoming more glorious than you, if they so desire. Moreover, you must deliberate wisely concerning what is to come. For even if no escape from these things is

possible, it is still most shameful to meet them with indifference, as if welcoming them, rather than striving by every means to avert them. Yet if something better should come to pass, it will be well, provided you have prepared wisely for all eventualities. You must not merely sit as spectators of the events that befall us, daily sharing in their outcomes, but take thought to ensure that as few sorrows as possible come upon us. When we prosper, give thanks to God; when adversity strikes, consider yourselves responsible and strive always to appear better and more diligent. Otherwise, we may find that, after enjoying divided pleasures in the midst of dangers and being delivered unexpectedly, we will one day drink the full cup of despair—may it never come to pass! †

ORATION 3. PASSING OF EMPRESS MOTHER HELENA DRAGAS

3. Oration for the Empress Mother Helena Dragaš (1450).

† Consolation addressed to the Emperor Constantine on the passing of his mother, the Lady Empress.

a. Since you have commanded, my holy and mighty lord Emperor, I have now recalled, to the best of my ability, the words spoken at that time from my lips, as far as my memory allows, and I have presented them to your majesty. Most of them are nearly in the same words, as I believe you yourself remember, and I have now recorded them in this document and committed them to writing, sending it to you.

1.Most serene Emperor, if indeed any other of those in such a rank ever, both instills grief by her departure, and again consoles by the surpassing of virtue, not only to the dearest of sons and king, I speak of you, causing this double disposition, but also in every way to this city and as many of the Romans or Greeks who will later perceive the matter; for both nature with goodwill together and need [affect] you, and the benefit from her [affects] us in another way not without goodwill and nature, as is likely, disturbing [us], if indeed it is not possible to bear the losses of the most beneficial and intimate without pain; but the surpassing of virtue, with which she lived for a reasonably sufficient time and with which she departed, is sufficient for consolation; for what is most pleasant for each of mankind in himself, the consciousness of dying with virtue, I say of the earnest, this indeed also being accurately observed in the deaths of friends or relatives, throws in a counterweight to those compelled to grieve for them, cheerfulness; but of dying with virtue, it is much greater to have lived with virtue; therefore also just as a certain testimony, that is sought after of this, by those who have cared somewhat for good reputation among men, with men being accustomed, as one might say, to judge the pre-existing [life] by the final outcome as for the most part. And yet it often happens not from the better disposition nor from a noble and lengthy occupation concerning these things, for some to arrive at such an end of life, so as to seem the praiseworthy exit of life for such to become more of a fortunate event than an achievement. But therefore whether the preceding life being ignored, or being hidden by the splendor of the end, for those who have happened to depart from this life with virtue, not this itself alone is blessed, but also the whole life is praised, seeming to have happened to be with such an end, and to most of those having died with virtue, we bring such a vote, making no matter how the things practiced while living might be.

2.If therefore just as leaving it with virtue, which happens once, gives form to human life, how much more to have lived with it; for the former resembles a certain coloring of the beauty of virtue, but the one having practiced this through life, having it as if ingrained through the depth, not only gleams [like] gold, but is also gold outright; and much more radiant than gold is unalloyed virtue of the purest and more precious to those having mind [than] greatest treasures, even if one might mention those of Croesus. But this beauty becomes manifold in glory for those having persevered in this life until the longest [time]; for it is possible to bring a more secure vote concerning them, having demonstrated virtue in a complete life and through all age and fortune having preserved a certain simple and unmoving inclination of the mind towards the better things. This again is seen greater than itself, whenever someone, having chosen both paths towards philosophy, would come well through both in turn, having acted best in public affairs according to the appropriate age, but having been anchored in the harbor of inactivity in old age. But there is also again a

certain addition to this, when not only in turn would someone excel in each of these, according to the time fitting each, but also caring for the common [good], would take care of what is truly his own, just as someone prioritizing only his own purification, and being privately occupied, and leisurely being purified, would not even abstain from benefiting others.

3.These are nearly the sole distinguishing marks of that most renowned woman among mortals. For she, devoted to the worship of the Supreme Being and to the improvement of her soul, neglected none of the things beneficial to the common good, both in her actions and her deliberations. While she once lived alongside the great emperor and shared in his rule, she was no less concerned with the beauty of the soul than those who philosophized in solitude, demonstrating virtue in a perfect life. Her judgment of happiness was inseparable from virtue, and all things turned out favorably for her, as was fitting for one who lived in this mortal world and was entangled in mortal affairs. Among her virtues, none was present in excess, none was faint, and none was entirely absent. Rather, all were harmoniously united in an ineffable symphony, each differing according to its nature, as is fitting, and collectively presenting not merely an example of feminine or royal virtue—though these are significant—but of virtue as it exists in the entirety of human nature. In her, all distinctions of birth, fortune, and choice were united, and our age has revealed that wondrous soul. Indeed, I was almost overwhelmed by the thought of how rare it is in these times, marked by neglect of the good and the scarcity of those who choose the better path, for such a noble soul to arise among men. She was like an olive tree in a barren land, a star shining through thick clouds, or a single ripe grape in a cluster, as the sacred Scripture weaves together. Whoever approached that blessed and revered woman departed in admiration; the practitioner of virtue left in awe; the wise man gained some insight; the counselor became more foresighted; the judge saw a living standard of justice; the nobleman was humbled, amazed by her endurance and resolve; the compassionate man left with greater pity; the patriot acquired renewed zeal; the seeker of humility realized, before meeting her, that he had been vain; the zealous for piety appeared more fervent because of her; the sorrowful returned gentler; the arrogant were chastened; and there was no one who approached her without departing a better person.

4.Having lived in such a manner, refining herself to an extraordinary beauty of virtue, and being immensely beneficial both to the common good of the Greeks and to each individual she encountered, she has now departed this life, leaving us with good hopes on both accounts. She now dwells unquestionably among the blessed and shines in their chorus. The glory of kingdoms, crowns, and all earthly honors is as nothing to her compared to the rewards she has found in the heavenly realm. There, she has attained advancements and dignities that we call the heavenly kingdom and the greatest of all known goods, for we cannot otherwise describe the ineffable realities that surpass all understanding. Nor should we dispute whether she lives and exists, for the sacred Scriptures affirm this, and many human testimonies support this doctrine. For how could a rational human soul perish? How could it suffer any harm when it departs from the body, since we know it is perfected even here through knowledge and virtue as it prepares to leave the body? It would be in vain for the soul to strive for eternity or to conceive of incorruptible forms if it were not itself capable of such things. Indeed, it is fitting to understand that such a soul is incorruptible, even as it appears to perish, for there is no cause that could lead to its destruction, since it is not opposed by anything in its essence, nor is it corrupted by its own vice, and that which sustains it is eternal. These things are not difficult to articulate or to corroborate with similar arguments, by which we may reasonably be persuaded that our

souls endure beyond this life. However, it is not our purpose here to elaborate on matters about which no one disputes. Therefore, we do not doubt that the blessed one now lives a more perfect life than what is possible in this natural world, nor is it possible for her, having been purified and united with her kindred, not to immediately enjoy blessedness. For it is far more inconceivable that those who, even in the body, were wholly turned toward the Supreme Being should not be with Him, or that they should not be ranked among the most blessed, having brought with them the preparation they acquired here. Therefore, it is fitting for you, most serene emperor, and for us to rejoice with her, to pray that we may come as close as possible to her in virtue, and not be far removed from her blessedness. For it is necessary that we all strive to attain the highest blessedness. And it is fitting for you, in the great dignity God has given you, in your zeal for the best pursuits, and in your knowledge of all human affairs—which you have acquired through both study and experience—to bear this loss with composure. You will surely endure it, aided by the prayers of the blessed one.

5.But since life for those of us living in the midst of this world is a continuous occasion for sorrow—just as shadows accompany bodies when the sun shines, so too do sorrows accompany us—or just as it is impossible for those in the open air not to feel the heat at the height of noon, so too is it impossible for us not to grieve daily, if grief is indeed a kind of anger at the loss of what we love. For we love many things because of their connection to us, yet it is impossible to remain with them forever. Either we must depart while they remain, or we must endure and watch them gradually fade away, as this is the nature of both us and them. This suffering affects both common people and rulers alike, even you, the king who stands above all, for it is a most natural experience. Therefore, one must devise a remedy for this and the harms it brings. To address both this present sorrow and all others, I offer to your majesty and to those listening a sacred remedy, which one might call the "ninefold fruit." I believe this is fitting for the purpose of this immortal work, appropriate to the circumstances of our time, not far removed from our discourse, and suitable to the form of the fathers who inspired it, if indeed any other remedy prepared from the word of God can be compared to it. Thus, setting aside all other such remedies, this alone is presented to you and those present. Would you like to know what constitutes this remedy? It is love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, and self-control. The Holy Spirit is the source of these fruits, just as the entire nature of plants, fruits, and minerals gathered by physicians is under the first cause of all things. The soul is the steward and nurturer, like the earth in those examples, or, if you will, the physician who mixes them, having been taught by the divine word of Paul and adorned with the sacred methods derived from it. Each of these fruits brings us its own benefit when partaken of individually, but when combined according to need, they form a single remedy that delivers us from every evil, banishes all imbalance of the soul's powers within us, and overcomes the dominance of every bitter influence. Consider this carefully.

6.Immediately, then, love—being a movement of the mind toward the divine enjoyment of God for His own sake (for it is the enjoyment of Him, not the use of Him, that is the ultimate end)—persuades us to disregard this mortal life, relatives, possessions, fleeting glory, and all external things, as though they were mere vehicles, and to hasten toward the attainment of the divine, since our ultimate end and eternal abode and life are found there. Many of the blessed, gathering this most excellent and sweetest of fruits from the sacred Scriptures, have followed the commandment, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your soul," that is, with enjoyment, and then, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself," that is, with usefulness, as you love your own soul and body. They renounced all things for the love of Christ, for to willingly renounce these

things out of goodwill toward Him is equivalent to accepting the divine judgment with a bowed neck and subdued anger. Consider also the reward of this virtue. "The one who loves me," He says, "will be loved by my Father, and I will reveal myself to them." For the highest of virtues deserved to be rewarded immediately with the vision of pure truth, which is the ultimate prize and contains all good things. It is no wonder that this love and its related fruits are not only virtues rewarded by us but also gifts of the Holy Spirit inspired within us in place of some other virtue we might bring forth from a purely human will. But let the discussion of this be postponed for now, as we are concerned with brevity.

7.The joy of desire is a state of rest, achieved when we are continually united with the object of our longing. This is what the blessed John means when he says, "The one who abides in love abides in God, and God in them." For the one who has attained true joy, having stilled their mind from the desire for temporal things, is not greatly troubled by the loss of such things. The true object of their love is present to them, unassailable and sufficient in itself. The reward for this is the inward experience of divine joy. For it is said, "Enter into the joy of your Lord," as this joy is a divine working and increase of the talent given by God, not to be confused or hidden among base thoughts, but to broaden and reveal the natural understanding and longing for the higher good that is implanted within us.

8.The sacred Scripture defines peace as the unobstructed and serene attainment of the object of our desire. Alas, we disturb this peace when we seek our own will rather than the will of the Master. But the one who diligently seeks this peace receives the reward of divine adoption. For it is said, "Blessed are the peacemakers," especially those who establish peace within themselves, and subsequently with others or in their surroundings, "for they shall be called children of God." There is no greater measure of goodwill and unity than this.

9.What is patience but the endurance of pain brought about by the loss of temporal goods, while the desire for eternal things prevails within us? This, too, is the work of sincere love, for "love is patient," as Paul says. There is no greater example of this than Christ, who endured countless difficulties out of love for humanity. The reward for this is salvation from trials, both temporal and eternal. For it is said, "The one who endures to the end will be saved."

10.We call kindness and goodness the quality of being unburdensome and free from causing grief to those around us, as the inner tranquility of our thoughts extends to our outward behavior. Kindness is more general than goodness, extending to a greater number of people. For "the Lord is kind to all," but "He is good to the good," as the kind and gentle King, who is also beloved of God and a prophet, declares. From this, their reward becomes evident.

11.Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen, made evident through the credibility of the one who speaks, confirmed by undeniable works and signs. The one who rightly possesses this faith will not grieve over the loss of loved ones, especially knowing that their souls are immortal and that their bodies will rise again to be reunited with their souls, as revealed by divine teaching, which also affirms the promise of human perfection. In place of this extraordinary virtue, justification is granted to us. For it is said, "Having been justified by faith in Christ Jesus." To be justified means to have our works counted as virtue, for "it was counted to him as righteousness," that is, as virtue, which cannot occur without faith. For without faith, it is impossible to please God.

ORATION 3. PASSING OF EMPRESS MOTHER HELENA DRAGAS

12.What else is gentleness but the calming of anger, so to speak, or its regulation according to right reason? This, most excellent king, is your very quality: for you measure anger by the rule of reason and do not allow it to move or act discordantly and unevenly. The gentle person does not fill the air with shouts, nor weary the ears of those around them with groans, nor provoke God with cold words—such are the actions of those raging madly. Instead, they restrain the boldness of their passion with reason, reflecting that nothing they have lost was truly their own. For what do you have, it is said, that you did not receive? And if you received it, why do you boast as though you did not? To this, one might add: if you lost it, why do you grieve as though deprived of what was yours, when in truth you have more accurately returned what was never truly yours? The reward for this is our inheritance of the earth: "Blessed are the gentle," it is said, "for they shall inherit the earth"—both here and there, the true earth of the gentle. The opposite happens to those who are unrestrained in their anger and enslaved beyond measure by the passion of grief. For "the grief of the world," it is said, "produces death"—spiritual death, that is—just as godly grief produces repentance leading to salvation without regret. Those overcome by this passion can no longer act with vitality, as their inner faculties are weakened by the blows of their grief. "Grief has killed many," says the Ecclesiast, "and there is no profit in it." For those who succumb to the diseases it breeds, their lives are cut short, and they are deprived of the strength to resist it with a robust word.

13.Self-control is the measured application of reason, primarily to food and drink, and secondarily to all other desires. Divine assistance is given to us to fill what is lacking due to our natural weakness, just as those lacking self-control often fall into worse states than before through some concession to their desires.

14.From these fruits, as you see, most excellent king, the remedy of insensibility—or rather, long-suffering—is mixed. It immediately, and not over a long time, delivers those who choose to use it from the evils that arise from immoderate grief, or even prevents such grief from arising in the first place. For it also has a preventive power when taken. This remedy was used by the renowned king and most holy of queens against all the irregularities of life. By combining these spiritual fruits, they drove away all destructive grief, continually applying it to their soul. This remedy was also drunk by all who were nourished by God before them. Using this remedy, most noble king, you will bear what happens without distress and guide us with focused minds and attentive hearts. For the Holy Spirit, nourished by its fruits, will not allow you to be greatly troubled by these external spirits but will govern your soul, scattering them, and you, being guided by it, will save this great ship. Act thus, we beg you, for your sake and ours, and we pray that you may be empowered by God to do so, for to Him belongs glory forever. Amen.

ORATION 4. FOR HELENA PALAIOLOGINA

4. Oration for Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Despot Demetrius

† Monody on the Lady Autentopoula, Kyra Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the Despot, Lord Demetrius.

1.Alas, alas! How has the envious demon, in league with time, prevailed? Woe! Would that it had not granted us the greatest blessings in the first place, or, having shown them briefly, had not then snatched them away, departing wretchedly, like dreams that gladdened us for a short while, only to vanish suddenly (how can one say it temperately?), causing greater grief thereafter than the joy they once brought. When our race flourished, it reveled in many and varied prosperities, and the boundaries of its rule extended far and wide, with glory and splendor concealing the fortunes of all other races in its wake, and it surpassed all others in every way with incomparable superiority, beyond what words can express. But envy, casting an evil eye, unable to bear the sight of such great fortune, contended as much as it could to alter and utterly reverse everything, and indeed accomplished this with God's permission, so that the evil of misfortune far outweighed the good of prosperity, and we have suffered as if, having enjoyed light for a fleeting moment, we were then deprived of the sun's comfort, or as if, thirsting intensely, someone brought a cup of clear water to our lips, then immediately snatched it away and withdrew it, leaving us to languish in thirst. It would have been better for us to have been swallowed up by the earth opening, or consumed by fire, or drowned in the depths and utterly wiped out, as the great David also prayed, rather than to fall into the hands of God and be set up as a spectacle for the nations. How can one speak of those things without tears, or bring them into the midst without groaning and lamentation and cries, which a soul in agony is wont to utter, decrying its fate and the instability of things by nature? O those envious and jealous times! O the present misfortunes, now utterly devoid of hope! O race of Romans, once the most fortunate, but now the most wretched of all! O those riches, some of which you held in your hands, others you expected, and still others you generously bestowed! You have suffered the same fate as those who are carried in a prosperous and populous ship, but suddenly meet with shipwreck and are left naked in the midst of the sea's waves, at a loss for any means of deliverance. Since, therefore, some of our blessings are gone, others are not in hope, and beyond measure we experience the misfortunes of fate, which has shown itself so enraged against us, and at every hour devises evils for us, what assembly shall we convene, and how shall we worthily lament ourselves and those to come? How many tears will our grief draw forth? What lamentation shall we utter, commensurate with our calamity? What dirge could reach the extremity of our woe?

2.Indeed, no one would dispute that any discourse falls short in attempting to convey the magnitude of our former prosperity, just as no one could adequately portray the extremity of our present misfortune. For neither the depths of the sea nor the heights of heaven are measurable. And this very circumstance, itself no small misfortune, or rather, the crowning point of our misfortunes and an addition to the grief caused both by the loss of our former blessings and by the affliction of the evils that have befallen us, is what has especially compelled us to remember them and has stirred our lament. It must now be bewailed and lamented as far as possible, if any lament could be devised commensurate with our suffering. For we have lost, perhaps, that once varied and immeasurably great prosperity, which the providence of the ancient emperors, whom that age brought forth, procured for the race of the Romans, with the divine approval, but which the evil-doing demon has overturned and now reversed. There remains to us an image of those emperors, in which

we are able to behold, as in a mirror, and to recall a father, indeed, and a grandfather, and a great-grandfather, and a great-great-grandfather, and still many more in the ancestral line, all emperors and the best of all time, no less adorned by the empire than they adorned the empire with their own virtues. This our lord (oh, how shall I say it?), the most fortunate of all, having inherited the virtues of his father, that Manuel, as of a most excellent emperor surpassing all who came before him in wisdom, and having reigned most magnificently beyond any ever, holds them gathered within himself. This one, therefore, of royal blood, and son of a king, and grandson likewise, descendant and great-grandson and great-great-grandson of kings, having joined with a queen, the best of all, whom he took as surpassing all in beauty of form and unparalleled in lineage, and incomparable in nobility of soul, begot a daughter, to speak poetically, worthy to be the offspring and descendant of such and so great kings, or even if she did not happen to draw her lineage from such a truly golden royal line, she would have been no less illustrious and renowned for her natural endowments. But with the royal majesty also concurring, she has appeared as an image of all good and beautiful things, adorned with all forms of divine virtues and radiating the splendor of royalty and the grace of venerable charms, which both God bestows and men acquire by a life of earnest endeavor, and she herself had accomplished very much by her own magnanimity and zeal for the best of deeds.

3.Who will give water to my head and fountains of tears to my eyes, that I may weep and lament for the daughter of kings, the beautiful Autentopoula, who has departed from here and is gone from our sight? Or rather, who will turn all springs and rivers into tears for me, to draw from the excess of my suffering and alleviate the pain? What time here will extinguish the despondency? What words of comfort will diminish some of the grief? What discourse could encompass and fully portray all her good qualities, each of which surpasses the power of words to describe, being a fit subject for tragedy? But the most bitter anguish of her parents, what mind, what tongue could express it, what darts of grief piercing their hearts inflict? Not even what Homer imagined, if one possessed ten heads and as many tongues, a bronze chest and a corresponding voice, would he be able, not to say the whole, but even a small part of it, to relate. What first, what middle, and what last of her good qualities shall we set forth, making it the starting point of our lament? Or rather, how could we arrange such things, all being rivals and none yielding the primacy to another? Shall we admire the nobility of her soul and the greatness of her mind, or the height of her wisdom? And shall we admire her reverence for divine things and her respect and awe for holy men, yielding the first place to no man or woman, or her dignity and the steadfastness of her character and the excellence of her intellect? And shall we admire her cultivation of virtues, through which she regulated her character and adorned her speech and dignified her life, or her cheerfulness towards all, her graciousness and kindness? And shall we admire her ability to offer comfort appropriately to every age and condition and every race, according to the need of each, and by the law of compassion, both in word and deed to assist and to rejoice with those who rejoice and to grieve with those who suffer, or her gentleness and affability to those who meet her, her accessibility to those who approach her, and her graciousness and her compassion towards those who stumble, and her generosity to those who are well-disposed, and her beneficence to all? And shall we admire the beauty of her body, or her untimely death and premature snatching away? Shall we lament only these things, O those present, with the wretched parents of this one, or also the culmination of the evil, that she was the only and only begotten and so well endowed with beauty of soul and body, and on her alone they rested their hopes? I will add this also, that with an abundance of natural talent and a desire for education and a keenness of zeal,

she did not even endure to appear unversed in the good things of discourse, but even in this respect she surpassed many of those distinguished in letters.

4.O treasury of virginity, O splendor of chastity, O beauty of our race, O sole comfort of your parents, crown of the kingdom, adornment of the Romans, how many rivers of tears will worthily lament your misfortune? What soul, even of stone or adamant, would not be broken by the recital of your virtues? Who could worthily recount your qualities? Would that we had never experienced the trial of your blessings at all, if we were thus destined to fall from them so wretchedly in a moment of time. Myth has fashioned an Orpheus who so exceedingly well attuned his lyre that at its playing even inanimate things were moved; but indeed all this is nonsense (for it is myth); but you truly has the master craftsman of all, the Lord, fashioned as a well-tuned lyre, harmonized in harmonious proportion with the fairest virtues, and playing most harmoniously the all-harmonious melody of virtue, and thus drawing to itself every soul, whether of stone or whatever kind it might be, and sweetening it with the sweetest and honey-flowing addresses, and causing it to leap with the all-delightful encounters. What could one call you that would attain to what is your due? A house of God? An image of all virtues? A divine statue? A hearth of divine graces? An image of beauty? An impression of the kingdom? A seal of our race? A treasury of piety? A university of all good things? A lodging of all beautiful things? Who would not have admired the beauty of your countenance? Who would not have marveled at the loveliness of your soul? Truly, He who established all this in harmonious order, having lavishly adorned you with all graces, as many as manifest the splendor and beauty of soul and body, and having shown you to our world as an incomparable pillar of beauty, again took you back to Himself, deeming it not fit that you, so fair and good, should dwell in this vile and suffering life, but has encamped you in royal palaces befitting you and your virtue, while it remains for us to groan and lament that we have lost so great a good.

5.But she, O most divine of lords, has departed from this present life, full of wretchedness and all impurity, spotless and blameless, all light, all divine, a pure virgin, a bride of God, having removed to the all-luminous eternal bridal chambers, not snatched away, as it is written, "lest wickedness should change her understanding" (for this is far from the understanding and mind of that unblemished and secure one in all piety and gravity), but, as one who could not bear, being so disposed, to be defiled by the wretchedness of this present life, she departed to God; for she could not endure to live amidst those things over which wickedness has dominion, it being possible for her to be with the blessed and to partake of the divine glory forever and to enjoy divine blessedness. Therefore, she is not to be mourned, nor should we beat ourselves and lament beyond measure, but rather, I would say, we should rejoice with her and be glad, exulting with her and joining in the dances of the blessed, who have obtained their desire and enjoy true joy. And if it were possible now to ask her, "What have you obtained where you have removed, O wondrous one?" she would answer most wisely and truly: "I know you who live in the ephemeral and darkened life, you who are ever struggling with constant affliction and misery and pain and unceasing adversities, differing in no way from those in fetters and gloomy prisons and who die every hour; but I have not died, as you think, but rather I have lived the immortal life, the painless and carefree and unscheming and full of all rejoicing and sweetest pleasure, the blessed and ageless and unneedy and free from all suffering and adversity, which the orders of the bodiless ones live and the choirs of the saints, who insatiably enjoy the unsetting and eternal and truly sweetest light in the participation of God."

6.Does anyone think otherwise? Therefore, since these things are so, to mourn for her, to grieve and lament, is altogether unbecoming for those who are bound to do what is fitting, and not to choose the things of those who directly envy her such enjoyment. For since she is rejoicing and has such exultation and joy as the discourse has described, it is fitting that we also should be comforted and, as far as possible, rejoice with her; for we are commanded to "rejoice with those who rejoice." For even if the fact that you had her to see with the sun and to breathe with the air you considered the greatest of blessings, through whom somehow also better hopes were raised in you and it was a work of prayer for you that she should go before you, she has now departed, leaving the things of your fortune to be borne as it happens, but confirm the matter with more pious thoughts. Consider that just as it was not in your power to bring her into the world in the first place, so neither to keep her back, since He who brought her forth takes her back; for He alone has authority over life and death, who, being all-powerful, has the means to make up the deficiency from it, whenever and as He wills, and with much abundance, if He should meet with the thanksgiving that is due. Receive the blessed Apostle instructing, "In everything give thanks"; for he does not distinguish the word to some; for if the pious discourse ascribes it to Him to administer all things for our benefit, how is He not to be thanked in all things, even if the reasons for each of His divine providences according to them are unknown to us who are men, our understanding not having the power to penetrate His resourceful wisdom? For, says the prophet, "He has made darkness His hiding place"; but in time afterwards, nevertheless, His manifold wisdom, even through what seem to us evils or troubles, accomplishes some good and beneficial end, as we learn both from the holy teachers and experience testifies to the many things that happen daily.

7.Therefore, O most divine of lords, together with the most divine queen, I will offer you from one source a natural and easy and most sufficient counsel of consolation. For to bear with ease the burdens of fortune and for each thing to acknowledge grace to Providence, and to deem it to be of the highest wisdom and sincere piety, you have long prepared yourselves for such a philosophy. The infallible testimony of this are the excesses of the preceding incurable trials, the weight of which it appeared that you alone could bear. For the things that dispel the cloud of grief you have not only naturally devised from within, but also generously gathered from many sources. And these are the opinions of wise and God-loving men, precepts comforting those who grieve for the loss of children or the bringing on of trials, which indeed is shown to be the clearest example of prudence. For as those who sail in fair weather, says Plutarch, also have ready the things for the winter, so those who are wise in prosperity have also prepared the aids for adversity. And indeed the best of pilots is not he who saves the ship in calm and windless weather, but he who saves it in storm and wave. And to whom more than to your magnificence is it fitting to set up an example of prudence for all men, of the most perfect and complete, and in addition to this, of unadulterated piety? For gold, says someone, is tested in fire, but the wisdom of a man and his faith towards God in the bringing on of trials. For why did you take care to mix the remedies for sickness, if you would not now use them, the disease having come on? Therefore, having gathered those counsels and opinions of the teachers, prepared beforehand for this need, and having placed your inner hearing together with the outward senses under them, rid yourselves of the grievous disease of grief. For who of such physicians could be more trustworthy to you, so many being such, and so wise, in the things pertaining to such medicine, I mean the healing of souls? And who more compassionate and gentle than these, who sympathize with our weaknesses and concede indeed to grieving moderately and "weeping with those who weep," but restrain only the excess of despondency, and

thus imperceptibly not long after uproot the pain? For they did not utterly forbid to shed tears for those who depart hence (for that is inhuman), but indeed to mourn for death, because it has become the price of our sin and at the same time because it becomes a kind of breathing out of the weight of grief, and someone having wept has been lightened and become easier on himself, but they forbid the excess as harmful to those who use it and as insulting to God.

8.But that one thing above all and before all I remind you of, which Alexander is said to have said to the wine-pourer who had dropped a golden goblet and for this reason was distressed: "Take courage, boy; for wherever it is, it is ours." This also you yourselves could say to yourselves concerning that golden and fragrant, as it were truly, and myrrh-breathing not goblet but bride of Christ, and very fittingly: "Take courage, soul; for wherever our child is, she is ours." For indeed that blessed one, both here before was yours and there now much more so. For you have not lost your daughter, but have given her back to the God who gave her, to whom you will also give yourselves back one day. You have not lost, but have treasured her up. You are separated from her for a time, but you will be united with her eternally in the Lord, and the pleasure of the company after this will far surpass the former, not in length of time remaining, but also in the greatness and beauty of the enjoyment. From the world to the super-worldly, from the creatures to the creator, from the tragedy here (for such are our affairs, even if they enjoy any degree of prosperity) to the pure and uninterrupted joy and divine blessedness has the blessed one passed. She is now with the all-blessed and renowned queen, her namesake and paternal grandmother, partaking with her of the heavenly kingdom. For both here prepared themselves most excellently for this. She is with all the blessed, fair with the fair, blessed with the blessed who have gone before. In the blessed choir of blessed virgins, she shines forth most reverently, spotless and undefiled and completely free from all the pollutions with which we who endure in this muddy life and its turmoils are defiled, and as a firstfruit or tithe, the most precious and choice of what you have reaped in this present life, has been offered to the common Father, above every offering of the most costly, above a multitude of talents of gifts, through whom also He will be gracious and merciful provider to you in all things that you need from Him in both lives, who also sufficiently and completely may comfort you, and who having permitted the trial, may send down consolation from above.

I beg those who encounter this to pardon me in those things which the law of the panegyric discourse has compelled me to use by way of exaggeration.

ORATION 5. FOR THEODORE SOPHIANOS

5. Oration for Theodore Sophianos, nephew of Scholarius (1456).

† Gennadius the Monk: Epitaph for his son, Lord Theodore Sophianos.

1.While you were still living this earthly life, O my fairest and best, it would not have been possible to ask you such things; but now (for we do not suppose you will take offense, having become superior to human passions) bear with us as we first inquire. If you had sent us before to the tomb, as indeed was fitting, you would not have hesitated also to add a song to the tomb, such as you were accustomed to sing, being exceedingly pleasant and participating not a little in the discourses of Isocrates and Demosthenes, as far as concerns the grace of words, but very much in the thought of the philosophers. But you will not now be angry with us for your silence, my hopes having been reversed; you will not condemn a grievous disregard for virtue, or unkindness, or arrogance, or unseasonableness, or any of the unseemly things? We, for our part, believe that even while we lament and mournfully invoke your virtue and friendship, you will consider nothing foreign to be done; but we attend to you speaking and answering, something very spiritual and heavenly. And indeed we have understood; it is not those elegant and theatrical things, but true and venerable and becoming to the occasion that you wish us to say, and saying such things, what is fitting for all will be preserved. Therefore, thus also we speak.

2.You were nurtured fortunately, O my dearest child, in the beginning by parents reasonably good and moderately possessing both wealth and other things. You were educated by us, as long as you were able to hear lessons, and the decorum of your character flourished very nobly, and you seemed to shame neither your parents nor our hopes. Having begun also with studies, you advanced with the quickness of your nature, and of what was always received by you, more was acquired from within, and discovery conquered learning. In grammatical disciplines you were such; in rhetorical hearings you appeared much better than yourself; and in time also having touched upon the discourses of philosophy, so that indeed not long after you received all things with pleasure in your soul and with due zeal advancing accordingly, here indeed you showed the strength of your nature and the grace from above; for not without divine dispensation did you seem to me to bring so much to your nature for the practice of such great things. And other things indeed you might have yielded to someone of your equals who were then practicing such things with you; but concerning philosophy and dialectic, both to contemplate and to do what is proper to the art, to show indeed the truth as it ought to be shown, and to refute the apparent wisdom, how great you were, even the Italians who then used our language to you, trained from their discussions among themselves the same things well, have often testified to you in the royal palaces then and in many places, that indeed not according to age nor according to the discussions in the city did you have the power concerning these things, but as if having learned in the schools of Gaul in much time or divinely inspired. And as for the other language of the Italians, although having cared for it incidentally, you had it almost equally with us who have taken care of it diligently and for a longer time. I pass over your grace in letters and other writings, in which you did not strive to be more elegant for plausibility than more accurate for truth.

3.But with these things you adorned rather your country and us your teachers, and those who shared with you in the praises for these things were, one immediately after you, and another after him, and another otherwise lagging behind. But what was your own adornment, and of which no one of your age shared with

you, and which as a certain paternal inheritance from above descended into your soul, I say were my father and your grandfather, your grandmother, your maternal great-grandfather, those I say and up to the farthest times, of all of whom your good mother was the last, namely, prudence, moderation, silence in season, speaking in season, thinking more than speaking, being impregnable to all when speaking, which is also very admirable in addition to these things. Above all you were God-fearing, with divine fear fortifying both kidneys and mind and tongue and every limb and every sense, a clear friend, a lover of beauty, a lover of truth; no one saw you mingling with any of those shameless youths; no one saw you doing any of the things unbecoming to a wise man and one advanced in years, nor did anyone hear you saying such things. For these things you were also known to kings, and you led that entire royal household, as long as it existed, by the beauty of your virtue, and being seen you made a feast for those who knew you and a wonder to all, as it were some foreign example of noble youth, now for the first time having entered into human life, with whom even those advanced in years would have been desirable to contend.

4.We were judging at that time, and you were cooperating by neither taking sides nor doing anything before the defense of the laws, and instead of all the gain that was offered to you from many sources, you were procuring for us the reputation of judging rightly, with whom you were acting in concert. We were arguing against the opponents of the faith, and you were preparing for death for the sake of the truth, ready to submit your neck to the sword even before us. We were being led by faintheartedness in something, and you were carefully bringing us back to what was necessary. We seemed to be faring ill in anything, and who was the one who encouraged us if not you? I pass over my own case; fearful things were surrounding the country, and who was more zealous than you either to spend or to guard or to fight in the front ranks or to support those fighting in the front ranks from your resources? The war was at hand, and you alone or almost alone having been left behind, where you were stationed, with many wounds, which you received with your hands and your face, with the ladders themselves you pulled down those who were trying to ascend through them to the wall, until you indeed from the sea yielded nothing of what they desired to do, while those from the land, having come through a deserted part of the wall, plundered everything, those who had promised to guard it having betrayed it by fleeing. Then indeed finally you, running to us, not by any prior agreements, but rather by the guidance of the superior, where you hoped to find him, but could not even search, since the whole place had been occupied by the enemies, and unexpectedly seeking the same corner for the one not expected, at the same time bringing the servant and the shield-bearer; and I indeed thought that the one groping was an enemy, but you were the one longed for; and immediately indeed we escaped the rush of the enemies, but on the next day we were captured together. Then therefore not only did I enjoy your endurance, in not giving in to the weight of the misfortune and being comforted by words and encouraged by deeds, but also to my fellow captives (for many were assigned to us under the same master) you became a great remedy for the suffering, and even to the barbarians themselves you were unapproachable, they respecting your firmness and abstaining from all the things that they used towards the others, either torturing or imprisoning or compelling them to serve beyond their strength, and either harming them mercilessly or insultingly mocking them. And you immediately freed my mother, with God's help, while still being a slave, and you would have averted me from the evils that followed, if you had me persuaded; but it was, as it seems, unavoidable, since the heavenly justice was pursuing our wickedness in all our life.

ORATION 5. FOR THEODORE SOPHIANOS

5.And when God freed you, two or three friends serving the decree, and labyrinths of misfortunes held us again under the guise of freedom, you did not endure to be separated while your father was suffering, nor did you like to manage your own affairs in safety, but choosing to share all things with us, while doing something good for us privately you were risking yourself, and while sharing the danger daily, until indeed this our paradoxical removal to the holy Mount Athos. And the other citizens indeed, some by necessity, and others making the common fate a pretext and after their own freedom, all the continents and all the islands as it were a great burden receive them asking for it even until now; but you appeared burdensome to none of your friends, you were ashamed of none of your relatives, you troubled none of the strangers, but from the time of the destruction until now you have behaved freely and reverently towards both your own and others, God providing you with the necessities and no man. I cut short, being unable to go through all things, and those the greatest. You wished indeed to leave us here, devoting ourselves to God and having taken the opportunity of the desired quiet and the place proper for the time, and we wished to send you out fitted out in time; but obeying your mother and us and all your friends, you remained without grief and with pleasure the time as a blameless lamb," as the scripture says of our Jesus; and you indeed, being well led by the spirit of Jesus, were persuaded by those who seemed to you to advise you best, they not knowing the divine will, but suggesting what seemed expedient, with which indeed the divine will also coincided, as it were, and escaped you and all of us.

6.Who could tell of your philosophy in your illness? Who of your concern for your mother? Who of how many things concerning the eternal life, to which you knew you were being transferred by God, both of souls you instructed and you philosophized with words, both inquiring of those present with you from time to time, and yourself discovering with accuracy and preparing them in deeds, having prepared both soul and body from afar? Who of the revelations from God, which called you to the blessed life from earthly suffering? Long discourses and periods of time would your narrations become, my dearest Theodore. I obscure your beauty in the meagerness of such a discourse, wishing to sketch you; I wrong the great statue of virtue, trying to join it with small and wretched joints extemporaneously. For a great theater and if it is possible to say, a worldwide one and speeches laboriously wrought, such as we have often woven for many, or even much better than ours, were needed for your gifts from God; but from an old father now and one who has renounced all ambition in words and has determined to be silent as you know for the rest of his life, and especially since you have given us such a melody from the beginning, even so much is enough for you of the good things from a brief survey and thus poorly and without ambition. Will someone then blame us having mourned for such a one so great in virtue? Or will he say that we have bestowed something great on the one lying dead? And when was our breast struck, reasonably and very rightly struck for him? When did we lift up our cheeks, if ever and now worthy to suffer this? Who was the time for us to fill the air with cries and lamentations except the present? To sprinkle our head with dust? To endure no one comforting?

7.What so great a loss has ever befallen our life? But if you should mention the destruction of the country, but this is the fruit of that tragedy, this also reminded us of all those things. Of those indeed we were experiencing the trials then, with this fairest and wisest one being together and sharing in all things; but now having stirred up the memory of all things, it is lamented. And then indeed being alive and having the senses and all our own good from God, we both were mourning the common misfortunes; but now having been deprived of both soul and eye and hands (for these was he to us), we have become destitute both of son

and friend and brother and all good things. And what greater subject for lamentations and wailings has ever been or will be for a mother than after losing all her own and this one too, who was instead of all to her both of those present, so excelling in virtues and so exceedingly loving and being loved? And what is greater, he even spoke the last things to us and having his head on our hands and knees he uttered the final words; but the mother did not see the statue of virtue being equipped for that life, she was not with him being prepared for the heavens with such great understanding; for she would have lessened some of the grief seeing the soldier of Christ so gracefully being transferred to the better lot; but once when I also was filled with tears (for having suffered unbearably in my heart, I could not hide the passion) and having bitterly wailed, he reproved me carefully, saying, "Where now, father, have you forgotten the things of the philosophers? Do you endure to grieve, God commanding thus?" And near to the time of leaving the body and us, having said "Glory to the Father" twice up to "Amen," he uttered nothing further from this. Such things even in any way the mother if present would have restrained and now remembering.

8.But no one could say that the cause of our lamentations is not the greatest; but what it is necessary to do for these things, both we and the sister ought rightly to be aware of concerning the child. In common indeed both I and she ought to shudder at the divine will and not seem to contradict it, to acknowledge thanks to God for the virtue of the child, to consider the pious and holy departure a great gift both of God to him and to those who love him, to hope not long to be with the blessed one, to bear what cannot otherwise happen, to have God instead of him and of all the relatives who have departed, and to fasten all hopes from there. But separately the mother considering the passion of Jesus and his most pure mother to think that she has suffered nothing worthy of grief and sorrow, and I do not say the deeper things of the mystery, but how Jesus indeed was nailed to the cross, being God, having put on the man for the sake of men, and being sinless, was put to death with robbers and murderers, and she who bore without pains and seed the so great one grieved indeed, but endured and was not suffocated. But your son, sister (for I will turn the discourse to you who are not present), being a man and born according to man and a servant of the crucified one, has been deemed worthy of such great favor and honor both living and ending and having died, and so many tears have been shed for him by so many and such great fathers, as not even from many parents would have flowed, not mourning the having died, but rather calling back the virtue and the beauty of the young man and sympathizing with our old age, as it is likely to be grieved and weary. But my own, it is not even necessary to say, how many things for consolation both the discourse and the experience of many misfortunes and the order and the counsels of all of you, the brothers and friends, suggest.

9.But O my sweetest thing and name, O my wisest Sophian, O my most divinely graced Theodore, O longed for by all who see you, O soul both virginal and guileless, you indeed have been perfected, having been allowed to live so much in the shadow of this world, as much as to know this and to condemn it, and you have been snatched to God, the true father and master and friend, those who brought you the message of the snatching away being two witnesses in turn or angels under the guise and names of witnesses; therefore also for your remains both George there and Demetrius here certain guards are stationed, brought together not by our, but by a more divine providence, so that all things may agree with the revelations, and they attend to the body with the images, whose soul having snatched from the evils of life, they have it rejoicing with the whole choir; but I am ashamed of myself being so much left behind in virtue of the younger one, and I beg you, send consolation from God to your mother and to us, comforting in dreams, breathing in reality, and bring it

about, so that having been freed henceforth from trials or patiently enduring those coming, we may be with you sooner, where you yourself said you desired a little before the departure, having looked at us sweetly and having added something of the more unspeakable, which I do not have the power to comprehend before the exit. †

LAMENTATION OF SCHOLARIUS ON HIS LIFE

6. Lamentation of Scholarius on the misfortunes of his life (1460).

† Lament of Gennadius: June 22nd, eighth indiction; on Mount Menicius, in the monastery of the Honorable Forerunner.

1.Alas for the pain that grips my heart! Alas for the constraints that confound my reason! Alas, alas, what shall I become? Woe is me, what shall I do? I wish to seek the nature of stone, but it is not expedient for me; to be silent, but I am bursting; to fill the air with cries, but I am ashamed of my station; to reflect soberly on my misfortunes, but their multitude and magnitude confound me; I seek one who will comfort me, and there is no one among men; I seize upon whatever comes to hand in my perplexity, and it becomes an addition to my misfortune. Alas! To what necessity have I been driven, wretched man! In what labyrinths of unseasonableness have I been enclosed! Just is the judgment of the Lord; all-wise is the divine predetermination; I was not worthy, therefore, to encounter more fortunate times; I have been placed in valleys of lamentation, which are fitting for me. O most God-fearing father of the men known to me, O mother, not differing at all from those numbered among the sanctified, what were you piously striving to bear fruit, while a most terrible drought possessed the land? Why did you bring me forth into life, foreseeing the wickedness of the times? Why did you care for the beauty of my soul, about to be in such darkness? You yourselves departed even before your time, very well indeed; for you prayed for the better things, and these were, and the divine nodded assent. Why did you not also immediately snatch away the beloved one? But if you endured me, left behind to suffer ill, in some better hopes concerning the common weal, now in the height of my own and the common misfortunes, in the ultimate extremes of evils, why do you neglect me more? With what hopes and considerations do you make my affliction secondary, either seeking on behalf of your child and not succeeding, or exacting penalties for the transgressions of my youth, not bearing a grudge, but educating, or seeing some gain from here for the one loved, as in some melting furnace of trials you bear me, that you may receive me brighter? Would that it were so; for if I am to be justified even gratuitously, if it is destined for me to be cleansed, the temporary affliction is a boon; but now you most beautifully aim at the divine purpose concerning those being educated, but you do not perceive my indolence because of your love for your children; I have escaped your love, having been profited indeed from afflictions, but not wishing to be profited, and resisting the divine purpose and speaking against it; for I do not make the afflictions a subject of all philosophy, but of despondency; I do not bear the cautery hopefully, but through faintheartedness I am burdened by the one operating paternally; I wish to become pure without being cleansed, to rejoice in flesh and spirit, to live both here and there, to indulge in pleasure at the same time and to philosophize, to store up in ease the fruit of endurance.

2.But concerning these things I will beseech you last and God who gives all things; but now first I will bewail my own fortunes, not all of those that I have experienced in all my life; for neither diseases, nor dangers on land and sea and fears concerning living, nor deaths of relatives, nor any other such hardship, as God averted them or as it is necessary to bear by nature happening, nor slanders and deceits, which were constant with me throughout my life; for the prosperity that prepared those plots against us was gone, if indeed envy, they say, creeps towards those who have; those contending about temporary things against me now are not; we are in mountains and having nothing to do with men; it is necessary only to pray for those

who have troubled us from God and up to this point to be reminded of those shadows; for shadows indeed and even something worse than these are the disturbances from the wicked and able only to trouble those who are alarmed about the opinions of the multitude; but we both by judgment and law being armed against them and attending only to those things which is all necessity; otherwise neither from all things were the painful things to us then, but from a few and as it is likely rather insignificant ones, but in Europe and Asia and almost all parts of the earth there was some account of us and of ours, God hearing the paternal prayers and through all things setting my fortune above the unjust plotting of those who hate; and otherwise indeed nothing is more rotten than a slanderer, God and time and the zeal of those wronged convicting, unless some other dispensation of the superior concerning those being slandered should allow the wickedness of the slanderer to proceed. But concerning respites and visitations, which God, comforting the grief for the difficult things, sent like a most benevolent father, what is it necessary even to dare to say? For the afflictions indeed had the very nature of human affairs as their cause and our ingratitude, through which God curtailed the enjoyment of the good things sent from Him, implanting in us a sense of it, not willing to use the gifts with humility; but the excess of the respites depended on the benevolence alone of the one giving. Praise is fitting and glory to the one who endured to adorn and cheer and cherish so patiently a very base intention and soul and life, and with such things, which I did not even hope to easily obtain in dreams, of which I did not bring any preparation even of the one smallest before receiving, or after having obtained, a worthy grace. So great and all-conquering beyond reason is the divine dispensation concerning me the useless servant. Therefore, on account of these things there is no account of all those unpleasantnesses; but I am grievously afflicted at the destruction of our race; a race, which of those on earth was the fairest, shining with wisdom, flourishing with prudence, blooming with good laws, replete with all good things. Who does not confess the Greeks to have become the best of all men? Who does not try to refer to them in the good things that exist, even if he is Italian, even if he is barbarian? But now a great shame is revealed for the race; for we are filled everywhere with such just reproaches, so that even we agree with those who bring them forward and even first become accusers with a bad conscience of the present ugliness of our kin, if there is anyone to whom it is fitting to consider these things.

3.Alas! What shall I first lament? The slavery of the Greeks in their bodies, or the corruption in their souls and those still seeming to be preserved? The utter loss of the venerable things among us, or the dishonor of those still remaining? The insults of the barbarians against the faith, or the scandals that have reigned in the souls of the faithful? Those who are daily departing from the faith everywhere, or those who are in labor with apostasy? The extreme humiliation and crushing of the church, so as not even to preserve the order of an image of what a little while ago was left to us until our time, or the other worthlessness of those administering, or more appropriately to say, overturning? The present misfortune among them unbearable to hear and to the eyes turning away from the common evils, or the complete destruction only not being seen? The irregular lives of the laity everywhere and the painted Christianity without the true substance, or the most terrible negligence of those on the platform? And whether shall I lament their ignorance and their lack of learning, or the voluntary and in what they know neglect? The scarcity of religious in all our climate, or the rusticity of those being, or the impropriety of those now being called to the platform from every pursuit worse and barely able to practice the syllables, or the manner of consecration having nothing sacred nor common in the hopes concerning the grace from heaven? And altogether soon not even such a

one will be found receiving the order, another such deluge of the faith unspeakable; and even now except in very few numbers everywhere are misfortunes, and they practice religion however it happens, and nothing of the mysteries is performed according to reason or law, but singing whatever happens and doing they depart, caring only how they may collect the toils of the poor and store them up at home, but of the souls attending to them they neither care, nor know how even they should care; and those deceived attend as saviors to those not such, and they think it is well for Christians not to be compelled by anyone either to observe any of the laws of Christ, nor knowing, with no one teaching. I do not wish to proceed further concerning such things; for it is better for the common people to be ignorant as in incurable evils both the nature of the diseases and the causes, nor is it necessary to shake among the sheep the hopes concerning the shepherds for fear of greater evils, which also it is fitting to be silent about; but perhaps God out of greatest clemency will neither examine now the Christian life according to his laws with the endurance of the trials for the faith beyond every other form of the faith being pleased, nor will he deprive of the grace of the mysteries those hoping to be saved through them because of the unsuitability of those officiating and the deficiencies, nor will he exact second penalties of the reasoned judgment having overtaken all for ignorance of what is necessary because of prior transgressions. Concerning the sheep therefore it is not at all unlikely to hope such things in the divine kindness; but the shepherds, the workers of the sacred vineyards, the tillers of Christ's land will see clearly in deeds what is threatened to them everywhere in the scriptures. Concerning these things therefore, as I said, nothing further, but I turn back to the first subject of the misfortunes, to the source of these most turbid streams, to the final setting of the sun that once shone on all, after which immediately everywhere is deep night and incurable, to my own particular blow, which having received a share of the common calamities I have.

4.O my fatherland and common to all those called from Christ, O shelter once and light and life to those from everywhere carefully attending to you and needing the gifts from God having become to you as from a mother and sun and sweetest spring; O city, even if poor in the last times and homeless for the greater part and living in fears daily and naked of the spoken-of abundance in all things, yet free and nurturing such as those who dwell there and nurturing them, what is greater, for Christ; city, in reputation indeed of ancient superiority and with the remnants of former prosperity deservedly receiving reverence from all, but in nature and judgment of those inhabiting and in the harmony through all of the orders not allowing any of the now flourishing nowhere cities to compete with your old age for primacy, most pleasant to the genuine ones to live in and to practice all arts extraordinarily and to be fortunate in all forms of life and intentions and dignities and to emulate with the praises of the mother against all men and to bring forth genuinely both the fairest of the races among men, which first in you you joined and through each other adorned, most pleasant to the sojourning strangers to enjoy certain unexpected things as if snatched to another heaven, and to be delighted with all the graces in you and to relate them once to their own with gains having returned of all kinds, not as returning from a foreign land, but as if from the common fatherland sojourning somewhere else to their relatives, impossible to be narrated to those who have not even once seen, but to those who have often sojourned arousing a sight always more paradoxical than the hearing, on account of which also we abstain now from the impossible narration of your beauties; O how, fairest fatherland, deprived of you do we bear and how do you bear us not having of your children the most loyal? Or rather how, you having gone from among men, is it still tolerable for us to live? For you are gone, and still seeming to remain.

LAMENTATION OF SCHOLARIUS ON HIS LIFE

5.O kinsmen, you are to me a glory on account of virtue, but otherwise living not humbly; O choirs and assemblies of friends, from every age and rank and every more venerable pursuit coming as to a father, as to a brother, and being together indeed with reverence, but separated everywhere preserving the same carefulness, in royal palaces, in marketplaces, in festivals, at home, making our praises a subject to their spouses and children, otherwise perhaps obliging with favors, but as to the loving them exactly and being affected together not even able to comprehend how it was. O multitude of interlocutors and beauty in virtues, with whom as with sons, as with servants, we used the time of frankness, and we cared how they might live well, not more acquiring prosperity for them than the adornment from them for the fatherland, and after the second form all were to me, as to a father and guardian running with reverence and pleasure daily, where are you now, dearest children? You have perished together with the fatherland and with our hopes for it, some having departed from living a little before the common misfortune, others having become the work of impious hands at it, not having endured to live in slavery, others having drunk indeed of the common cup, but having found the prize of virtue the end with peace from God, each one more radiant and more pious than the other. For if any of you were left behind somewhere now, he would be leading a wretched life under poverty (for neither is there now the pay nor the skill) and bearing it under a philosophy other than and as much as according to Christ; but we were being deceived creating a succession of wisdom and discourses for the one not going to be shortly, adorning with such zeal and virtue and philosophy and with the fairest of the Greek language those about to be almost extinguished before appearing. Where are the books collected by us for the common use of the educated? Where are those long writings, some wrought by us for theology, others for dialectic, others for the other philosophy, others befitting a rhetor and according to all matter and form of discourses, others translated from the other language, through which a long memory of our struggles was being prepared? Some of them have been trampled then, others have been brought to neglect not altogether unluckily; but where anything of the land here is left behind, it lies a vain burden. O those discussions upon all things, which we underwent being compelled, when wishing to be at peace with all men, and not more for our own glory than the common weal we accomplished successfully, as it is possible to hope, well and with the glory of the truth; O those applauses not only from our own and those standing with us, but also arising from the opposite faction, making not only other things of the discourses, but also the unambitious and altogether presbyterial economy a subject for the applauses; for not contending, but defending the glory of the race and being persuaded by those compelling, we held the judgment of discourses with peace; but wise were those with whom we contended, and for this reason rendering equal for equal.

6.Alas! And how can I remember those audiences without tears, of the king, the brothers, the magnates, the bishops, those from the clergy, the monks, those from the marketplace, the townsmen, the strangers, to whom sitting in the triclinium I conversed of the divine word? But I was destined to be the last one to stand there the last herald of the truth, both what is in dogmas and what is in customs. Therefore once as a certain bad omen, wishing to construct something else, but the discourse having turned out for the worse, I said that they would no longer hear such discourses, and it became the last of those conversations, thus happening; and it was the sixth year from above of the terrible things, beginning to be compounded from there. And others praised some things, others others of those conversations with the benefit from them, but all in common what God provided in the words ease; for rising up from the tumults in the law courts and the other services and the teachings at home, which we set forth for those gathered from time to time both Greeks and

Italians, and the other occupations, which the ranks provided, I began ready for the need to bring forth whatever God might give. O those judgments, in which sitting before I made these a subject of philosophy, explaining laws, giving place for others to explain, treating beforehand those about to be defeated with gentleness and indulgences and the accuracy and brevity of the examinations again sending all away thanking, a thing most difficult for those judging; I had become bitter only to the violent and those not wishing to proceed justly with the judgment, so as even to extend the bitterness to the king himself often; and he bore it gladly, trying, not troubling as it seemed, I mean that John, with whom all our things have died terribly; and these were not a display of power, but an example of how those after us who will preside over the ministry ought to act; for of this the most of our discourse in toiling was, not looking to the present good each time, but how there might be after us many able to do the same things; and may there be from here some memory finally of our zeal concerning the undertaking, and for the sake of this, having received that not of anyone else the worth; therefore not only the accuracy in judging, but also the other purity of the soul we showed to all in neither receiving a gift, nor respecting a person, nor enduring any public and manifest recompense instead of the things expected from God. O those daily orations both before the king himself and separately, others proposing one thing, others another, and as in a theater all hanging to hear him solving the problems; O the favor and honor rendered to us by all; O the pleasure with which they received us, considering the day a festival, on which we once departed from the palace, and as if returning from a long absence embracing us after that; and if we postponed the journey to them, they would flock most kindly to my house.

7.Two things indeed console our grief for these things: both that we have rendered those toils unrequited to God and to the affection towards the one who bore us, with how many things we showed kindness towards both relatives and strangers, and that having anticipated us, they willingly left all things to more pious other considerations and fear of being deprived of them even unwillingly; for the things about to happen were in no way hidden from us, and it was evident to others also having sense and attending to God. But that everything for which we were zealous was spent in vain and the memory concerning them has sunk together with the city, which being saved, our glory also would have been preserved, transmitting the succession of good things to the time after this, this is an addition to our misfortunes, this a perpetual subject of tears. But as I said before, the things due to others of my fellow citizens were all justly ordained from God; and I indeed was fortunate from God to receive that whole foreign land and to use it rightly for the common good, but I was not worthy to obtain what I attempted, since with countless other acts of ingratitude I grieved the one who gave; and it remains for me now, being alive, to be consumed with the memories of all, and what is worse, to seem in the lament of the fatherland and of the good things experienced in it and in the lamentations for the whole race to weave those shadows idly; but as such, and before losing them, we avoided them, but we remember now, as much as to lament the ambition of the fatherland concerning the most beautiful things even in the last times, in which it was going to be ambitious for all time through us, if it were preserved.

8.But what are these things to me? I am silent about the most terrible sword still, the precipice, and the gallows. I fled indeed, O dearest fatherland, the reminders of the evils of you and me, having unwillingly returned to the one lying down, and if any reward from God for the hardships in you was set before me, it was necessary even to overlook this by not being able to bear the arrows continually borne against the soul, from which we saw, from which we heard how many times, from which we remembered; for all your present

wealth of the existing things is a gallows to pious considerations and sights, as if someone should see a most sacred mother and known to all men for the beauty of virtue from some unexpected change frolicking in the marketplace and behaving unseemly, even if a modest child being such should be torn apart and having fled somewhere should immediately disappear. You therefore I fled because of these things and denied, not even willingly having accepted such a sight from the beginning, and I would flee continually, unless some strongest of all necessity should persuade the conscience or force the intention; but the echo of your misfortunes and your ugliness drives me everywhere, so that I am even in danger of enjoying a small and faint part of that flight; for everywhere your children carry burdens to those who see them because of poverty, but some weigh them down more with their wickedness, boasting false things, slandering each other, on the one hand blaspheming against those not having the means to help them, but to those who pity them pretending gratitude until they receive, but most of them making not the necessity of begging and the need, but the habit of wealth a pretext, as many as after the slavery are wealthier in their returns, having before little or nothing; and this too is your, O fairest my fatherland, misfortune, such ones indeed to be preserved and to live, but those noble ones to be removed from the midst, and preserving the order of men, but to those indeed this as in evils was a good fortune; others of your plants wander about, some piteously having their appearance and outward condition changed through forced slavery disgracefully, but others having also corrupted their soul more terribly, which one would not excessively lament, some being bent by grief at the unavoidable evils, but others being struck by shamelessness, and having considered their parents, all friends indeed, as I said before, and some even having led a life irreproachable before God; but we are not able even to weep for them being seen or to show those who grieve together with the fear of the avengers, unless having been separated somewhere and enclosed only in a corner.

9.I pass over the many reminders of your misfortunes scattered everywhere on the earth and everywhere grieving our flight; but what is greatest of all for despondency especially for me, this I add; for the other things also touch every pious soul. You were from the beginning a metropolis to Christians; you were contemporary with the boldness of Christianity, with the reign of the pious emperors; as from a spring through you flowed the streams of all piety everywhere, both as many as in dogmas and religions and as many as in laws, under which we were going to live, and for this reason while your flower was flowing little by little, even everywhere the threefold beautiful was being correspondingly dimmed; but since you have been closed up, you have been blocked, you have been brought down, you have been uprooted, and all things have partaken of your destruction and disappearance or will partake sooner, even if it should still seem somehow to be preserved. And the enslavements of cities and nations and governments I do not mention, being evident, both as many as have happened and as many of the rest are about to happen now; but all wisdom has been ignored, and of the languages among men the fairest as much as fairest has gone, so that scarcely do some perceive the color concerning it and with dimmer indeed the perceptions, so as not only of wisdom, but also to become bereft of education this place; but of sacred dogmas no one even perceives anywhere, not even as much as I of your having to dance or play the lyre, but they believe only in the shadows of their ancestors, and if someone should ever expound to them inquiring about the common opinion of the church concerning anything, some are stones only for a lyre, but others seeming to differ from the others even blame, deeming it necessary to be placed rather with the fables of old women, with which they adorn themselves to the boors, than with the most unerring of the inspired and wise dogmas; but of true religions

the most in most parts has gone; but the laws of Christ, through which the way of salvation is accomplished alone, are neither preached, nor known, nor observed; for these things follow each other, Paul says, but a certain lifeless faith everywhere buzzes around, and such as in the last times the divine Paul himself has said it will be; "having a form of godliness," he says, "but denying the power thereof," after enumerating their other misfortunes.

10.And we once indeed willingly renounced the tumults of the world and the good things together, not only those which we had in you alone, being content with the moderate ones by the affection, but those which we were able to be with everywhere on earth greater; and we fled even after these things, God cooperating, who as was fitting alone closed up the unfortunate throne and the evils connected with it, which no one having a free soul would endure willingly; but your misfortune shows the purpose of our flight also fruitless almost everywhere; for to establish the throne from non-existence and as many things as are connected with the throne, was of no one except us and of the divinely given to us preparation, let it be said with it; therefore even unwillingly indeed, we endured however, being persuaded that it is God who drives us, whom we were conscious of being conscious with us neither having ever desired such a thing in the former times, nor having been persuaded often beseeching, but to enjoy a ready and indeed the rule not of our intention we feared it being; and now having willingly fled the throne we miss unwillingly the things proposed in almost the whole life; for we wish indeed to till the earth, but the sea is everywhere, or to sail, but we do not see the sea; and if we attach ourselves to some as fellow craftsmen, some promise to sail on dry land, others to sow in the sea; and if ever each of them should meet with their own places, some sink the work not knowing the nautical things, but others till the earth randomly not knowing what it is necessary to do the farmer; but unseasonableness is everywhere and ignorance and most terrible inexperience and hatred against those knowing anything, or proposing to show, and slander and shamelessness and brutality and destruction, and nothing sound nowhere, so as to be beside oneself from reasonings, if someone should ever see the place of men now inhabited by beasts, if someone choosing could not be saved, neither time, nor place, nor assembly, nor zeal, nor example, nor protector, nor servant, nor one loving according to God, nor grieving together, nor perceiving nor caring for any serious thing, nor able to show anything, nor willing to hear others showing, being able to have no such provision for the philosophy according to Christ, the true and not playing the name. But I pass over the other uncertainties of the future in places filled with every evil and under lords so bitter and brutish, and uncertainties not only concerning our life and the manner of death, but also of every private and common matter to these wretched remnants of the race, with whom we have been allotted alas. Well therefore I said, that through you the fatherland all things to me and to the others the painful things, as the pleasing things before, when with certain remnants of the ancient prosperity of the children you delighted us the last ones at the same time and most unfortunate ones. But what have I suffered? I am in danger even of ignoring myself finally by the passion; for whence is that fatherland now rightly called? What sign bearing and mark? There was when it was; but now the fatherland to us is elsewhere, if you should say the common one of all men, if the private one of the race; for the same now is our fatherland both common and private; there it will see our city, the parents, the friends, the relatives, all the ancestors, all of it venerable, if anyone is worthy, he will see purely there and concerning what it initiates him here.

11.But O mother bearing the name of immortality (for to you also again I will turn the discourse), have you begotten and allowed me to be tried by all these things? Snatch me away being examined now in the last

evils, being afflicted if ever concerning the common things (for of the private ones my own the discourse is weaker), not bearing the last ugliness of the race, not enduring such a life, gather me to yourself and to your beautiful co-dweller; but if you do not have this confidence (for what is there in common for my impurity with your purity?), bring me out only beseeching God, and the divine philanthropy will care for the others; only do not neglect; for you did not neglect even before, but now care for me more warmly. O Christ king, O word of God, O sweetest Jesus, my salvation, my expectation, my delight, my boast (for I will not be restrained by the multitude of sins and greatness to dare to call your most holy name, to hymn your philanthropy, the unspeakable clemency, the extraordinary gifts, both which you have placed in the nature of men in common and of which you have been the author to me your worm; but it is the same to call you and the one who begot you and eternally begets mind and father, the common and first cause of all, and your good spirit, and to the one God all my discourse is thus), I know indeed, most clement king of all and creator, weaving boastings with wailings, but the glory of these is to you indeed the one who gave, but to me the shame, the reproach, having declared myself unworthy of your gifts; but the memory of the painful things is my proof, accusation of my wickedness; for if I were without sufferings, if I were always attending to your wills, there would be something better, and now the respites conquer the afflictions from your great philanthropy, and there is not when we are not fortunate as in evils, I mean the private ones; for the common things are beyond all tragedy and are deprived of all consolation.

12.I have even touched upon those of the same race, and I am persuaded indeed that some of them are foreordained to salvation, whom you alone know and those being such would undergo the same grief for the same things as us; but I indeed sympathizing with those in danger in such a storm, not reproaching, but being weaker than those strongly resisting, I try to bear the inability to bear in wailings and invocations. You therefore having undertaken the pious purpose in what I dared to undertake, and having graciously forgiven the yoked follies by philanthropy, would be customarily merciful; but I ask these things from you, dissolve indeed the trouble of past transgressions confessing these continually and striking the conscience, you would dissolve even gratuitously; for for the voluntary penalties for them I am weak both in intention and body; secure me for the future from the ambushes of the evil one with the weapons of your holy grace and the oversight of gentle angels; then either breathe a boldness surpassing every obstacle, or with the weakness sympathize of the mind and body yielding to the external difficulties and not only failing through itself, but also through the almost everywhere unhelped, and grant me to attend to you intently and to be attached to your desire, but the other things both to admire as happening as you judge and to bear being troubled by you and to acknowledge grace for all things from love, and to live indeed until you command and as you command, and to depart again, whenever and where and however your command should determine; for I am ready for all your sentence, you breathing endurance; may you be only a cure and cleansing, not a sentence of rejection befitting the transgressions. † Glory to God; amen: †

NOTE FROM SCHOLARIUS

III. Discourse at Florence on the religious question.

1. Note of Scholarius to the assembly of the Orientals.

† At Florence: of the most wise Scholarius to our people.

1.To the divine and sacred synod of our holy church, to the most excellent and venerable fathers, George Scholarius [sends] the due reverence. The common precept of all the wise declares that no one ought to offer counsel unless he is called; but I, even though uncalled, am led to do this and send the present discourse to you, knowing that it is an exhortation rather than counsel, and being concerned for the whole state of affairs, and being concerned in part for myself and my parents and relatives, and at the same time knowing your philanthropy and being persuaded that you, even if you are not pleased with what is said by me, will not be angry with me, but will even be grateful for my zeal; for knowing you to be just in other things, I now much more hope that you will maintain this disposition. But it is necessary also to consider my goodwill towards you, for the sake of which I do not appear to have offended either one person or all together, but rather having endured many unpleasant things in silence, which God knows and which no one would easily have endured; for it was not necessary either to grieve anyone or to disturb matters. Looking therefore to this goodwill and considering the present boldness by the necessity of things, thus be pleased to judge the words, my masters and fathers and leaders of all together good things both now and for all time to come.

THE NEED TO RUN CONSTANTINOPLE.

2. On the necessity of aiding Constantinople.

To the Eastern Synod

† Of the most wise Lord George Scholarius, an exhortation for peace and aid to the fatherland; at Florence.

1.I think it is no longer necessary to be silent, my lords and venerable fathers, with the impending dangers and something more than this now persuading us to dare, nor do the present circumstances require many words, being in the heat of danger and scarcely able to be saved with doing much indeed, but saying less; but as for composition and phrasing and rhetorical skill, I have been deprived of most by the present dangers and the grief for them, and with the remaining time I do not see the present opportunity to use it, and at the same time since the speech is to all of you, it is necessary for it to be simple and intelligible to all. May God, whom I would not be ashamed to call as a witness of my goodwill towards you and the fatherland and the whole nation, guide my words, and may he guide you on the path of choosing what is expedient and beginning to do it.

2.That there are some of you who thought that they would defeat the wisdom of the Latins and persuade them to remain in those ancient ways, this I myself also saw, and I greatly admire them, because although being some wise men in other things, they have erred so much in this part, and this even being conscious to themselves and to others that they have a poor preparation for persuading, not only if someone would resist concerning the greatest things, but even if he should wish to deny that the dyad is first in numbers to be even or that man is composed of soul and body and such things, and knowing also that the Latins up to all human resources have examined and practiced dialectic and all science and the highest of all theology; but even if more of us neither ignored the wisdom of the Latins, nor that they will have many resources of arguments to show themselves to be rightly opining, but nevertheless both all those and these, having considered the union with the Latins a thing worthy of all and easiest in addition to these, persuaded themselves and the others to come with pleasure. But let it be supposed that all have had the same opinion and have come hoping that knowing neither the truth nor thinking rightly, they will refute the Latins, and will persuade them willingly or unwillingly to deny their own opinion and thus they will accomplish the union with them. If indeed these things were happening according to plan, perhaps it would have been better, and God, with whom we were all about to be united in the knowledge of the truth and in peace with each other, would not have favored either of the two more than the others, but both those teaching the truth and those having learned it with goodwill he was about to crown equally and unite to himself similarly, but we would have seemed thus to hold the rank of teachers and we would have been delighted with the smoke of fame, which it is in no way fitting for you who seek the spiritual things and have promised to attend to God to desire. But you all see that the Latins have well defended their own opinion, so that no one would have to accuse them, if he would wish to be just. And our common teacher and master says that every word must be established on two or three witnesses, and the civil law thus declares; but they from the common teachers of the church have brought forth six of the greatest in dignity and wisdom and in the struggles for piety (for I omit the others) as witnesses of their own opinion, each of whom it is necessary to judge worthy of all men in the world, and those not simply thus nor incidentally, but as if they were some judges for us of the present doubt, thus speaking distinctly and clearly

and saying the thing sought in the very words, adding also the reasons, as befits teachers, and the parts of the divine scripture, from which having necessarily received this opinion, just as they have collected others from other parts against which teachers being so many and so great and thus clearly introducing this opinion they would not even if they wished have the impudence to resist.

3.In addition to these, they have brought forward others from the common teachers, I mean those from the East, adorned with equal wisdom and dignity, not speaking so explicitly as those, but nevertheless saying the same things as the others, if anyone would wish to examine their words with truth and wisdom together, and they have put forward nothing sophistical nor violent, but all simple and following the divine scripture and the teachers for the proof of their own opinion; and nothing has been said by us against them, to which they do not appear to have answered clearly and nobly and with truth, nor do we have any of the saints openly contradicting them; and if there was one, it was necessary to connect even him with the many by some device and argument much more and more justly than to force such a multitude of teachers against the one; but as to what we think they fall away from this opinion, they also testify that they neither think nor necessarily follow the opinion, but they even say that they believe the same things with us and are brought to the same mind as us, even if they develop it better with the addition of words, and they are not forced to slander or erase any of the saints, but rather they connect the teachers with each other, and they consider this one proof sufficient to have with themselves for thinking and believing the truth, that they do not raise any contradiction and conflict with anyone against any of the teachers, but all their things are full of calmness and concord, this opinion prevailing.

4.Moreover, they approach us as if we were teachers or judges of them, and they beg us to be reconciled to them and not to wish that men thus thinking fraternally with us, and thus agreeing with the common teachers, should be separated for a small pretext, nor do they demand from us the confession of the truth, but they leave this to us, whether we would wish to fully believe and whether we would not think that the hope of salvation brings shame to us; for it is necessary, he says, for the sake of being saved also to confess the faith with the lips, but they consider it sufficient for peace to cease henceforth to accuse them, having provided so many proofs of not lying nor thinking wrongly, so that it is possible for us in another way to practice peace and to enjoy this external and visible splendor and fame, and not even to fear the apostasy of those belonging to us, since the confession of faith will be possible to make not otherwise than before both to them and to us. And the Latins show these things, they say these things, thus they are eager for union with us, thus they do not wish us to do anything shameful or able to harm for the sake of their opinion; but we against all these things will perhaps have resources of arguments, but not at all noble nor decent nor worthy of our virtue and wisdom nor of men wishing to preserve the form and rank of those fathers in those synods, who examined all things with truth and love towards each other. Nor is the contest for us about ordinary things, but about the truth of the faith, with which indeed we hope to be saved and to which to wish to contend is not only shameful, but also full of the greatest danger; for neither is it allowed to deny the teachers, whom we are accustomed to use as ambassadors to God for our sins and to whom the common church has assigned the greatest graces of the struggles for truth and the toils in teaching without the other holiness, for the sake of which we honor them with the second honors after God. Nor will we say that the teachers contradict each other; for this is to confuse all things and to deny all the faith; but to wish to corrupt the faith and to falsify the theology of all the teachers, who is so simple as to believe? Or will not the one

saying this against the Latins also incur laughter? For no other of this accusation would be refuted by more and greater and truer arguments. But shall we put forward the apparent disagreement of the teachers? They will dissolve it indeed very easily, or rather have already dissolved it. But neither is it decent henceforth to seek such things from the Latins; for we also among ourselves are able to connect the teachers. I, being the least of all of us, whenever you command, am ready to do this both privately and publicly and to show to all thus clearly, that through all the teachers of the church have the same opinion concerning the proposed things, and this I will show not in many words, but two hours will be enough for me to persuade all of you no longer to doubt concerning the agreement of the teachers, nor henceforth to have trouble themselves and to cause trouble to the Latins, entrusting the examination concerning these things to a common synod.

5.But indeed, even if it were possible to spend time as if sitting at leisure and having no need for a return, it was not necessary to say empty and vain things concerning divine matters and to resist the external argument and to look only to victory and to say many things, in which it is likely to err something, and these things concerning theology and philosophy not being very able to compete with the Latins, this the misfortune of our affairs has caused, through which the foremost among us touch upon so much theology and philosophy, so as only not to seem altogether uneducated, from abandoned schools indeed, but the ambition concerning studies and discourses having been extinguished and all things having become only of need and necessity. And I am persuaded that not even the Spirit will be very pleased with so much chatter, but will consider us as tempters of him, if having so many aids from the divine scripture, so many from the agreement of the teachers for the matter at hand, then we sit down despising all these things and we will weave words with words, either thinking that in our words we will find something better than the provision from the scriptures, or seeking to receive from the Spirit something clearer than what has been thus brilliantly determined by him; for by these words and such a path I know you are rather being led and will be led even more to discord and strife than to concord.

6.These things therefore being thus, it will be both pleasing to God and pleasing to the teachers of the church and becoming to us and in addition to these easy to accomplish the union now having abandoned many words and to return with this; and nothing at all stands against us for doing what we have come desiring, the opinion of the Latins being testified by so many witnesses and being worthy of being believed from all sides, and we being able to be united to them without even innovating anything concerning the symbol. And indeed you all know well that the union of the church of Christ, although sought by all most of all for many other and more just reasons, the fear from the impious and the things having come to the last degree of misfortune for us, have made us especially both to desire and to strive through many things and as much as possible to bring it near to the end (for I omit all the things in between). It is necessary therefore, holding to the intention, since it is possible and it is fitting, to bring this to an end; otherwise we would seem to be the most foolish of all men, if having endured many things for it, and being moved by the hopes of many good things, and all believing that the dangers will increase for us, the schism having been confirmed, then as if forgetting all these things, we should return with empty hands as they say and having done nothing, and this so fittingly and easily and no one reasonably resisting us in this.

7.Nor is it necessary to attend to those saying that we will have no good from the union and thinking to have a sufficient pretext for this both the races of the Latins being destroyed by the war against each other and attending to their own misfortunes and the affairs of the pope not yet having received order and power,

but being weak and being plotted against in many ways at their peak; for without all the other benefit, which both the pope and the rest of the Latin nations, and things being thus with them, will provide (for our being small, as you also know, is not going to cause them great difficulty; for for the time being they know us needing only security and not fearing the enemies, which they are able to do with not many indeed resources, but with a few ships), I say that even the fame of the union will be sufficient for us not to fear the enemies any longer; for neither is there fear henceforth that they will attack us being near us knowing the allies, since those having often helped us not yet reconciled, now already much more and more eagerly will wish to do this and as it were to repay the alliance as a debt; for neither Latins nor barbarians are ignorant that the first cause of union is the hope of aid and that no other way is left to us, by which we are going to be saved; but on the contrary from the hatred and displeasure towards the Latins having increased for us from our departing thence empty and fruitless, which from the poorly and humbly and with little power returning will immediately be clear to all, and it will no longer be possible for us to hope for salvation and I think the enemies will attack, and not wishing, I think they will have the opportunity.

8.But consider above all also the present necessity, how great it is; for you hear that the barbarian with the greatest power is preparing by land and sea to come against our city, and perhaps, before we learn anything definite, he has arrived or is just about to be present; and you all know that it, without external alliance, will not be able even to resist the assault, but is in danger of becoming a work of the enemies without a fight, being terrified by their mere sight; and if it should resist for a while being besieged, yet no means at all will be able to make it come through unharmed, but it is absolutely necessary for it to surrender; for you remember that when these same barbarians once besieged us from the land, while the wall towards the sea, which is double the rest, remained unguarded (for no one troubled us from there), to what extent of fear and necessity the affairs came to us. Now it is necessary to guard all the wall, and the present military and all the remaining multitude of the city is not even half of what was then, those guarding the third part of the wall and fighting in front did not seem to be sufficient against so great a multitude and so great a preparation of the enemies; for the plague pressing us for so many years has terribly consumed all; and I say it is half, even with us being present there and being counted together; but now the emperor is absent, as if one who is most powerful in all matters, and so many of you are absent in number and so excellent, that you would be enough instead of the greatest alliance if you suddenly appeared; but the mercenaries archers except twenty-five all have gone fleeing; the reasons for which it is fitting to be silent; perhaps they too, like the others, have so far deliberated for themselves. How then is there hope, with such a desertion of bodies, to ward off such a terrible war?

9.If therefore we had not happened to come for the sake of the union nor did we especially desire the union for the sake of being freed from dangers and fears, but doing something else and for another reason we were sitting, it was necessary after that bitter message, having thrown away all things in hand and having disregarded all business, for the sake of which we had come, to seek if we are able to receive the Latins and to communicate well with them, and this is in accordance with both the divine scripture and the teachers of the church; and having found this, immediately to renew the friendship with them, then having prepared ships, some being given by them, others also being bought by us, if possible even selling our own bodies, neither choosing food nor taking sleep, but being in action night and day, to hasten to the aid of our city; for having arrived with a sufficient fleet, we would have been able both to guard it and to make the enemies inactive and to repel and to fight with them, if necessary, and all such things; but it is much more necessary to

do these things, when we would all say that we have come seeking nothing else than the union nor for the sake of anything else than help; and the union being so easy and fitting and about to please God and all men we are now able to do.

10.It is not necessary therefore to delay nor to postpone, but both to do the union and to help as quickly as possible; for it is necessary for each of us to consider both our wives and children and simply relatives and fellow citizens being pitifully besieged and being at a loss and lamenting and [experiencing] murders and bonds and blows and insults and hunger and thirst and most pitiful treatment and inconsolable slavery and dragging of infants and slaughter of elders and most pitiful separation from each other and dishonor of sacred things and blasphemy rising to the heights against God, and some indeed willingly, others unwillingly losing Jesus the true God and only teacher and lawgiver, and being added to the nonsense of Muhammad and his orgies, and impiety increasing, and faith being persecuted, and imagining all such things and being called upon by all upon us and being reproached for our neglect, by whom they never expected to be so despised, whom they both had and honored in the rank of masters and fathers and teachers and whom they believed would put all things second to their own safety and salvation, for whom they themselves thought and you said openly that you were going to be abroad. Those indeed imagining only their own dangers will lament and will call upon us bitterly and with the hopes of today or tomorrow that we will come they alone will comfort themselves, which before those suffer, may it happen to us all to die; for nothing is more pitiful, nothing at all more shameful, nothing more abominable both to God and to men will be ours, if it should happen to those to suffer these things. But it is fitting for us to reach even to the other Christians with our reasoning, and what they fear for themselves, these things it is necessary for us to consider both for them and for the other Christians and for ourselves; for the same things it is absolutely necessary to happen to the Christians dwelling anywhere on earth and under the rule of the barbarians and the reverence of Christ will be erased from all sides. And I think that even through all Christians within a few years that cataclysm will arrive and all impiety will be distributed and all will be enslaved to the barbarians.

11.But it is necessary, if nothing else, to respect even the reproaches of these Latins, who, even after the bad tidings and the impending fear, seeing us still sitting and wasting time in vain and as it were playing in non-playful matters and not even turning around with dangers approaching, call us stony and foolish and betrayers of our own, and altogether place our nature outside of human nature, not discerning in us either foresight for our own nor zeal befitting men. How then do you think they will treat us, when we dishonor some of the saints, and judge others, and say that some of the dignities have been falsified, and others simply do not accept them thus and are always studying what we will devise; and when we are factious towards each other and consider ignorance and saying that the many or so-and-so have denied to be sufficient for the judgment of dogmas, and exclude knowledge and mind and wisdom, and the Latins endure these things? For surely the matters are not at risk for them. If any danger is announced while we are doing these things (may it not happen, O God king, nor appear to us more a just judge than a philanthropic father and master), no word will suffice to declare the shame that will then seize us, or rather no one is sufficient to represent even the present one; but then they will not even heed us conceding something more, nor will they cease for this reason hating and calling us betrayers of our own shamefully and enemies of Christ.

12.But if someone says that we ought not to sit here thus, but to hope that God will ward off the enemies and preserve our city for us, he both deceives himself and utterly lies against God; for he is not

accustomed to help the negligent, but whenever someone doing what is within his power also needs help from him, as without which we are able to accomplish nothing; for I myself, even if we had done all the possible things, would not say that this is sufficient for the defense against the enemies, but if having taken all the resources and all the ships from here we depart, there will be nothing more for us, unless also the help from above is added, which having well hoped and believed it is absolutely necessary to receive; but while we are neglecting and unconcerned about those things on which all those things depend, it is not reasonable even to hope for any alliance from God. It is clear therefore that even apart from all the other things, for which it is necessary for us to accomplish something and to put any end to the present affairs, the now impending fear of the enemies is sufficient; for this has clearly and inevitably the necessity. For this reason, it was not necessary for us to speak of the harms and benefits that will result both from acting and from not acting and again from being reconciled to the Latins or not, since the necessity is sufficient to persuade; but as many things as it is necessary to consider for the present necessity, I myself have moderately touched upon these, but you are sufficient to take all things into mind and to reflect, or rather all things are so clearly and almost visibly set forth, not appearing purely in this way only, because someone being darkened by some private passion, may not well see even the most obvious things. And in addition to these, that it is not possible to comprehend either by mind or by word, how many evils and goods are present on either side, and the latter are about to happen of necessity. I advise and beg all of you, firstly for the sake of need, then of what is fitting, and in addition to these of necessity, and above all also having become of our intention, having gathered together, both to cease speaking and to begin acting, considering one thing through all, how we may save both fatherland and nation and sacred things and tombs and always indeed, but now especially.

13.And I say that it is necessary both to receive the Latins and to communicate, erring nothing in the faith, if indeed not even those having become our leaders of the faith and the spirit having breathed this into them erred, and still saying the same things to us, and in addition to these reconciling the teachers with each other, whom it happens to be more embroiled from our contradiction, which you also know well and I am ready to make this clear to all, whenever you command, and above all subjecting to anathema whatever we ourselves thought they confessed from this opinion, and not only doing this, but also showing how far they are from following that opinion of theirs. These therefore must be received, and the symbol must be read as we are accustomed; for this seems to be sufficient both for the terms which we say we fear, and for it is expedient for it to please all the nations under our church to agree to this peace; and let ships be prepared as many as possible, and in the meantime it is necessary to arrange concerning both the aid for the future and the confirmation of peace and some other things, having done some things by ourselves, as many as are now possible, and having entrusted others to three or four to do, whom it is necessary to leave in the present synod, the best and wisest of the others; then let us ourselves go to Venice, and having done all things there, as many as are necessary and expedient, let us go straight to our city, both returning and coming as allies at the same time ourselves. But all these things must be done with the zeal that arises in all; for we are able both the things here up to fifteen days, even if we are the most sluggish, to complete, and counting these up to forty in all, both to be ourselves within the ships, of which however many there are, and we will be able to receive more during the voyage, all being added to us both for the sake of goodwill and by the command of their rulers for the sake of the present need. And I have spoken up to so many days of all, because all things at once must and can happen both to do the union and to demand the aid and to send the one who will

prepare the ships and to choose and send an ambassador to the barbarian and to equip the fleet and for us to be departed from here, and thus counting these days up to seventy of all or a little more, it will be possible for us to moor in the harbor of our city; but if you think it is sufficient to send only the sufficient aid, even thus it is necessary to do the union as quickly as possible; for otherwise it is impossible to help sufficiently; and we will send that, but we, having arranged all things after these at leisure better, and on safe matters and with a smaller fleet, we will sail in autumn through the Hellespont.

14.But if in no way you wish to make peace with the Latins, I indeed pray that this opinion may not prevail among you; for apart from the other dangers, you know that all but a few will no longer have the same displeasure towards the Latins as before, but will suppose them to be pious and to think rightly, and thus the union will be in the souls of men, but of the things which we hoped to enjoy from the union and for the sake of which we were especially led to desire it, we will be deprived of all. But if you are altogether about to be of this opinion, it is necessary having immediately voted and ratified this, to take thought for the return and to receive as much as the pope being philanthropic to us or even fulfilling the promises may wish to give, and spending from home and still borrowing more with common and private pledges; but it is absolutely necessary either for them to arrive or to send sufficient aid; for this both in the present and for the future I think will be advantageous and for any fortune again will be beneficial. Nor is it necessary to say that we will come afterwards or those being sent will come for the need; for it is likely not even to come very much afterwards; but even if we were accurately afraid of this, yet it is not just nor reasonable for us to neglect any of the things for the time being possible for us; so that I say it is necessary for us to do one of these two things, either having been united with the Latins to return ourselves or to send after the union, or having utterly despaired of peace with them, neither to be called empty, and to try with all our might to help our own, even if we know that we will fall into countless dangers. But whatever else we may decide to do, we will not escape becoming betrayers of our own or at least seeming so to our own and to all men; but if we even despise this shame and God beyond all expectation being philanthropic should extend a hand and our fatherland should be freed from the harm from the enemies, whether they come upon it or not, yet I am persuaded that it will not avail us for anything at all to postpone matters. All things therefore will become worse for this reason, which also has happened to them until now from the previous negligence. I have spoken being ready for the sake of truth and of what is good and advantageous to all of you, which will be advantageous both to me and to my own, to endure all things, and still considering it sufficient for me for any fortune not to hide the things occurring; but may you choose the things that will be advantageous, all indeed having received God as leader both of counsel and word and deed; but if there is anyone wishing the worse to prevail, the more and wiser and most of all having mind doing the better things; for this is the natural law of all synod and government and every assembly and generally of men.

THE CHARACTER OF RELIGOUS PEACE

3. On the character of the religious peace to be concluded.

† Of the same Lord George Scholarius to the ecumenical synod concerning peace; that it is necessary to make a dogmatic union, not an economic peace, as some wish, and what this is.

1.To exhort you to peace, I do not know if it is necessary, having been exhorted to it from home and long ago, and having shown by your very deeds through how much zeal you pursue it, especially as many things have been said about it, both how many good things are congenial to it, and how many benefits it knows how to bring forth to those who choose it; but if someone should now rise up and say through what things it would be possible to attain it and what kind of peace it will be advantageous to establish and such things, he would rightly seem to me to say things both fitting to the time and pleasing to you. This therefore, if you wish, I will do, not being ignorant indeed, that even of this subject being varied and having much opposition, it is necessary also to cast many arguments for it, and some having risen up would bring in opinions and perhaps better than this our own; but since I hear all speaking about peace and those who are persuaded trying as it seems to persuade (for all surely have come together as for a good thing of peace and no one has come to be taught, if it is of the beautiful and precious things), but I do not see anyone proceeding further anywhere, but the times being wasted, in which it is likely also to accomplish some of the noteworthy things, all enduring, I wish both to withdraw from those speeches and to move to another subject and as it were to introduce some beginning and exhortation to those wishing to engage in this.

2.And to ask you as is customary both to listen to the words and to receive them with kindness, if ever and now I think it happens to be superfluous; for we have not come together each for the sake of some private good, both considering and speaking a word, so that it is necessary also to establish beforehand the opinions of those listening and to provide at once for the safety and persuasion of the words themselves, but the desire for the common good moves the tongues of all, which also before no less aroused their souls, and no one bringing hence any private gain home except the peace desired by all will depart from here. It is necessary therefore for all to speak, and you should attend to those things said naturally as if you have heard them from above and choose these and acknowledge gratitude both to the one who gave and for these things; for where else is it more likely for God than concerning himself of the inquiry and zeal, to breathe the thoughts of men? And as for those otherwise disposed and proposing not with some wicked intention, as of knowledge not of choice being the shortcomings, to bring no blame on anyone. And in addition to these, not even if there is in us some poor opinion concerning those speaking, to despise the words, if they happen to be better, which is not even reasonable to happen in human affairs to those hunting for the expedient from all sides, since indeed concerning the proposed things it is much more fitting for the inglorious and humble to hope for the glory from succeeding; for from these also something important might happen, thus providence arranging, lest anyone should be unnoticed inscribing the outcome of the greatest and most difficult of the attempts from all ages to the cleverness and device of men. For these reasons therefore I have avoided that part of the speech and I wish you to attend to what is said from here on.

3.The thing indeed having made this sacred synod from almost all the world and having persuaded all to run together here with zeal, having made the least account of all the other things, is the unanimity of all Christians and the knowledge of the truth, than which nothing more pleasing could happen to those knowing

both to love and to pray for and to strive for the beautiful; for the truth is established as a light directly opposite to the rational nature, without which it is necessary for it to be rolled in darkness not even enjoying its worth and of the given grace to it, and clinging to which continually in the inquiry concerning the unknown things it becomes both brighter itself and as much as possible nearest to God the first truth; and of peace and of the concord in the good things in the world there is nothing greater, beginning indeed from the soul and its own thoughts, as if using some external proofs and through these being revealed to all. It is likely indeed that some are led by other considerations and imagining some bodily good things, which there is hope will bring forth concord, to have appeared more eager for this need; but to me indeed that Christians having received a common opinion concerning what they disputed before, will become causes of many and great good things to themselves, if indeed it seems so to anyone else of all; but by the desire for these things I think it is necessary for none of the more serious to be moved nor to propose the less worthy of the good things as a goal of the greatest and most divine of works and of which anyone would most easily despise, but to consider the knowledge of the truth sufficient instead of all things, and for the sake of the peace of all it is necessary to give up even the most of the existing things.

4.Of these two things, for the sake of which we have endured many toils, having succeeded in one, I mean the knowledge of the truth, it is absolutely necessary for the other to follow; for there will be nothing, the truth having been known concerning the disputed things, which will again divide our opinions and similarly all the world; for neither concerning lands or money or islands and cities are we sitting judging lawsuits nor have we come for these things in the beginning, nor is it possible for all to dispute with all concerning these things; but having made peace with each other without also agreeing entirely concerning the dogmas and the same opinion prevailing among all concerning what it is proposed to consider, in addition to not being able to preserve the peace for long, having been established on something shaky, we will seem to prefer something else to the truth, which alone of the many expenses and toils would be a worthy end. And while the pretext for coming together here is the investigation concerning the dogmas, the truth is that each has come to secure some good for themselves and to make the life after this better, these things I think you will certainly guard as befitting those led by the spirit and preferring the truth above all things more than men. Therefore, it is necessary to take thought for that both first and more, of which the proper end having been fulfilled, immediately it is possible to expect the better things also concerning the rest; for if we wish to seek the truth by all means for all, and having appeared to seize and hold it, the beauty of concord will shine forth, and the cloud of schism will be dissolved, and no longer adding wrongly or contending irrationally we will be torn away from our brothers; and of hatred and displeasure thus having been dissolved, we will share with each other the good things among us and as relatives and kinsmen we will use each other, and in general there is nothing of the good things that will not follow immediately. And I would say that even if we were about to fall from all the existing things and to wander poor and inglorious through the world from taking the greatest care of the truth and having considered about it beforehand, not even thus is it necessary to relax anything of the zeal concerning it nor to think any other thing to be our good except this and human happiness; but where also the other things will be preserved for us through it, both thus the nature of things demanding and God's grace wishing to extend to us the zeal concerning the most beautiful and divine undertaking, how is it not necessary to take thought for this especially and to strive to receive it as much as possible? And that not even of the peace being established in any other way will it be possible for us to safely enjoy it, but of some

one unpleasant thing from either side, such as it is wont to happen, having befallen, we will make the disagreement concerning the dogmas a pretext for war and battle, and again reproaches and writings against each other will have place. And that it seems to be vain all this innovation, I indeed although it is easy do not wish to show, but the very things testify, if anyone knows having read, how many times having thus agreed with each other, in addition to gaining nothing, we have even unknowingly increased the danger; but I am silent about times and events and by whom it was done, reminding those knowing most and being cautious of seeming to touch upon some.

5.If therefore it was not evident from many of the former things having happened, to what end this way of peace is naturally inclined to end, but now for the first time we were trying this, perhaps someone would excuse us erring in the uncertainty of things concerning what is fitting; but of so many being able to persuade him to refuse it, I think all would most justly blame us, if it should happen to us having chosen this to fail and to suffer the same thing as those previously mentioned, which it is absolutely necessary for all to suffer. This indeed is both first and greatest, for which all zeal must be expended towards the discovery of the truth, as by this alone we will accomplish the things for which we have come together and will enjoy the peace that will be with God forever, or rather, as this would be the chief point of our zeal, and of which having happened, all the other things will be well, but having been neglected, not even of those would there be so much account to those participating in mind nor would it be about to be most beautiful and advantageous. Secondly, that to lead a peaceful life is pleasant to all men and most pleasant of all; for with this is present indeed the not being forced to harm anyone, and the using the existing things with pleasure is inherent and the living with gentleness, which most of all is naturally the mark of human life, and in general weapons and battles and array and guards of cities and all preparations of wars are for the sake of peace and for the sake of being able to live with it they happen. And it is to be well at peace for those either in no way ever differing in anything or dissolving the differences by some agreements and having the same opinion concerning the just things and thinking neither to be wronged nor to wrong each other; but those being reconciled with each other while the accusations are still preserved one would say not to stop but to rest the war and a truce of weapons not a dissolution of battle nor peace is the thing; for neither will it be possible with the apparent reconciliations also to be well-disposed in soul, until they are conscious of being wronged by each other, unless someone through negligence would wish not to be grieved by those seizing what they seize, but to owe gratitude for what they leave to him. Thus therefore it is here also. To dissolve the causes of the long war both by judgment of words and of the help from above being involved with us and having utterly removed what we have to accuse each other, to come together all to one mind and one opinion, this is true peace and an unbreakable bond of souls and brotherly unanimity and spiritual union and a cutting off of all scandal from the root and if it is possible to name anything such, and returning with such peace, we ourselves will rejoice truly and we will persuade those receiving us to rejoice; but if anything else happens, all will call it a shadow of peace and an image of reconciliations and disagreement of dogmas and a beginning of scandals and a second voyage and a treaty of necessity, and to the simpler perhaps we will seem to have accomplished something and by the name of peace we will persuade them to love not caring for anything else, but the reproaches from those having mind we will justly incur, the august name of peace being brought forward to us and the unfulfilled hopes and the reconciliations up to the | apparent ones, unless also they will call us betrayers of the happiness of all, because being near and as it were being called by the extension of hands we

did not wish to grasp it, having turned aside to something else easy; and apart from these reproaches we will not even be able to persuade ourselves that we have duly used the fallen times, and to have chosen of the things within our power the better ones and with God to have accomplished the things of God. And I omit the doubts that will happen after these things, of which we will seem to have become the causes, having left the seeds of scandals and not having wished to uproot the danger from the root while it was possible.

6.And indeed, having many other easier and less troublesome ways to accomplish the much-talked-about union, having abandoned all those, we decided to convene an ecumenical synod and to entrust everything to it; for thus only will the things decided remain authoritative, no one daring to contradict what such a synod would declare; and everywhere in the agreements concerning the union it is constantly possible to see this title, and you remember surely even the ambassadors from both sides both in their speeches and in their letters turning the name up and down and then becoming a nuisance to those listening. But this sacred synod, the fact that some have come from all or at least most parts of the world, who will participate in the words and deeds here and will use one mind concerning all things, undoubtedly makes it ecumenical; and it is necessary also in the other things to preserve accurately its form of the ecumenical synods, of which one is both to inquire beforehand concerning the things being sought at each time and the causes of the schism, and after many struggles and speeches happening on both sides, both to find out what is true and what is the opposite, and to proclaim the one and to denounce the falsehood, and those obeying to be henceforth orthodox, and those still contending to be subject to the responsibilities of the heretics, so as to enable all the world from there to guard a simple opinion concerning the previously disputed things and not to admit those saying otherwise.

7.This indeed before all other things; but after these also to provide for the other good order of the churches and to regulate the life of men with canons and laws conducive to this, and if some need private justice, not even to despise this. If therefore this also, having set forth such synods as an example, should begin from what those did and should wish to show equal, not to say more zeal concerning these things, and consequently also concerning the other things, as many as need provision, should consider in the same way as those, no one would object that this also is not ecumenical and has the same authority as the others, nor will anyone have anywhere to flee, who would wish to despise what this has decreed, thinking it to be equal to despise this and those before it, and fearing indeed the curses from men, trembling at the judgments from above. Otherwise, it will have many plotters; and now perhaps no one will object, lest he also seem to hinder the good of concord and at the same time knowing how difficult it is to prevail over so many, trying to persuade with words concerning what they are not eager for; but not a few, as time goes on, will wish to shake the things decided by you by taking away this august title of ours, and they will take it away saying that we are preserved only by the multitude of the character of the ecumenical synods, but in the most necessary things and very much to come contrary to those, as having made the assembly concerning all things rather than concerning the truth of the dogmas; and thus we alone will perhaps enjoy the peace, but to those after us we will immediately leave a war worse than the former, and thus all zeal for us concerning this title will be useless. Lest this happen, the authority of the ecumenical synods must be adapted to this also by the accurate emulation towards those, and it must be considered how no danger should follow it from the dissimilarity; for if not even these pretexts will disturb the souls of the well-disposed, nor will there be anyone who for the sake of the good will undertake the war against it, but you know surely well that for the greatest and most

advantageous of works not only the most wicked men, but also the demons plotting against us from of old, using similar men as collaborators for this; and to demons indeed nothing is more hateful than the peace of the churches, from which the whole circle of good things is suspended and which the savior ascended having left to men, as it would be equal both to grant this and to impart all the good things together, as many as he was able being present to provide for us. Just as therefore the enemies of peace will move every device for its overthrow and will investigate all pretexts, so it is necessary for us also foreseeing the future to block every way of mischief to them, and from all sides to secure the good of peace, from which either the wicked are forced to be quiet or attacking to be weak and to learn by experience, as indeed they have learned to strike the heaven with their head.

8.And in addition to these, that also must be considered; for not only will the wicked men trouble our votes and again introduce the same disputes and battles with abundance, if there is any pretext for accusations against us, but they will also raise many other wars and will fill the true faith with many confusions. And now indeed the multitude of Christians is divided into an eastern and a western church; but then it will not even be possible to count the divisions, each being cut off against itself and being factious, with opportunities for rivalries being sown by one against another; for if even with this synod being expected, which was about to unite the greatest parts of the world, then also carefully considering the things innovated everywhere, to impose the true and firm vote on all, those previously united have been divided, and whichever part has prevailed somehow has considered the defeated accursed and worse than the unbelievers and calling them even until now from those having begun that strife, and a schism has become new in an old schism, in fewer indeed, but much prevailing both in the whole of the things sought and in the hatred towards each other (for they would most gladly have tasted even flesh), what is necessary to expect, when there will be no hope of an ecumenical synod, whose votes alone all were about to fear being unclear to which side they are about to please? And such a synod who having mind will ever hope, seeing the one being invalidated which has been deliberated for so long and having been constituted with so much difficulty from both sides from not being able to preserve this title for itself? Therefore, with time always devising something new and men through ignorance or contentiousness clinging to falsehood and sometimes making the differences in dogmas pretexts for the war against each other, to what will those standing with the truth flee and whose vote is it fitting for all to respect both not being nor being expected, it is necessary for all to be terribly broken against each other and each becoming teachers of the truth to themselves to condemn those thinking otherwise, and what indeed is worst of all, to call them heretics and unbelievers, not as now differing and schismatic and such things they call them, shrinking from the synodal votes. And what could be worse than these? For neither will any of the simpler know, what it is necessary to think and to which to be added, nor will it be safe for those choosing whatever, with the falsehood being divided into many; and the greatest thing for salvation, the faith, will little by little depart from men. And now indeed hearing that the heresies having arisen from the beginning are somewhere and being preserved, we think it wonderful, if so many differing from each other and thus living together with many and various oppositions men are able to live together; but then this terrible thing will fill all the world, and not even if someone from the nations should wish to turn to the true faith, would he know what guides and teachers of the desire he should use; nay rather, seeing such disagreement, he would not even wish to.

9.What it is necessary, having foreseen with all the other things, you also considering that to be the time, in which as in a night battle all being confused fall upon each other and are utterly destroyed together, and having taken pity on those indeed being destroyed, but having opposed the impending providence to the terrible thing having seized the church, to remove the only cause of all; for for this it is not necessary for private business nor other toils nor waste of time nor will it be necessary for those managing the present things well and sitting down to consider again concerning these things, but what it is necessary to choose for the present things, this will be a remedy for you also for the future things; for if you manage how truly you may be considered an ecumenical synod, from which also the things having seemed good concerning the proposed things will remain authoritative for you, no one ever moving anything of the established things will wish to become a beginning of schism, neither knowing the church overlooking and fearing the judgments from the ecumenical synod, which it is reasonable to expect then more than now, since all the world is of one mind. And indeed we say that this synod has been gathered by the spirit no less than concerning the spirit, voting the things seeming good to him; but how otherwise could this be shown in the very things, than we overlooking the other things, having examined the truth concerning his own procession in all ways, and not even enduring to depart hence without it? Or how could we please him more, from whom alone it is reasonable to hope for the good of concord, being love and being called so, than by seeking the healthy opinions concerning him and wishing to find and preserve the faith in him pure and unadulterated? For that being a spirit of truth, and wishes us to be lovers of all truth and guides us the way to it, as being unable without him to travel it safely; but to those wishing to examine what it is necessary to think concerning him and the consubstantial persons with him, he rejoices above all in these as striving for the greatest and first truth and does not allow them in such thoughts to be caught in the snares of falsehood; but if there is any dispute, he gathers from all sides those who will wholeheartedly exercise the true opinion and will be added to it without contentiousness; however they may attain the truth, he acts, if only they are not some arrogant hunters of it and entrusting all to their own power. And what did the spirit wish to gather us and what of the truly good things will benefit all the world, whence you have been gathered? For surely not to add money to you and to acquire by power what in some even the management of the existing things perhaps has something to blame, nor to give back these august titles and the many-syllabled inscriptions well cut off by the schism, which have rather a proof of arrogance and pride of those opposing the spirit. But these indeed as episodes of the things that are truly good, which will come to us from the spirit, and some prizes of the toils for the truth comforting our pettiness, of which I think not a few of those having mind will despise and being given will not accept, having been pleased with the knowledge of the truth alone and considering this a worthy reward of all for those having struggled for it, and if there is any other expected prize, believing this to be the future happiness and the then purer knowledge of the truth; and indeed for the genuine life of men we all know these to be a great obstacle, for the sake of which also we see those striving for it least attending to the acquisition of these.

10.These things therefore having such a nature, neither would it be fitting for us to seek beforehand nor would the spirit rejoice bestowing, so as also to gather us here now to impart especially of these good things, but for the sake of which it does not refuse to stand by men being gathered and to become a mediator of these, for these indeed it gathers, and these it gives generously to those choosing to receive, as many as clearly lead to the glory of God and the true benefit of those receiving. Therefore, it has gathered us here also to

teach the truth, without which it is impossible to be saved, and to establish peace with each other, which neither with the truth being unknown is it possible to remain among men, and with that being known, it is absolutely necessary for this also to return, and to rid the church of scandals, which the sower of the tares having usually sown in it has made it poor and barren, and again to show it flourishing and gathering its own children and nourishing them to the full. It is not reasonable therefore to think to have been gathered by the spirit, and overlooking the things for the sake of which it is reasonable for that one to have gathered us, to sit down considering something else; for this would be both tempting the spirit and opposing themselves; for it is clear that even the beauty of concord, through which we are connected to the spirit, it is not possible to preserve while each stands on his own opinion, but unless all choose the one true one and wish to strengthen it. And apart from these, all our zeal is for peace; but that if it is true and complete and pleasing to God, and worthy of our and our toils, no one is ignorant that it is threefold being one and dividing us into three; for without the apparent reconciliations and the ceasing henceforth to be stirred up the worst things and arming hand and tongue against each other, it is necessary indeed to be at peace with God thinking the truth concerning him, since to miss the truth, is also to be hated by God; and it is necessary for each one to preserve the beauty of peace with him with the inner thoughts of the soul providing the external words agreeing and leaving no trace of doubt concerning the proposed things in him; for the peace with others must first be established in ourselves, otherwise we will pretend to be at peace, and wearing the guise of friends, hiding the displeasures of enemies within, we will be unnoticed; for surely we were not disputing with each other about things, which having conceded to those having taken away or having received justly, it is reasonable neither to trouble each other henceforth nor for there to be anything that was thought to prevent the peace from being complete, but the battle and the war for us was about opinions, and of opinions themselves touching the capital of our faith and of which it is not at all possible for those added to the one to despise the other, many of those advocating for each, some indeed being laid down in the scriptures, others having been discovered by human study and making the judgment concerning these things seem difficult to all; and concerning these opinions indeed we differed with each other before with being troubled even towards them and trembling at the fall from the truth and considering it the greatest misfortune, if it should happen to anyone fighting with brothers and warring against God and missing the truth, concerning which the war was. But I speak of those having mind; for the stubborn-minded and contentious must be avoided and those who whatever they seize, think this alone to be true and close their ears to the opposite arguments, whom one would say believe not because they are aware of them being true and stronger than all contradiction, but because they please them, whatever they may think.

11.These things therefore being thus, if indeed we were about to, having stopped the war against each other, also immediately be at peace with ourselves and to be fortunate in the things towards God, either having attained to the truer opinion by some chance or even without this fearing nothing nor dreading any danger and harm from falling from the truth, the peace with each other would be sufficient for us instead of all things and having accomplished it somehow, there would be no need of the zeal concerning the other things; but since the apparent contention having been dissolved, other worse wars will be left to us and the good of our peace will be no less absent than before, we will seem to be pursuing something else more than peace or not even seeing at all how it happens to attain the desired thing, if only having arranged well the things towards each other, we will think to have accomplished all. But if on the contrary having taken the

beginning from the dogmas and having sought beforehand the peace towards God, all the other things will immediately yield and there will be a great calm everywhere and some unspeakable pleasure, all agreeing with all, the external, the internal, those towards each other, those towards God, and this thus being a firm and lasting, and thus a bright union, nothing will be able to dim, nothing to shake at all, it has clearly been established, that it is necessary to begin from there; nay rather, it is not even proper to call that a beginning of peace, but a true and complete peace and encompassing whatever one might say of the things sought towards it. For who are so shameless and enemies of their own salvation, as even after such a peace having fashioned some other pretext to be torn away from the communion of the brothers? Nay rather, I do not even see any pretext left to those wishing to do evil. And what do you think to be so utterly deprived of mind, as even after your vote, which you will bring forth concerning the proposed things, or rather which God will bring forth in you, still to have matters disputing with himself concerning these things? Therefore, of the three things towards the ultimate sought peace, with the one becoming with God by the discovery of the truth and being well united to him, the remaining two are inherent.

12.Therefore, that must be pursued by those desiring true peace; and it is necessary to desire this and to consider all things less than so great a good by those excelling in virtue and power of words everywhere and enduring dangers and toils, which anyone such would wish to undergo for the sake of the greatest things alone; and it is necessary to emulate the fathers and teachers in former times, who struggled most for the salvation of the brothers, each being able to seek his own and to be free from toils, but having removed from the midst the things then disturbing the souls of men and having distinguished the falsehood from the truth by the sword of the spirit, they left behind a pure peace to those after them, which the long time did not confuse nor the contentions of the wicked men, and it being possible to manage the peace in another way, they did not endure; for it was not fitting for them and worthy of the spirit moving to these things, and they thought they would rather suffer penalties for the things they neglected to do with toil while being able to, than to receive any rewards for the things being done thus simply. But to you, even if there was no such synod, towards which it was necessary to look and to correct, it would have been fitting to find the fitting thing from home and to stand as an example and type to other synods perhaps to be after these, having by no means less wisdom than those, but being slightly inferior in virtue to each, but by multitude and very much surpassing all together; but where we have so many examples to use and so beautiful, it is not even possible for those wishing to be negligent, until we think it proper to guard against the reproaches from God and men; for surely we will consider it proper to emulate all the others in the things they do those excelling in those things, and even if they do this as best as possible we will praise them, but we having neglected such great examples, will we be free from blame; for the power of imitation in all good things has the same force, and those refusing it in the greatest things, in which also the danger of erring is greater, is not able to be exempt from reasonable blame. But indeed it is not even possible to say, that that chorus of the blessed considered anything else before the truth or at least left no trace of doubt concerning the things sought at each time to those after them; for their zeal concerning the truth is evident from the records, and they turned away from the heresies then being moved so much so that the many not even knowing nor having to accuse, think it proper to honor as champions of the truth those having struggled against them, but those knowing accurately, even consider those having sided with them worse than the unbelievers. Thus among all men the judgments of those men prevailed.

13.Therefore, those, as I said, must be emulated and not only with the other honors, but also by imitating, as much as possible, and to think them the best advisors in such things and to show the respect towards them as guides; and what it is necessary to think concerning the spirit, must be examined with the spirit, and the tumult and confusion of the souls of men must be stopped, and the church must be freed from unprofitable strife and other long trifles, to which the long contention and the not caring for either of the brothers has given place. But after these it will be timely to take thought also for the rest, and concerning the honor and benefit from each other and those much talked about for a long time, no one will blame us for taking forethought; for I also the hopes against the unbelievers, by whom some say they are being pressed and which they affirm to be the capital of our works, if indeed for the sake of being able to live safely and not fearing the terrible things of slavery or even to exact justice from them for the outrage against you, into which they were carried by much insolence, if indeed for the sake of these things we nourish the hopes against them, I consider these a vain thing and neither of much worth, if they can somehow turn out, nor being able to be accomplished without God, the same to say, without some God-loving purpose leading them; but if caring for the salvation of human souls and trying to remove the shame of falsehood from the midst, and for the sake of such things you are led to these hopes, I praise them being for these things, but I consider them of secondary importance and having no reason to rush to these before accomplishing the union of those called from Christ in one opinion of the truth; for whether it is necessary to hate falsehood and to cast it out of the church as far as possible, this is much even in the proposed things, in which surely we appear to have the opposite opinions, and it holds the greatest part of men, whichever one would say, or it is necessary to provide for the salvation of the brothers, as having a proof of love towards them, which also by willingly laying down the soul for them we owe to them, those who will know this falsehood well and will hate it will owe us no less gratitude for the salvation of those being freed from unbelief, which it is impossible for those having lived in falsehood to attain, however much it may be and against what truth of the faith one might fight. So that to make the peace in the way I advise, is both to take thought for the salvation of the brothers and to drive out falsehood and to increase the glory of the church by the addition of those being saved.

14.If therefore anyone being persuaded of that should turn his attention to the other things, he will otherwise seem to be making the brothers and the falsehood a pretext for hopes of political success being truly moved towards these things; for how, when the benefit is equal on both sides, and being able to do both in order, having utterly disregarded one, will he propose the other alone, and having avoided the easier, will he undertake the one having much difficulty? For who does not know, that for the wars against the unbelievers also weapons are needed and money and power both infantry and naval and generals and times and time sufficient for the magnitude of the matter, but to define the truth concerning the proposed things and to receive one opinion concerning these by all, to wish alone is sufficient and God from above directing the will to the goal and bringing the praiseworthy desire to the end? So that even if the studies against the unbelievers are deemed worthy of secondary consideration and it is necessary to follow the struggles concerning the dogmas, where should we place honors and increases of revenues and sharing of the existing things and all the other things, which it is more appropriate to call the results of peace rather than peace and which it is not possible to attribute either to the salvation of the brothers or to the exaltation of the true faith and the overthrow of falsehood? For surely they are not able to contribute to these nor is it possible for all Christians to be benefited from these, but only a few who need them and it is fitting to seek these. But indeed, upon all

the things said I see all our preparation worthy of an ecumenical synod and quite sufficient for the judgment concerning the dogmas, with none of those who will make this easy for us being lacking; but the peace which some desire to accomplish, is far from being a work of such preparation; for it was possible even for ambassadors to accomplish this themselves being free from affairs, and neither were so many expenses needed, as much as it had difficulty for those indeed giving, and for those not having from home and bound by others, if it is necessary to say the truth, shame with suspicion, nor so many toils and dangers for those gathered from all sides, but rather it is possible to say the difficulties from both sides, which the desire for peace, having found the divine as a collaborator, has overcome all, and which with difficulty indeed, you have overlooked nevertheless.

15.I do not see therefore what you will say in defense to those accusing, having shown such and so great a preparation and the name of peace only and a rumor altogether empty having made it; for to wish alone is left, of all the other things better than according to prayer, as it is possible to see, being prepared; and I wonder if you think that no one will justly accuse you having managed the things here thus; for just as to attempt the greatest things without the proper preparation is a sign of madness, so to be sufficiently prepared indeed for the greatest things, but to use the preparation for the less worthy of the works and to extend the eagerness up to these, I indeed do not wish to say, but it has a pretext for many accusations for those having thus chosen. And neither does anyone having mind consider him to have mind, who being adequately equipped both in multitude and in virtue and in weapons and in all the other things, will go out for the search of the enemies, and having spent much time, and having traversed through much difficulty, then having barely encountered them few and frightened and not enduring the battle face to face, thinks it sufficient victory to turn these, being able utterly to destroy them and to cut some down, and to take others as captives; nor would you be able to endure the reproaches from those having mind, if having prepared for so long for the union of the churches and having gathered all things here now, from which it is necessary for it to be accomplished, then you will manage some agreements and a shadow of peace, having cast away wisdom and virtue and the multitude of those gathered here as otherwise a burden and useless material. But indeed, if you make no account of seeming to accomplish something and of the subsequent glory and rumor nor fear the reproaches, which from not pleasing all those who will be here it is necessary for you to undergo, neither was it reasonable to attend to the other things, which striving for the true peace you would overlook; but if you are very much possessed by the desire for these, much more was it necessary to desire also the glory from there and to do the things that will deem us worthy of the immortal rewards and will justly arouse all men to our praise, but those things for the sake of which you will incur the reproaches from all, to avoid altogether; for if nothing else, it is proper to respect our own words and to think it sufficient testimony against ourselves to those wishing to refute; for you remember surely both in words and in letters exhorting the others to the salvation of the brothers and persuading them to do all things for it not neglecting any of the other things, and to those asking, what benefit of the so many dangers and toils, to which you call them, will there be for them, you answered the glory of the church and to bring back to the truth those contendingly departing from it; by which those having mind being moved, some indeed to bring in money, others from the ends of the earth with how much pleasure it is not even possible to say to be present here, having put all things second to such beautiful hopes; for not so that it may be possible for the king of the Romans to lead the rest of his life happily and to stand outside the fear from the enemies and the revenues of money may abound to all in

Constantinople, would we say that Iberians and Russians and those from the other nations having been called to obey; for some of these would even pray to see the Romans more humble, not so that something good might happen to them, they themselves would endure to toil and to be in danger; and I think that Gauls also and Celts and most of those beyond the Alps make no great account of the state of Italian affairs, nor if the pope will dwell well in Rome or in any of the cities, they are very much concerned about it, so as for the sake of these things both to give money and to overlook toils, and as if being called to a share in the kingdom, thus each runs with much joy; but nothing as it seems is either more pleasant to men having mind than truth, or more necessary than the salvation of the brothers to those at least fearing God and his votes, nor is there anything for which one would rather give even his own soul than to see the church united and having enjoyed pure tranquility.

16.Having therefore promised these things and charmed the souls of all with the hopes of these, you have persuaded them to undertake a most difficult task with pleasure. These will demand these promises, and finding nothing such, they will think to have been deceived and will cry out the things of the wronged; but if even those having arrived here you will by some device again persuade not to contradict anything, I do not know how you will make the rulers who sent them both willingly ignore the promises and know gratitude to you for the things done, and make the ambassadors of them who have cooperated in these things praise and honor them having returned. Nor should so fair and noble a preparation be neglected nor should those promises be shown as pretexts for accusations, but on the contrary rather they must be guarded against those perhaps trying to contradict; for if it was for the sake of true peace and the salvation of the brothers both our calling and their obedience, it would not be right to be displeased with these things proceeding according to judgment, nor even if each were willing to save the brothers teaching the true opinion, to deny their own salvation, lest they seem to be benefited by the brothers, and what they would have blamed others for contending against the truth being clearly shown, to endure themselves suffering. But rather if it is necessary to say the truth, if only we should appear having immediately from the beginning taken thought for the truth, and having received God as a collaborator, we should find it, all the reasonings of those advocating for falsehood being overturned, I do not think that anyone of all would be driven to such insensitivity, as contradicting the votes of God and of you and the light of the proof to attempt the unachievable, nor will you need words to persuade him, using the rod of the ecumenical synods, which also those stretched out to those being so bold.

17.But we see this union being impossible, some perhaps will say, and it is better to be at peace somehow or other than not being able to find the accurate reconciliations, having overlooked the possible ones, to depart empty and having accomplished nothing at all. But I first of all do not think it is necessary to declare anything of the things impossible or difficult, before one has taken experience of it, having done all that is fitting; for this would be a proof of pettiness and of not wishing to do the great works, with which difficulty is inherent; but of you I hear many things worthy of mention and having a proof of wisdom and virtue being said daily, but of those having touched the road to such peace and having done the least, from which it is possible to utterly despair of this as impossible, I have not yet perceived even today; for the purpose of the economy and the wishing to cover up all with the name of peace, as it seems, leads you away from these; for it is clear that we also risk being subject to all the proverbs of the impossible, if it is truly impossible; for we will all appear having desired impossible things, unless otherwise it was a pretext and some irony the things

being sung concerning the wonderful peace. Then if it was utterly impossible and having done nothing such at all we were about to depart, I do not see the benefit from doing the other things, until we honor them with the name of union; for if through friendship simply or fellowship or supply of money or help against the enemies or confirmation of whatever things previously being shaken or any of such titles of it we have desired, it would be reasonable for those missing the greatest things to wish to enjoy at least these, and not having obtained the peace to grieve, but somehow to comfort the grief from there with the benefits from the other things; but if we will call these a union of churches and peace, just as if someone in the cold would say that to be pelted with hail and rains, because someone provides him with money, he is being warmed, I do not know who will wish to sacrifice for such peace, and having left the matters standing in the previous doubt and causing them to be sullen, he will receive the name of peace as a pretext for cheerfulness and will think to have obtained something of the things hoped for; so that with the one not even seeing at all to another thing the shame of the desire for the impossible is present only, but to bring back a union having nothing more than the previous difference and to celebrate it with this name, it has an accusation of a second and worse deceit and of first deceiving themselves by themselves and wishing to deceive the others.

18.But what I think will alone suffice against those opposing those things, having left all the others and wishing now to end the speech, this I wish to say. It is impossible, it is impossible, venerable fathers, that that peace is impossible, if indeed no one calls impossible what has happened many times; and such a union has been done seven times already, and you are in no way inferior to any of the synods that accomplished those. Difficult indeed and very much I would say it is, but greatest and most desirable and such as one would pray to be victorious over all and to become the cause of many crowns for you and for which long journeys and toils and dangers and money and all such things have been despised; and appearing difficult likewise also to the other synods, but nevertheless they did not abstain for this reason to desire it and to accomplish it. By God, if someone should call impossible the things having much ease, is it necessary to attend to this? But that to conclude one certain true opinion concerning the proposed things and to stop the church of God being ignorant concerning such great things and being divided against itself, not only is it not impossible, but if ever at any other time also now it is easy, it is clear from itself to those at least reasoning without passion; for if it was not possible for us from the agreed things to draw many things towards the examination concerning the things sought, but it was necessary for us to become discoverers of the things not yet revealed as if aiming at the transcendent truth, and if it was in some of our evils to solve the dispute, not even thus would it be at all difficult, having chosen what most happens to the faith and nowhere stands against it to be attached to this as truer; and it was likely for some to doubt and to guard against human reasonings as unsafe or not even to wish to agree with each other, each preserving their own assumptions. But since the divine scripture is full of the things leading to these, and the words of the saints are full and one could see them speaking most explicitly concerning these things as if deliberately sitting as judges of our disputes, and it is difficult to count, how many things Greeks and Latins having collected from there each bring forth for their own opinion, what is difficult, explaining the things of the scripture as it would be right and proper, but rather being persuaded by those having best explained, connecting the saints with each other and the lesser with the more, and those having been silent with those having spoken, and those differing in antiquity with the later ones, and those having spoken clearly with those having used the word more obscurely, which also the laws consider proper in political matters and which also I think they would do towards themselves, if it were possible having come

together into the same place to examine each other's opinions, thus indeed may we also agree with each other and stop our war transferring it to the teachers of peace? For as long as we are factious bringing in their sayings as allies, it is impossible not for those also to make the things concerning us sharers of the faction. These things have no difficulty unless only to those wishing to contend and preserving their own preconceptions, but receiving nothing at all of the things through which it might be possible to attain the truth; which it is just for those desiring the truth to despise. But even if these things were difficult directly and never before us by others either pursued or accomplished, it is not reasonable to despair of the help from the spirit, to whom also surpassing power is present against the things truly impossible for us, but to believe that he, having pitied your toils and the dangers which you have undergone and having approved the vehement desire for truth in you, will add sufficient inclination from himself; for even if on the contrary it was most ready, it was proper to hope thence for the power of succeeding, without which it is impossible to accomplish anything. Therefore, it would be his work, to choose the things most conducive and having toiled least to accomplish it.

OBSTACLES TO RELIGOUS PEACE

4. Obstacles to religious peace.

† George Scholarius: second discourse, in which the impediments to such peace are removed.

1.First of all, venerable fathers, thanks be to God both for your zeal for good things, through which you deem it proper to attend to those saying something good, not examining the speakers themselves, but considering the power of the words, and for his own philanthropy towards me, the work of which has become directly to attain a judgment and to please so many fathers; for neither is it possible for you to prefer the agreement in the good and the simply advantageous of all reasonings and the peace, concerning which we have come to consider, nor is it possible for anyone bringing in an opinion concerning such great things to think that anything other than the inclination from there is the cause of seeming to all to say just things. Then lately not only what way of peace I think will be most advantageous, but also through which it would be possible to achieve it, having promised to advise, and having given the one, I now come also paying the rest of the debt. And I know indeed touching a most difficult subject matter, and even if it should happen to please neither of you or only the others the words, having no small danger to the one undertaking it; but nevertheless the daring to say something concerning it, I think will seem to all to be no more of boldness and recklessness than of good hope, which having received from the former it is reasonable to preserve also in the present and again putting this forward to attempt; but of the unpleasantness of the disagreeable thing that will happen from not pleasing either or seeming to the others, first indeed for the sake of the truth itself to endure it and of the apparent good I think it will be a sufficient consolation, then that I will also be a sharer of the things that will later please you, and to have previously thought something else concerning these things will be no obstacle to being placed in your votes; so that I think you doing the just things either not even at the beginning, if I should appear saying something of the things not pleasing to you, will be displeased, looking rather to the opinion, or even after this not deeming it worthy to contradict nor willing to abide by the things known and choosing these instead of the things seeming to all, will grant pardon and dissolve the unpleasantness. These things I having opposed to the laborious of the subject matter the reasonings and having put forward before all your goodwill, I will try both confidently to dare something and to run the risk and preserving what is proper to undertake the most difficult things, to pay the second promises and of which without nothing would be of benefit from the former neither saying these things nor persuading.

2.Many things, therefore, exist to show us that this wonderful peace is easy and readily attainable, if we only wish it, but it is also possible to see it again full of oppositions to those who examine it purely, which I think, having first spoken about the things that hinder it, and having driven these out as far as possible from your souls, you yourselves would rejoice, with the reasonings of those plotting against the good being nobly driven out, and it will be easier to walk towards the things that make it, as if on a certain road, the difficulties in it having been removed; and you would endure a little taking from above. To accomplish a certain economic and apparent union, with the things being disputed remaining as they are for the time being, we have shown that it is neither expedient nor decent, but unworthy indeed of our virtue, and far from our appellation, and least pleasing to the spirit, by whom we also say we have been gathered, and it will bring upon us no small reproaches from men; and besides these neither does it agree with the good hopes, by

which we were moved at the beginning, nor is it fitting for the preparation through all things or even sufficient for something greater, if there was, than the present, and it will begin a worse war and battle for Christians after these; but the discovery and search for the truth and the separation of falsehood from it alone to be a true and complete union, and free from all defects, and full of all good and before all pleasing to God, is it not most especially proper to aim at in all the things being done by us? And this would happen, either the Latins dishonoring the addition and ceasing after this to confess the faith, or also the Greeks adding it themselves as necessary; or rather to say, the things of the confession must follow, and the faith of the heart to be considered and in it to be established first the knowledge of the truth and the union of all in it. Therefore, either the Latins will completely ignore the affirmation they held and believe the spirit to be from the father alone, or the Greeks will be compelled to think that also from the son; for no other way remains for those at least wishing to be truly reconciled with each other, since now the faith is in contradiction of these, so that there is nothing to find in between, but it is necessary for both having rejected one part of it, to hold only the rest and both, then leading the faith from the heart to the lips, through these to confess it for salvation, and thus to be all under one catholic church, or it wishes to signify the unity of true confession and opinion.

3.This I define to be the true union, which I myself proposed lately, and then I would not say that you also were long ago persuaded by yourselves, but rather being taught by the spirit that this is the good and the just thing. But this the shame of change makes many dislike. And of the Latins I hear saying, how terrible it would be of this opinion having been held for so many years and believing themselves and confessing it in the symbol of faith, and teaching others with zeal also in the writings as of the things most necessary for salvation confirming this and proving it with words, now as if some children having been taught the truth by others, to condemn themselves, and to suffer themselves first the terrible thing, and to impart the shame to those after these; and of the accusations of ignorance and blindness to make all those before us sharers, in whom many have obtained the name of holiness, and having poured so much disgrace on the Roman church to think to have accomplished something; and the worst of all, it is unclear whether it is necessary to pray for our ancestors as for orthodox or to offer them the due honors or to despise them as heretics and having lived with falsehood, denying their salvation and denying the relationship with them. For if we believed only and the spirit proceeds also from the son, but the confession of the tongue was not present, it would be tolerable to receive opinion against opinion; for it is possible for both having thought something else of the things not good after the schism, now to put this away having been benefited by each other and not to add the shame to the change, when neither of them as something immovable and necessary for salvation having known to preserve it, it is no sign that even in the confession of faith those thus having it agree with it; but since it has received the order of the immovable dogmas of the faith from us and is proclaimed for so long now without any doubt, so as not even to be able to know almost accurately neither those having added nor by whom they were moved to these things, but different ones narrate different things, who would endure to move this without first having accepted extreme disgrace and to be a laughingstock to all? For no shame would be greater than to testify to ourselves the deception and the long confession of falsehood, and these being able with wisdom and skill of words to become teachers of the truth to others. These things indeed I hear the Latins saying; but the Greeks I think also very much guard against the opinion of contention, and themselves being proud of wisdom, and thinking it shameful, if they should appear babbling for so long and driving out

the most true opinion and refusing the communion of the brothers; from which indeed it happened to them to be tried of many terrible things being forced to fight against the deluge of unbelief without allies. I think that both in common avoid the shame from defeat, which they think to be yoked to both learning the truth and unlearning the falsehood; for each, as it is possible to see, came with the hopes of rather teaching the others and showing themselves agreeing.

4.But I would least of all say that the apparent shame should be considered by the Greeks for not accepting an opinion now being first introduced, even if it happened to be true, and for contending against it; for to believe the falsehood is more shameful and contention of a false confession is less in the account of sin. And for the Greeks it is possible to flee to the safety of the symbol and to put forward the common confession of themselves, which, if nothing else, they would say that wishing to respect and preserve they have been contending up to now; but for the Latins the accusation of innovation is present, and for having alone touched the common things relying on themselves they make the error worse for themselves. And in many other ways I think that a lesser fear of shame exists for the change of the Greeks, so as not even to be possible to call this shame at all; for where is it shameful to hold accurately to the truth and abiding by the things commonly decided to refer the opinion concerning the things pleasing to some privately to a common synod of all and neither alone nor with others without them wishing to believe such things? And what terrible thing will anyone say to fear the things having fear? For they themselves also feared to approve a voice not yet pleasing to all and before testing to proclaim it; and this fear will have reason, since with safety it is proper to proceed to the opinions concerning God, when many dangers and the greatest of utterly losing salvation follow the recklessness; for if this was not so, but the opinion was utterly condemned, there would be no need for them towards you of speech, just as neither would they endure to argue concerning it for the sake of it those thinking something of the incurable things. But indeed it is not shameful for either to learn while being ignorant, unless we are also about to dishonor all knowledge, which it is not possible to receive without first casting away the opposite ignorance, and to accuse those knowing anything at all, because they did not choose to hold ignorance until the end, fearing the shame from seeming to learn; for on the contrary it is rather shameful, thinking to know all things, not even wishing to acknowledge gratitude to anyone for the benefit, to depart from life with ignorance. And besides these, since our struggles are for the sake of truth, it is indeed pleasant to win with it, but to seem to be defeated finding it is free from all shame; for those readily yielding to the weapons of truth and only appearing to submit no one would say to be defeated by any of men, of whom it is shameful and worse to be seen, but by the truth itself, by which it is the prayer of all men to be defeated; but to be defeated by falsehood they themselves would say very justly, since the mind comes with the truth to the falsehood, to which it served for the previous time. And indeed neither is there any shame in changing an opinion prudently and altogether to change from the worse to the better; for not the change of evil, but the keeping of evil, as someone said, has the shameful thing.

5.Therefore, I say that the Greeks should be persuaded by the Latins, if they speak truly, and make this evident in all ways, so as to have no suspicion of shame nor for this reason to abandon the true opinion, which confessing and believing and being connected by both of these it is necessary for them to confidently expect from above the rewards both of concord and of truth; but for the Latins, even if I see some of the things said by them to show those reasonings of theirs to be unsound and the fear of shame not altogether unreasonable, and indeed more than the others they are reasonably disturbed by these, it is also just to

consider those things, that they will harm nothing to the ancestors themselves from thinking the truth, unless perhaps they will even benefit them, while they themselves pray with pure and unadulterated opinion for men having been captured by falsehood and having suffered something human and seek from God the philanthropy towards them the reward of the struggles for the truth; and they will be able to cover up little by little the reproaches of those, which they were about to increase holding to the error they inherited and preserving the terrible thing in themselves. But if not by a desire for glory and by wishing to be first of the brothers and to define the true and just things to all, but from some reasonable necessity and being defeated by reasonings, which they could not overlook, they introduced this opinion, it is likely that even with us being silent they will find philanthropy and obtain God's mercy, who even of the worst sins, if it is not sinned from a like mind, becomes a philanthropic judge; which I am more persuaded concerning those men; for he would not have shown those excelling others in uprightness of life and having loved him before all, having exchanged them for the gifts of the genuine and having numbered them in the chorus of the blessed, without first forgiving them the dues owed from the error, which continuously exclude those captured from the blessed end. But that God has testified to many their holiness both living and having died through the things he is accustomed to testify it, both the church of the Latins honoring and revering them shows and the Greeks would certainly agree, nor would they say it is an error the thing and in vain you ascribe to them the glory of holiness, not being aware of anything of the things sought for it; so that there is hope and very firm, that the addition in the symbol will harm nothing to their salvation, having been led to it by some necessity and reasonings showing it harmless, nor will they fear your prayers, and much more if not even yours is added to them, but having known your truth, the harm from the falsehood extends only to themselves; for they will be liable for an account concerning themselves, but not also of your souls, which it is likely to be forgiven to them for a less outpouring of the corruption of heterodoxy. But even if not a complete release from the penalty, at least some refreshment and consolation will the correction of the descendants bring to them, for they surely care about you and at least pray for you to stand outside of the things brought upon them.

6.Therefore, neither to those, as I said, nor much more to those after these we will make your correction a subject of shame; for how will they be ashamed through us, who with you and them will free them from the shame of falsehood and as being prudent will wish to know the immortal gratitude of the benefit? For neither will they themselves rejoice having been freed from the falsehood, but will hate those having accomplished this for them and will exact the penalties of the unjust and wicked. And indeed no one will reproach them for your change to the better and the knowledge of the truth, as long as not even they are driven out as erring either by someone wicked or even foolish, blaming the things worthy of crowns and thinking those having mind who abandon their own salvation for the sake of arrogance with the truth and considering; for I think they will much more inherit your praises and boast in your toils, which you undergo for the sake of the truth. And in general, to send the shame to those after you I do not even think it has reason, since they are not first of all worthy to be ashamed themselves; for neither is learning shameful and the acquisition of truth is accustomed to make them more beautiful and shining. But even if to those in both times we were about to cause some disgrace and reproaches from knowing the truth ourselves, not having been the cause of the falsehood to those and being able to be guides of the healthy opinion to these, it was not necessary for us providing for the honor of the others to overlook our own and to abandon the glory

from the truth; but if even against ourselves we feared every dart to be let go of blame, it was necessary to go against all, considering nothing more preferable than to be dishonored and to die, if need be, with the truth, and reasoning the freedom of speech and glory in heaven, which on account of the toils for the truth the reproaches of men being due to us were about to increase, and considering how we ourselves being corrected in life and faith may be saved and glorified, having taken upon ourselves every kind of disgrace. And in general, I do not see who those will be who will reproach you and whose reproaches you greatly respect; for those after you it is necessary also to shudder at your votes, respecting the worth, which you will show being clothed with both to the others and to the truth having been cared for as was proper, and considering it rash and full of danger to control such a synod; but abiding by the things known by you, it is likely also to honor these and to judge them worthy of all things and to acknowledge gratitude to you for these things and to gladden you with the honors of the blessed, with which they deem those excelling in like struggles worthy; but if some freely honoring these things should wish to blame you as having despised the dishonor from being defeated, but to you the glory from the works and of being saved yourselves, and saving others willing unwilling by the knowledge of the truth will suffice.

7.But indeed, none of those now living will blame you; for neither the Greeks, to whom you will appear worthy of many praises and with whom you will obtain immortal memory, as having almost alone of all accomplished the matter of peace both with money and bodies and wisdom and finally with humility and some more divine reasonings, nor you yourselves nor any of those attached to you; for all will seize your votes as having heard them from God, both because of the whole church being together, which it is not possible to err, and because of the causes of peace, which all desire to see, expecting by this to be freed from all the incurable things, from which the schism began among both; but even if you will not have all praising and rejoicing in your votes, but there will be someone to whom contending you would rather please and overturning all things, so as not to seem to have been ignorant of what is necessary for the previous time, but it is not necessary to exchange the praises from the few and these happening for evil for the unpleasantness from the many and best and for the sake of the best, where indeed all being at once corrupted and making the matter terrible there is no reason to have account, but it was necessary to care only for the good and the truth, knowing that all blame and all opposition is unsound, if only yours prevail; for if it is necessary to say the truth not considering anything, it is necessary for you only to despise empty glory, and all things will have been well, even if you firmly suppose, never to be ashamed yourselves nor to suffer any disturbance at the change of opinion, the fear concerning the others is nothing. Therefore, it is neither just nor proper for you to prefer anything else to the truth and the only concord able to save bodies and souls, when it is not far from being in your hands or even to take it remains only, to abandon it for the sake of shameful contention and human passion; for these things are not worthy of fathers, nor of teachers, nor of those adorned with wisdom, nor of those pursuing all virtue, nor of God's stewards, nor of the successors of the apostles, nor finally of those gathered for the sake of the truth, and besides these so many.

8.But indeed, no one would say that either of you betrayed the good hopes, which you had; for each having fought before for his own opinion and having taken experience of the hopes, when the end of the war becomes clear, you will proceed to the rest of the proposal and you will foresee how the peace will be and you will care how to utterly defeat the falsehood everywhere; for not all of you came each to conquer the others (for this is also to wish the falsehood to conquer, since concerning the things being disputed the truth

has not been defined, and of the truth being indeed in the unclear, it is necessary also for the suspicion of falsehood to be in each to have some place), but you came first to contend with each other concerning the things you have thought and to complete this contest first, then you will judge falsehood and truth and will all crown and embrace this, from which also the reconciliations and the heads of the hopes will shine forth to you exceedingly. Therefore, no one will justly accuse you having accomplished the things for which you came together and having taken up this sufficient victory; and above all these it is not even likely that those having changed should owe more gratitude to those having persuaded than those having remained in the previous opinion to those having been persuaded, so that someone would also guard against the shame from seeming to be benefited and to learn something; for you will both equally be benefited and honored by each other, first indeed becoming sharers of the pleasure from winning, since the manifestation and victory of the truth will be the end of the zeal of all and the common struggles and dialogues, and of the other part, whichever one would say, not cooperating towards the search for the truth, and to show this and for it to prevail over falsehood is of the impossible; then also to hold firmly to their own opinion, will altogether be present from those having been persuaded to those having persuaded, of whom contradicting, those also were certainly about to doubt, which also they suffered before. Therefore, that the apparent change of opinion has no shame for either of you, neither if there is any, is it fitting to care for this, but it is necessary for all equally to confess the apparent truth in the symbol of faith, neither hesitating to add what is pleasing to all nor being ashamed to erase what stands against it anywhere, and having thus proclaimed the true and firm peace to all, to return with pleasure, I think it is sufficiently clear from the things said, and that it is not even worthy to attend to those disturbing something else nor for you yourselves to be bothered by those reasonings; and now it is necessary to proceed to the rest of the impediments.

9.Many, I know, from both sides will say, how not only to us gathered here it is necessary for the way of peace to be pleasing, but also to all the nations, as many as obey the laws of both churches, and not only to consider how we may agree with each other, but also how those may be persuaded by our votes; but if not, we will be found having raised up war instead of peace and by being connected to those far away we are badly torn away from the closest, which will cause more of the previous evil the grief and the disturbance to those having suffered. We know indeed that all of them except for a few have a hard time with the change and consider it an excess of impiety to seem to innovate something; and some of them even up to only becoming teachers to others of the truth, and of an ecumenical synod and its works they aspire, nor do they say it is permissible for anything better than what they themselves believe nor even to seem to themselves. How then having thus in mind, will they endure us taking away or adding at all? Or where is it just to abandon our allies, with whom we have waged the enmity towards each other, and not to wish to make sharers of the better also those previously partaking of the difficult things for us, nor as they themselves would agree and nod, thus to attempt to bring about peace?"

10.What then will be the defense against these, or rather what indeed do I have to advise you concerning these words? I would attend to those now willing to speak. Those far and those near, most gentle fathers, it is not right to judge by distances of land, but by likeness and contrariety of customs and manners, and of language, in which it is possible, and what is greatest of all, by goodwill and fellowship and by cooperating with each other in whatever is necessary and by working together. Using this rule therefore, you must deliberate concerning the proposed things quite contrary to what those demand; for who does not know the

most famous races of the Latins, as the speech would be towards the Greeks first, preserving the most accurate closeness to us in all the things previously said together, although some of them are furthest from us by land? Who is ignorant that many of those until now agreeing with us are settled near us indeed, but differ in customs and manners not even as much as it is possible to say and do not even turn around to those happening to us from time to time? And we know some of them plotting and envying; and those willing to do the things of the benevolent are equal to those not willing, similarly hindering us and worse, and not even being able to defend themselves; for it is clear that except for Gauls and Spaniards, the rest of the Latin nations are less distant from us in place than some of these (for I do not wish to say the name of those whom we greatly hold to); but with those of them as if neighbors we are dealing, being especially connected to some colonies and islands ruled by them; and to some even of those among us having shared all things, as much as we offer directly to genuine and citizens, and their timely aids and the exchanges from us, and besides this to rejoice in each other's customs before their own, and to enumerate each teachings and words and knowledge of dogmas with accuracy and the other things, through which being connected, I consider it of the most difficult things. If therefore all will wish to share with us the peace with the Latins, this indeed would be fortunate and a brilliant victory of the truth against falsehood and a broad peace encompassing all; but if we risk losing the others while holding to the others, it would be of the prudent to choose those most approaching of the others, and whom having preferred it will be possible both to confess the truth and to do the peace, as much as it may last; for you know that even now most of them are autonomous of these and neither do they share with us in anything of the others nor do they obey our church, but no harm happens to us from here; nor therefore being completely torn away from us, will they have no favor they will grieve. But if they should have something to harm us, but the accurate fellowship of the Latins being so many with much abundance will suffice to dissolve the unpleasantness from there, so as not even to perceive henceforth, from whatever of the formerly related we have become deserted. But indeed, we will not even wrong them at all with God as judge and those having mind of men; for on the contrary they themselves will rather wrong both the church of God and themselves; for not only to us finally will they contradict, whom also before they showed to be a part of the catholic church, but they will contend against the whole church together and will be torn away from all; for of the church in Constantinople being connected with the other three to that of Rome, nothing outside of these is left of the catholic church, from which separating themselves and denying its votes, I do not know if they could suffer anything worse from another than this, nor ought we, one would say, even to the point of despising the truth and refusing the good of peace, and harming ourselves, to care for their things, which also it is very absurd to allow to masters.

11.But neither is it something uncustomary and now first happening the disobedience of some to the ecumenical synod and its votes, so that someone may even have to accuse our economy, of not being able to have all yielding; for many nations and whole cities contradicted the opinions of the former synods, considering them to have suffered something human, and what seemed to them, having declared this to be the truth, until the strength of the truth having penetrated the souls of all, showed all obeying and as to God's voices attending to those men; and this indeed the examiners of the truth accurately wished, but surely not fearing this and considering it necessary to care for the either shamelessness or disbelief of some, they allowed the souls of the prudent to be shaken and overlooked the truth being fought against by falsehood and the church of God suffering the worst things and themselves considering to be the causes of all these;

but having especially and primarily taken thought for these, they immediately neglected the others, then also healed those with prayers and other cares and turned them to the knowledge of the good and just. Therefore, neither should we now care for so and so, lest a wicked person able to be better may happen, but having accomplished what is necessary themselves, to choose this and to cherish it to leave to those having mind, whom it is likely to be the most and most approved of ours, and to define the time after to those perhaps wishing to oppose to healing and not even to think their conversion utterly hopeless; for there are indeed many among us, who will stop contending saying the true and just things; for not only the church of Constantinople, men, do you fight, they will say to these, but you seem to wish to dishonor the catholic church, which also is to despise the truth and to refuse the reverence towards God, on which our hopes of salvation; for the whole church of Christians has now chosen the same opinion concerning the formerly disputed things, and all except you honor the votes of this ecumenical synod, considering it impossible for this to err; but even if this was possible, considering it better to risk with all together, having sufficient refusal of falsehood the persuasion and the unanimity towards all, or alone of the others supposedly holding a safer opinion from trusting themselves and thinking to be wiser than all, if something should happen to fail, both to cut off the hopes of pardon and to cast themselves out of all defense (for surely they will not bring forward any commands and rumors come to them from the heavens, which it was before all proper to place). But indeed, if simply thus you have chosen to think contrary to all and to despise the catholic synod, truly neither of praises nor of the safety after these nor of the toils for peace, of which also you partook in turn, taking account, all advice is idle, but fear only prayers, which the common of the church will not hesitate to make for you, greatly desiring your salvation, and seeing you risking to fall from it and grieving for this reason, but having utterly despaired of persuading with words and counsels.

12.But if you hold to the old confession in every way thinking to have stood on some safe ground, and not being able yourselves to understand the addition of the synod, whether it is of the true and necessary things for salvation, nor being very bold concerning it to others, but thinking it to be of the possible things for all to be deceived, you hesitate to confess it, knowing that you fear the things having no fear; for so that we may say the things only able to free you from the present fear, having for the time being overlooked the many and no less necessary proofs, to be hidden from some part of the church of God having served falsehood, is neither unlikely and of the things having happened many times; for as long as men remain in their own nature and do indeed act willingly, but opine choosing, it is impossible not also for many both in actions and in opinions alike to be those failing of the proper and opining indeed the false, but doing the things worthy of blame. And this indeed the nature of things surely demands, but God also allows from above knowing the curable harm from this; for the healthy of the church uses it towards the correction of the ailing. And one could find the church of God having suffered many such things, from which not only did it not receive anything terrible, but immediately and before the falsehood had almost sprung up having cut it off and having been freed from the disturbances from it, but has also been shown altogether more brilliant and the then wars had a great provision for the tranquility after this. But for the whole church together to err and the light of truth to become absent from it, is impossible; and apart from the others who would believe all Christians together either willingly to choose the falsehood or to be ignorant of the truth, there being so many leading towards it and having made so much care for it? For only yours remains, which speaking to us with goodwill seems indeed very great, but in order and quantity it is not even possible to say how much you

are of all. What hope then would remain of the return to the truth, no one of those leading towards it having been left to the others? For you alone will not be able to do this and having mind yourselves you will persuade the others to be prudent, just as if someone wishing to rule the whole body without nails and to move it and to heal it and to advise the things leading to health. But indeed, it is proper for you to consider, that our master has thus built the church on a safe ground, so that not even the gates of Hades will prevail against it, the heresies evidently rising up against the truth and dragging down to the pit of Hades those being persuaded, and as if some exceptional gift he has given this to it, without which not even the great thing of the economy would have been, if it was about to after it having become incurably ill and being seized by the falsehood or to be utterly overlooked or to need more drastic medicines; and he allows this to be troubled by the falsehood, but he says he will not allow it to be utterly captured and become a slave of deceit. But that the five thrones of the patriarchs and those obeying it are the church of God, both the canons of the synods and its long custom and the nature of things dictate; for if some of the rulers anywhere on earth with unreasonableness and tyranny have denied the pastoral care of all these thrones together, and rejoice being pastured by them and being a law to themselves, not approving this of the church and wishing it to be possible for all to do thus, but yielding to the boldness and fearing something greater, it prevailed whom one would say even now wishing to contradict, not being led by some reasoning and untimely fear, but having long ago learned to be shameless nor even now abandoning the habit.

13.These things therefore being thus undoubtedly, and the church of Christ cherishing this opinion, which it once chose, and accepting it until the end, and he having never promised that falsehood will prevail against it, it is not possible that either by promises or rather by benefactions you will preserve the opinion of the truth, thinking that falsehood has prevailed over the truth, or those remaining in authority, you yourselves thinking this will not seem to say something vain; for either it is necessary for the word of truth to fall, the church being subjected to falsehood, or it is not possible for that to pass, and for this to be utterly freed from the suspicion of the worse. If therefore that is rather blasphemy or rather clear madness, this would be preferable as both acceptable to faithful hearings and opinions; and yet even without the divine oracles and the safety from them it was not at all necessary to doubt that the church of God will be kept unswerving until the end and that the terrible thing of deceit will never undergo it; for neither to be without truth is something and to subsist in general, nor for the generation of men to be in vain is of the reasonable, no one deserted by the truth being able to be saved and to arrive at the sojourns in the heavens, which we know to be the end of human nature. But if you having torn yourselves away from the catholic church, alone think to be wise and safely hope for salvation, which both by the truth being preserved and by nature not failing of the end one would say to suffice, we do not praise the reasonings; for apart from not even being anything almost yours nor in you remaining the truth being preserved rejoicing nor nature attaining the likely, nor will you to the end enjoy this good fortune, alone sustaining the war against falsehood and often yielding in the desolation of allies and inability of weapons; for if the catholic church, of Christians, although bringing in so much strength from everywhere, has not prevailed, as you would say, to overcome falsehood, how is it likely for you not even the hundredth part of it being to withstand? And that indeed having failed in this, will perhaps deliberate better concerning the things after these; but we will live as in darkness, not even knowing how we will use the things happening; for you have never become examiners and judges of such things, but doing well you follow those knowing and being able to judge these things; and very many things will happen, since

the enemy of truth having opportunity to attack you standing outside of all help, and thus to you the safety for the present having come will become a cause of dangers; for neither will those now being despised care for you, nor will you suffice for all things. But if then having with difficulty taken mind you will seek the catholic church, and will promise to honor and think all whatever this would command, cursing many things of the previous faction and the arrogant reasonings, that indeed will certainly take hold, but for you the repentance will not be without shame, which fleeing it is better not even at the beginning to wish to contend. Therefore, cease refusing the fellowship of the brothers and grieving them, and provoking the spirit of love, and lying indeed altogether to your own harm against the catholic church, which it is impossible to err from the truth, and making for you a life after these full of many difficulties.

14.Saying such things to them, I think they will persuade them not to contradict anything, and even if they do not readily agree with these things, they will gladly accept the report concerning the things here defined, which even not being very wise I am quite persuaded they will consider as simple and just. Therefore, on account of these things, I would say that the Greeks should not be considered to take account of whoever may happen to oppose them, nor indeed gratifying those they should not, to deprive themselves of the true confession and the peace with the Latins, it being possible both to benefit you and to persuade those if they say anything. But the church of the Latins cannot even pretend such suspicions. For first of all, there is no race of Latins, which does not yield to its commands, but rather there is none, which having yielded to the reverence towards it would endure to concede the primacy to others; thus, it enjoys much honor from all, and so far it is from suspecting any objection and contention to arise concerning what it would wish to ordain; for without the accuracy concerning the spiritual authority, through which having mixed the astringent with the gentle and healing it does not allow any of those ordered under it to wage war against what seems good to it and to conceive anything rash against the mistress and mother, and all Latins willingly and with no one compelling are driven to its reverence, being adorned with wisdom and prudence more than the others and in the continuous orations of the teachers, how much it is owed to it, being taught; so that to the reverence and faith towards it they have conceded many things also to its leaders, which being a proof of the good sense of those having given, is accustomed to become a beginning of reproaches and scandals to those not knowing how to use it well. Therefore, even legislating something newer, all will attend not meddling in many things, and now they will show no less reverence, when also to those obeying if ever they think it will be expedient and contradicting they will give more severe accounts than the usual. Then also wishing to contend they will have no pretext; for not a newer opinion would be introduced, but what has been added would be taken away, which is the same as returning to the ancient and a confession free from all suspicion. It would be absurd therefore to obey one previously innovating, but to stand apart from one holding to the ancient and confirming these things, and suspecting nothing alone doing such things, but being in doubt when finding what is necessary with the brothers, and honoring it being fought against by the others, but despising it using those formerly enemies now allies; for if they were ever about to, having cast away the reverence, to attempt something self-willed and rash to the faith adding without the brothers and daring so much, it was reasonable; but since then all yielded, sending all reasoning to the reverence towards it, not even now is it likely for them to contradict.

15.But if even some beyond all justice and reason and disregarding also your anger, do not give their mind to the things to be defined by you, but will wish to remain in what they were from the beginning, what I

previously said to the Greeks concerning those contradicting them, I think these things will also suffice for you against such; and just as the church of the Greeks, so also it is right for yours not to cease acquiring the good things for the prudent by fear of the foolish opposition, which hope indeed, I suppose, not even will happen, but having happened it is necessary either to be dissolved well or to be punished justly. I allow that you will also persuade those contending with you among you, being wise and understanding your voice and being able to be persuaded by the irrefutable of the words, than the Greeks these aliens and uneducated, and which for the height and greatness of words and thoughts has simply been estranged no less than for the flight through the air the constitution of the bodies; and that the Greeks in one or two of such nations would not without tears give up, even apart from seeming to have failed the greatest things, there being few of the rest and with whom they will enjoy the peace; but you whenever something even completely is torn away from your nations and it seems, having been ill incurably, you will indeed bear with difficulty their falling out and the error, which you do not set it as a work of prayer for even one of all to suffer, but you will not at all take account of the desolation of friends and genuine ones, there being many obedient to you and better than all number, who will show obedience as others disobedience and with whom you will use as sharers of the peace with the Greeks; for surely not all or most are about to lift the sword against their own head and to thrust it against themselves. Thus also this fear, although seeming not to be of those having happened, is something paltry and not able to lead away from the proposed good things those attending to it by nature, both the speech has already shown and you will understand better, having well directed the reasoning to it.

16.Therefore, let those who shake at us the secession of some and who cherish the arrogance and boldness of the wicked, having vainly wished to overlook the prudent and lovers of the good things themselves, cease, and you I know not of what not more idle and frivolous to return, so that I may say nothing of the other reproaches, with which you will be justly liable. For these it was necessary first to suggest the reasonings, or rather to be frightened by these bugbears, and to persuade each remaining in what they had, as if on account of this incompatible and impossible the way of peace neither to attempt, not then urging all ways to peace, and not saying the one, what not doing of the possible to move, and of what not having declared it easy and following only the coming together with each other, now to be mindful of some difficulties and to bring up fears; for even if it was possible at the beginning, yet it is not possible to care for these in the present time those having arrived in the times of doing; but where not even then such impediments were about to have place at least with those knowing well how to deliberate, how could one give to the present time the consideration concerning these to be fitting, or how is it not altogether necessary both to block those now speaking and to cover those (may it not happen) about to be persuaded? For neither does the accusation have the same either to those having deliberated or to those having been persuaded both the one of still deliberating about such great things with unreasonable fear to overlook the good and expedient and the other of having begun to do to be hindered; for to the one there is the opinion of laziness, but the other is not even free from the accusations of folly, and to the one no danger is yoked, but on account of this it is necessary also to be in danger concerning the existing.

17.These two impediments therefore having been clearly refuted by the speech, to which it seems to be of some account, it is not at all just to attend to the others, whose unsoundness it is possible for all those wishing to see from afar. Immediately who does not know the things being rumored concerning the not needing either to add or to subtract of the symbol definitions, being otherwise an attack, as those saying them

understand them, and having found them for the sake of covering up the shame from the contention? For if there will be something persuading the Greeks to deny the opinion of the Latins and to refuse to add this to the symbol, there would be another speech, and no one blames those understanding that vote of the synod healthily; for it has been brought forth at the beginning against those harming the faith with some subtractions and additions and introducing a bastard theology, which all would say they revere themselves both not daring anything such and not sharing with those having dared; but if on the contrary they are persuaded rather that this opinion is most true and greatly agrees with the foundations of the faith and seems good to the saints, the refuge to those things is vain; for they do not say distorting the votes of the fathers, until those removing the falsehood beforehand, not casting out the true opinions, brought this forth; for they threaten those writing another faith and restrain those about to overturn the things agreed upon with some additions contrary and treacherous subtractions; so that as is proper the vote being understood, neither would the Latins justly blame adding grievous things, and it remains for the Greeks agreeing indeed to err nothing, but saying something else to directly attack. Then if even to the Latins alone without the Latins it is not possible for the Greeks to add anything, yet no one will be able to take away this honor from the ecumenical synod, since we also know the other synods having revealed the true faith with some additions, and the term condemning the addition, which anyone publishing as his own opinion would make, not which the whole synod would wish to add, this it drives out; for nowhere there is mention of a synod, but it says it is not possible for anyone. And indeed, what prevents believing, these also it is not right to add to the symbol of faith; and these are as many as are contrary to the true things and do not agree with those having prevailed after many struggles; but what it is possible to believe, these also it is allowed to confess; for the confession of the symbol surely has made it necessary not for some to be hidden having been corrupted concerning the faith, which as long as one makes it agreeing with those safely believed, it would not justly be considered to harm. And otherwise we will also falsely accuse the symbol of faith and we will read this in vain, the safety from it having already been trampled down; for neither will there be a symbol henceforth not revealing all the opinion fixed in the soul concerning the articles of the faith, nor is it of the impossible to hide some having thought some impossible and false things, and to stand with us in the confession, but to be separated in the faith, once this having been allowed. And where will we preserve the accuracy of the faith, which we have received to subsist in confessing this, we ourselves sparing to proclaim this with the tongue? Or of the things necessarily believed will there be hope of salvation to us, if indeed for the sake of salvation we hear the faith to be confessed, but we as if shame will consider to confess the truth also with the lips, just as neither is it necessary to believe at the beginning as many as go outside of the rules of truth, so also to those being well believed and thought it is altogether necessary to be present the outward confession.

18.Therefore, it must be shown that the opinion of the Latins is far from the truth, or not being able to do this, it must be honored and thought as true, then also the faith must be made manifest by the symbol. For the Latins accepting the opinion with us and voting it to be valid concerning the confession will perhaps not be very different; for it suffices them to show that they have thought the things that are and to stop us contending and pursuing the true as false; but to us alone the faith of the heart will not suffice for salvation, not also being yoked with the outward confession, and what some fear as terms, must be understood rather for us and the good addition, and they must be understood, as they themselves would wish for themselves and the others who have set them; for neither themselves nor those to be around them wanted to exclude the

authority of the power concerning these things and of defining the things concerning the faith; and otherwise also showing these terms as something unsound and able to be transgressed they would have been hidden; for these also are some addition and opinion of the faith then first brought forth and not pleasing to any of the synods before it for all, as it is clear, were adding. But indeed also the Latins, if they consider neither that synod, of which the addition has happened, ecumenical nor simply irresistible, they would not even fear the terms, having condemned the addition and wishing to remove it; for the things not very firmly defined it is possible for those having greater power to alter; but if they consider that one ecumenical, and what it has known, to be valid until the end no less than the things defined by the other ecumenical synods, it is very clear that these also will bring forward the terms, and they will say it is the same difficulty for the Greeks both to add and for themselves wishing to remove. But I leave it to the Latins themselves to consider whether it is necessary to consider that synod ecumenical or not such; but I would advise them, first indeed to think it better to preserve the terms in standing with the opinion of those before those synods than to overlook all those and to attend to one very last one; then also not being different with the Greeks concerning that synod to wish to stand apart from the proposed things; for I know the Greeks never enduring to rank that one with the ecumenical synods and being opposed to this rather than anything else of all, knowing that it is necessary for them to be harmed from all sides and to be considered worse, if they should wish to allow these things. On account of these things therefore that synod must be left, however each would wish it to seem to be; but the addition, which is the cause of the schism, if it appears anywhere to harm, not even the Latins should hesitate to cast it out, nor if they think it just for all the Greeks to obey the present synod adding, let them themselves think to be wronged, not heeding it removing; for both are equally both possible to those to whom it is possible and has been forbidden.

19.Therefore, neither fearing those terms, all things rather than the present need happening, should the only true and firm peace be let go, nor is it reasonable to be displeased with the change by having happened to take hold of the opinion of that one or this one; for I perceive some also considering these things and thinking it terrible to change an opinion having prevailed for so many times; for these things must not be judged as a spectacle nor should such things be trusted to time, which is also a skillful finder of the worse, nor is it ashamed conspiring with falsehood against the truth, and many times indeed it has raised up against the important things the things worthy of blame, and many times to the worse having already prevailed and been believed it has brought on a more violent battle from the better ones. And now therefore it is nothing unlikely for the error to have come to so much time either of the falsehood having taken a phantasy of truth and being proclaimed after this or putting its own phantasy on this and contending to thus cast it out; nevertheless, of the greatest things indeed being proposed to us and before coming to this figure almost by all disbelieved, they have thus bound many difficulties to them, it is likely that even many more impediments than those said now will appear to you, and many times becoming very near to the good, being troubled by these they will depart again; for it has not happened, if it is necessary to say the truth, nor will there be a matter having more and greater the difficulties of this most beautiful and most useful peace of all. But I would advise you, and let no one of you be angry with me, rather to choose not even to attempt the matter at the beginning, but just as having come together here for history, thus having conversed and become known to each other to return, than having eagerly begun to give in and to be seen defeated by some small or greater difficulty; for if you were fewer in number or less adequately prepared for the need, if a provincial synod and

not representing the whole church of God, if having been gathered for something else primarily, then also you were about to consider concerning peace incidentally, to have despaired having attempted the greatest things and an opinion of prudence would have brought to you; but since both in multitude and in virtue and in wisdom and in all preparation, if any of the ecumenical synods ever having happened, you have been equipped, the remaining difficulties after the like strength then prevailed, and there is also the vehement desire of peace and the not for the sake of anything else having come to contend, it is shameful, venerable fathers, it is shameful to leave the order of the figure and the name and having received a worse opinion than those having succeeded at other times in the like contests to depart; for no one proposing the impediments and the difficulties to you as a defense will be willing to attend to the mind, knowing your preparation through all things being stronger than all, but being betrayed only by laziness. And besides these, there is no way that you will not be subject to the other reproaches, which are held by the impediments of peace; for to one of them there is the accusation of arrogance, of the other the blame of cowardice is attached, of the other the contention is yoked and other shames are inherent in others, how you will not be justly liable to which, it is proper for each of you and all together to consider; for all alike is furthest from your virtue and the hopes upon you.

20.And of all the things said there is a summary. All other men will enjoy the agreed things of these and the benefits evident to all from the peace, of which the knowledge of the truth and the salvation of souls to them will be the most beautiful; but you first partaking of the good things and being adorned by becoming the causes of these to all, will withhold the rewards of the benefit of the others. And besides these, God is also present now an overseer and judge of your thoughts, whom it is not possible for anyone to hide either being lazy and sluggish or mixing some bodily reasonings not timely with his works. Therefore, all having this one always before the eyes and the benefit and glory from succeeding, you will show all opposition unsound, and you will vote the desired peace as quickly and profitably as possible.

To God be glory and grace.

OBTAINING RELIGIOUS PEACE

5. Means of obtaining religious peace.

† George Scholarius: third discourse, in which are set forth the things that will bring about such peace.

1.Therefore, what I have considered to be the greatest and most difficult of the impediments of this peace, and which considering again you would make no account of, but both, as it is said, would nobly take hold of it, willingly omitting nothing of what is possible, are the same, the one of many impediments being reduced to three or four of these, and what even with so many of these it was possible to say, of the most having been omitted for those wishing to examine each one; for outlining their nature, it seemed to me sufficient. But I will proceed to the remaining head of the speeches, and reminding you of the things that will bring about this peace with the help from above, so to speak, and only touching I come showing; for this remains of the promises, and having greater power. And I do not think that wise men full of the spirit and governed by prudence will need longer speeches concerning each, nor I myself using more words than necessary, would not also be considered to trouble. For I, venerable fathers, seeing find that our division having begun from afar remains until now and being the cause of much harm and no less benefit, and of the one others having partaken those before us, but of the benefit we first, if only we wish, will enjoy; for in warring with each other irreconcilably for so long a time, and to each being present an opinion for wisdom and the authority through all things, and on account of these things wishing to conquer superabundantly, it is not even possible to count how many things having written against each other in times, we have not hesitated to surround each other with the incurable things and to show ourselves having been ill worse than all men; but all these are some slanders from the necessity concerning the battle and excesses of words, just as it is accustomed to happen in every strife, by which surely the simpler ones having been persuaded, even to extend the enmity beyond these and the apparent things, some customs and those concerning religion having both ridiculed and hated, which they previously enjoyed unexamined. And this same thing has also happened to be most expedient for the present need and a great help for peace; for having examined every writing and having applied the mind to the examination, those able to plead for their own side, both as many as it has in reasonings and as many as for the alliance from the scriptures, they have brought forth, so as by no means to leave to those after these to further devise something and to further invent, from which you might be able with less toil to become accurate judges of the truth nor will it be necessary reading through books and taking the appropriate things from there, or weaving something wise from yourselves and training both opinions following the written things, but it suffices using the things found by the others and considering these each one to bring forth the true and just vote. And I think that God himself being conscious of the difficult judgment concerning the proposed things to be to those both first immediately having begun to dispute concerning these things and much more to those having received the dispute, of whom some were disturbed by the voices of the opponents, and others by the words pleading for these, whom they always found more and more violent, until postponing the peace to you, of whom this would be most the work; for neither will the ambition of the contests take away your peaceful reasonings, nor being troubled by the apparent difference and suspecting the difficulties and the dangers on both sides, do you think it rash to declare something concerning these things, so that indeed from such helps from time both the form of those

judging purely remains to you, others having been ambitious in the contests and awaiting only so to speak your vote, and to express an opinion will not provide a great toil to you.

2.Therefore, it is necessary both abstaining yourselves from insults and revilings and the leadings to the absurdities, and all things which the long division has made, and having first reproached those finding them, or rather having kindly excused them, to use only the help from time and to know grace for this alone to those men, as many as on both sides have undergone this contest, nor to allot to them more of authority than what is fitting to those being judged; for they were not examiners and judges of the truth to the common of men, this indeed is yours, so that it is necessary both to give to them the greatest honor and to consider what they say valid, but each stood before his own part and contended in this way as was possible, leaving to those who will judge such things the vote which I said above. Therefore, concerning the things well said and as many as are about to be expedient to you for the finding of the truth, it is necessary both to be grateful to them and to use them confidently, but from the things to which they were led by contention and which it was better to be silent, it is necessary altogether to abstain; but rather I think it is altogether superfluous for you to deal with the things of those men, when you will be profited nothing from them for the present consideration; for neither do they suggest to you the way of peace or which would have best suited both, but they have altogether neglected this part or demand the most difficult things, so that they may be superior to the others, caring only from all sides; but you primarily seek peace and the knowledge of the truth.

3.Since therefore you have grasped the nature of the question, from which both others have contended and you yourselves are reasonably able to see, having understood not only your own things, but also each the things of the others, it is necessary immediately to abstain altogether from these contests, but to begin at once from those through which alone it is possible to attain peace; and these are, as it seems to me considering, first indeed having run back to the foundations of the faith and the beginnings of true theology, to bring both opinions to these and to consider which would agree most with those; moreover, how the teachers of the church have understood the authorities of scripture, which seem to tend to this whole, and besides these, what each has theologized concerning the question. From the first of the things said, I think much difficulty arises; for it is likely to be concerning the beginnings of the faith more differences, from which the contrariety of the conclusions is collected, which it is neither decent to remove (for we will be found having multiplied the evil and having been torn away from each other by many causes, in which there will be some more difficult than the present difference), nor is it reasonable to allow either the one to the others (for this will be the same as also to confess the defeat) nor to each other; and in this way we will be incompatible until the end, concluding the things seeming to be opposed from opposed beginnings and each transferring the opinion of the others against themselves. But it is expedient having chosen the beginnings most pleasing to each other, to attempt from these; but if it is possible also concerning all the others to show them agreeing, to consider after these, unless someone should think it superfluous for those able to agree concerning the conclusion to examine the beginnings, from which the previous battle was joined. But concerning the remaining two I would say there is no difficulty; for I think the explanations of the teachers are an easy thing for those especially more skilled in such things to accurately understand, how many they have assigned to the passages of scripture; but if some among you would understand these also differently, it is right to determine the victory to the wiser and more; for this both would be just and fitting; and the opinions of the saints concerning the proposed things to fit each other and to bring all to one mind, even if

they do not seem to have differed, both is fitting I think and easy; for it is not necessary indeed to attend, if someone would wish to condemn any of the things honored by the common of the church, or that his theology has been corrupted by his own things, and would not accept the testimonies from him, unless indeed it is somewhere clearly corrupted, and both sides agree, and the testimonies and the books on both sides are free from this corruption and preserve the genuine for themselves.

4.In general, therefore, you will be guided to the knowledge of the truth by these three things, the authorities of scripture evidently, their developments and the private opinions of the teachers, which they have mixed with the others anywhere in their own words, having gone through the mention of the procession of the spirit; but so that these may all be arranged most beautifully and readily, both the preconceptions and contentious objections must be removed and the unsound and easily able to be refuted excuses and it must be proceeded everywhere with equality; for we are not now sitting as judges against each other concerning the things being disputed but as discoverers and advocates of the necessary agreement to the divine scripture and its interpreters and teachers; for if not rightly using the proposed things, we will be liable to many and various injustices. Therefore, as contention is able to carry us to more than the incurable things, both to abstain from it altogether, and as allies for this it is proper to call both the goodwill towards each other and the attempting to say all things with the truth; and first indeed not to wish to take all things expressly from scripture (for with this also we have used many of the heretics as a pretext), but if anything is also consequent to the things thus said, and to deem this of equal honor. Likewise, if anything should appear to be opposed to the true and irrefutable things, to accept this in no way; then to take the scripture itself as a teacher of the things not clearly said, from which it deals more clearly somewhere else; and besides these, attempting to solve the seeming disagreement by explaining, taking times and needs and different conceptions and such things; for it is not at all reasonable to believe that any disagreement and unsoundness is inherent in the teaching of the spirit. And in general, how we must divide such things not only by the example of our common teachers and the things they chose for equal needs, but also by what I said concerning these things as if intentionally, not even leaving this part unassisted, we are able both to contribute and to know; for so that I may omit Cyril and Chrysostom and Augustine and the other theologians (for it would be long to enumerate all, who if they cared for anything else of the agreement of the scriptures, thus also they would justly preserve the reverence from all to them and would show themselves to have assumed both prudent and wise interlocutors of those), I wish to remind you of the blessed of Nyssa, who having purposed to eulogize the blessed Stephen, since he also knew to make a part of that speech his encomium, he aptly sends away a pretext of excuse and falsehood made by them; but I will say almost his words themselves.

5.For since from that vision those raging against the Spirit seemed to be aided, saying: "If the Spirit must be numbered with the Father and the Son, how did Stephen not see in the vision also the Spirit with the Son?" he refutes them from the very words of the vision, connecting what follows with the leading things and shows the Holy Spirit being indeed numbered there, but they being blinded by wickedness passing it over. "For if," he says, "the like are perceived by the like and it is not possible for the light to be seen not being beheld in the light," it is clear that Stephen also having been pre-illuminated by the glory of the Spirit, came to the contemplation of the glory of the Father and the Son. "For Stephen," he says, "being full of the Holy Spirit saw the glory of God and the only begotten of God" - what the scripture has been silent about, in the enumeration of the things having appeared, this has been put first, having declared it to be a work of the

grace of the Spirit the elevation and that vision of the martyr and having declared the achievement to be of divine power not of human contrivance. So it is necessary to gather the truth from all sides like the industrious bees; for this reason also we are commanded to "search the scriptures," as the truth not being readily laid up in them, but being able to be found with zeal and toils. But the Pneumatomachoi attending to a part of the things said, neglected the rest and those through which they were about to arrive at the knowledge of the thing sought, doing mischief; but the blessed of Nyssa not only connects well those parts of the vision with each other, but also shows them agreeing with the other scriptures, from there indeed with that of the gospel: "No one has ever seen God," and from there with that of the Apostle: "No one of men has seen God nor is able to see." "For if," he says, "by human nature and power, the glory of the Father and the Son has become comprehensible, both are altogether false; but surely neither is he lying nor is it necessary for the history to be true; so that through which it becomes possible to see God alone, this itself is God directly." And the same things also the Arians doing mischief from the same vision and saying that the Son is standing at the right hand of the Father, making it a proof of the inferiority of the only begotten, he answers with equal wisdom and grace, and citing the Apostle with David, he introduces this seat at the right hand of the Father, which is a sign of equal honor, then he says: "Either therefore let them erase the magnificent testimonies, through which the sublimity of the dignity is signified, or let them piously explain this also; for there is one teacher for each of the things said, the grace of the Spirit." "But if indeed," he says, "the teacher is the Spirit of truth which is happening in those being inspired, how could anyone suspect some disagreement of the dogmas?" Therefore, the difference of the seat and the position according to what is readily understood for bodies must be guarded; but of the incorporeal nature admitting nothing at all of those things from which the difference of these names is introduced, it remains through each voice to piously conceive the stable and unchangeable in the good; for both he who says to stand and he who says to sit, speaking of the divine, do not differ at all from each other in the variety of the words concerning the mind, the one asserting the divine to have stood firmly, the other to be seated immovably in the good.

6.How then could anyone better guide the things of scripture which way they should be understood and solve the disagreements appearing in it? Or rather, what better proof could there be than that the division of the scriptures and the collision are a paltry thing and of the mischief of the heretics, but their introduction is pleasing to God and worthy of all? And if indeed this one alone would have sufficed us thus most clearly declaring concerning these things, and being just not to be inferior in authority to any of the teachers of the church, would it seem to be doing something healthy and partaking of reason if after this one he would have overlooked all the others having the same mind, and he himself would wish to receive the things of scripture in some other way? But not only each of the saints was thus disposed towards the scripture, both finding what is necessary from his own and deeming it worthy to emulate those who had gone before, but also all together became of this mind, whenever the need gathered them from the contests for the truth; for immediately the fathers having first come together in Nicaea, when the equality of honor of the only begotten to the Father was in danger of being cast out, proceeded in this way; for they did not deem it necessary to attend simply to the authorities of scripture forcing them to the proof of falsehood, but seeing opinion fighting against opinion, and this war also passing over to the scripture, which seemed to plead for the contrary opinions, they thought it impossible for the only teacher of the truth to fall into it, nor did they deem it worthy to honor some parts of it more than others, but they found the opinion agreeing with all the

scripture, which was the one asserting the Son to be equal to the Father and true God; for the equality of honor of the divine persons being removed, it would perhaps seem possible for the things said concerning Christ lower and more humanly to be preserved, but the things testifying to the Godhead would have prevailed having been said in vain; but that one remaining unmoved, both these were able to prevail. Therefore, they preferred this one to the one raising the war, nor did they cease until they gave the victory to this one, and the happening through it and the agreement to the scripture. Others receiving the contests and the zeal for the sake of piety first, became imitators of the method concerning these things; for both to the things then sought and these with the same accuracy and guarding the scripture everywhere unshaken they gave the judgment. And every synod in succession considered with the same intention concerning the questions at other times different, so as through all to complete a certain golden series as it were truly, equal to all the good things, and moreover having happened best and most harmoniously to the opinion concerning the scriptures; for if not also each had the good and just to find from themselves, but there were from the former to the latter the examples; and if they were also in doubt of these, but they themselves were able to achieve rightly from there being aided by the spirit; so that not only each of the saints separately but also all together with the agreement of the scriptures went through all things, and not only one by one, but also more chose the same mind concerning the same things, nor did they consider those teaching their own things to aim at the agreement of the scriptures everywhere, but to arrange some other way for the contests against the opponents; for on the contrary rather some of the former was needed by them for the sake of the latter; and so that no one attending only to the apparent, but not digging up the inherent treasure should become the cause of error to himself and think to use the light as a guide to the precipices, they removed the seeming disagreements and showed the same mind to be preserved through all. Thus, as if from a watchword both commonly and privately and everywhere and for every need they cared for this most of all, as this being a chapter of zeal in them; for they knew the same contest for this and the truth and their own salvation to be for themselves, and with it indeed to achieve the rest, but having failed in this, they thought they would also necessarily fall from the rest.

7.These things being thus established and it being impossible for these things to be otherwise, even if it is very contentious, it is altogether necessary for you also to choose the same mind towards the present things and to bring all things happening to the scriptures to be less; for whether it was necessary to look to each of those blessed ones, you being so many, it would be more just and you would wish both these things and you would accomplish them, or if someone would consider all together, it will be both expedient for you wishing to enter into the same need after them and to emulate, and it will be the cause of blame to those going the opposite way. And yet to some indeed, if not to all, but at least to the former ones, the scriptures alone were proposed, which it was difficult indeed, but nevertheless they were able to reconcile; but to you there is no small addition of help, but almost being itself the all, both the explanations of the teachers on the scriptures and other contests of these, which they undertook both for the refutation of those resisting the truth, and for the confirmation of their own and those obeying them. Of which there being so many and testifying to each other, it is no less easy than just to take the agreement as some unerring guide of the sought truth.

8.But the things concerning the teachers immediately, but the authorities of the scriptures must be connected first; for it has thus. The Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father indeed is laid down expressly in the scripture, and is agreed upon by all of us, and this stands no more for the Greeks than for the Latins nor

is it possible to solve the dispute from this; for neither is it necessary also for the Spirit to proceed from the Son, this being laid down, nor is it impossible also to proceed from the Son; for this affirmation neither posits nor removes the other affirmation, but it is possible indeed to proceed from the Son, but it is possible also not to proceed, as much as from the word, just as if someone would say that man is an animal, he neither posits that it is logical of necessity nor does he remove this; and this looking to us at the manner of the procession of the divine persons and the order which the divine fathers gave to these, the affirmation posits it and much more the affirmation; for of the things belonging to the Father the Son also must partake, unless something prevents, and that which proceeds implicitly through someone from someone has a cause and that through which it proceeds, just as if someone would say that the heat proceeds from the sun, he neither posits nor overturns that it also proceeds from the ray, therefore not from the word, and yet it posits it more, if one would consider the manner of the procession and what order the mediator has towards each; for then he will altogether say that what proceeds naturally through the ray, also proceeds from it as from a proximate cause; but for the time being considering only the one speaking we would not declare either of necessity. Is it then thus also in the matter? Not indeed; for it is impossible for it both to proceed from the Son and again not to proceed at all. It remains therefore for one of these to be true, but neither of these is it possible to take expressly from the scripture; therefore, from what other things it must be gathered this being clearly said there.

9.Therefore, it is right to consider these things, and if indeed all the things of the scripture aid the affirmation of the Latins, to choose this one, but if to the negation of the Greeks, to dishonor the affirmation. For example, if the "to be sent out from the Father and the Son," if the "to be said of both" (not only of the Father evidently, but where indeed of truth, where also of Christ and the Son), if the "to have all the things of the Father also the Son," if the "to receive from the Son and to announce," if the "to be given to the disciples by a bodily breathing," if the "to send it the Son from the Father just as the Father sends it in the name of the Son," if the "the one being sent out from the Son to glorify him just as the Son having been sent out from the Father glorifies the one having sent him out," if all such things agree with the affirmation, it is proper to consider it true and valid; and again, if some things laid down expressly in the scripture plead for the not proceeding of the Spirit from the Son, to be added to the negation. But if even having seized all but one thing hanging from elsewhere perchance or being revealed through many others, and confirming the opinion whichever one would say, to overlook the others, which have to aid the opposed opinion, but the one seeming to resist it brings as friend and ally, not slandering, but rather having explained all things how they might be connected and agree with each other and having judged the lesser and more unclear things by the more and clearer ones, thence also to declare safely concerning the opinions, and to choose the one becoming the cause of the scripture agreeing with itself through all, and to dismiss the one as having otherwise, and to use especially in this the leadings to the absurd, being altogether careful of the absurd, to clash the things of the scripture with each other and to honor an opinion the cause of war and battle to these things, since I consider the like methods unsound in other respects in the proposed things and to say all things insidious, and easy indeed to lead each other to the worst things, but to avoid all things is of greater ease, and yet with no danger following from these things, one would not reasonably accept these things. For concerning the things which it is not possible to take authorities from the scripture, but it is necessary aiming at the probable for us to declare, towards these also it is blameless to use the leadings to the impossible and all other

methods, which are about to guide us to the apprehension of the seemingly truer; but of so many authorities now being, of which some same and alone suffice tending to the proposed thing directly, but from which it is possible for us to conclude the truth, the use of these methods has become something superfluous and vain and only empty ambition. And I know also you, O Greeks, not being confident in the proofs at least in such things, but considering them something suspicious and fallacious; therefore, much more you yourselves will be careful to use the syllogisms through the impossible and you will guard against others using them. Let it be so.

10.Therefore, we will not deem it proper to connect the authorities of the scripture with each other and to reconcile them as much as possible they might be connected, but to divide the interpreters of these in the things which both clarifying these and otherwise contending concerning such things they say, but it is necessary to use these also with equal goodwill and to exclude no one from the reverence owed to all; for if we will vote to cherish and honor some, but we will think it necessary not to attend to others considering them to differ, first indeed we will not be able to enjoy even the care concerning the scriptures, the peace having arisen from those being again confused from the apparent disagreement of the teachers and the rewards from there being lost to us through the slander against the saints, which it is likely is the revelation of the truth; then also the danger meets us doubly; either indeed we have deprived some of them of the glory in holiness, so that someone would allow them also to be subject to falsehood and to be justly overlooked, or we will unwillingly transfer the accusation of disagreement from them again to the scriptures and the Holy Spirit, of whom the scriptures partake, and we think that they indeed have instructed all well and prudently, but the scripture puts forward the causes of the differences to themselves. And besides these, we will show ourselves being wiser and holier than them, if indeed we are able to agree both with the truth from the scriptures and the other teachers, but they themselves have erred in both these, and have thought indeed what was not necessary, and have raised an immortal war against the brothers. But rather these things neither will anyone claim on our behalf nor is it necessary for us to consider them on our own behalf, but we will show ourselves being truly unskillful disciples of them and attending to the words of the teachers more than all things, if indeed having well guided us and having confirmed the teaching with sufficient examples how it is fitting to bring the things said by the Spirit, they themselves altogether wish to use them oppositely. And indeed, it is not at all just for them indeed becoming interpreters of others to bestow the agreement as the greatest of good things to themselves, but for us again interpreting those to be envious as it were of so great a grace, and to be deprived by us of those things which they themselves imparted to others; but even if for the sake of nothing else they will be difficult to us, at least to falsely accuse their wisdom and virtue, and these things having been benefited by them the greatest and owing to them a just gratitude for all things, they will make a no small danger; for neither will it be possible for them to seem to themselves either holy or wise thinking the contrary to the true things and thinking and writing, and besides these also to owe many lawsuits on behalf of those deceived. And without these, neither will those honored by us be grateful to us more than they will justly reproach and blame, both themselves partaking of the dishonor of the brothers and considering that, they being neglected, not even they themselves attain the fitting things, even if they seem very much, and this if they will seem to have been deceived, and to dignify those seized by error with the honors of the teachers; for no one is ignorant how many things having remembered they have honored each other with good report both privately and publicly.

11.Therefore, for these reasons and many other similar ones (for I do not think it is necessary to weary your ears enumerating each one), I say it is necessary for you to honor all the teachers of the church and to consider none of them to have erred nor to suspect any trace of battle in these things, but to think that the concord desired by you has been both more studied and rightly achieved by them, first indeed to assume that they were thinking as brothers and agreeing with each other, then to confidently make that which is pleasing to all of them and your own mind; and if this happened to be altogether difficult, I think the teachers themselves having cooperated with you will easily show it. But indeed it is also of the easiest things and needing no toil, but only zeal; for if the saints seemed to contradict each other and used at least opposing words concerning the proposed things, not even thus would it be difficult to connect them and to remove the opposition concerning the words by the agreement of the minds; for neither would there be wanting to us some ways for this and contrivances, which indeed the abundance of philosophy provides for us wishing to solve the apparent contradictions with the truth; but someone would have hesitated nevertheless towards this, knowing it to be a work of much business and toils. But now we do not all see the things of the saints having thus, but it is full of much calmness and they send to us from afar the rays of concord; but if anything differing has been mixed with them, it is superficial and up to the apparent; for either the more demand different things concerning the same things, which to the wiser are unable to provide any disturbance, but would immediately trouble the simpler ones, or these things have been divided by word and silence. And it is not at all difficult for these things to happen to each other; for we too, while thinking and saying different things concerning the same things in each case, nevertheless remain united, and concerning these things no war breaks out among us. And reasonably so; for of many things being considered in each case and another approaching it in another way, it is necessary for these things to be signified by different words, or by the same indeed, but surely being understood differently, as long as we wish to make the words concerning these things agree with the existence of the things, which is the same as wishing them to be true, insofar as we know the truth of the words to follow the being of the things; but if we were fighting from saying different things concerning the same things, we would also be opposed to the truth itself, or it wishes the existences of beings to be constituted from many things and differently inherent in them. Therefore, neither do we differ in these things, nor are word and silence naturally breaking us apart; for on the contrary rather they seem to reconcile, if indeed the thing of silence is taken equally in the assent also by the political laws, and towards the one assenting there is no war nor battle at least to the one having mind.

12.If therefore we have received in some other way from the teachers of the church, by which it is necessary for us to solve the disputes arising to us from them and we will be able to connect those in whom they would seem to differ, these of our known things being neglected and those which we are accustomed to use towards each other, let that one indeed be used; but if this indeed is not possible to find (for they were not able conversing with men and themselves having our nature), but with which on the scriptures themselves they used these customary ways of reconciliations, they also seem to advise us not even on those to seek others better, whenever it is possible to show them agreeing with each other, neither is it necessary to refuse their peace, from which the things of our concord are hung, nor is it difficult with which we would have used the signs of concord on our part, through these to vote the unanimity and to think as brothers also to those, nor is it reasonable to believe that any danger is inherent in the matter at all; for to me on the contrary it rather seems that nothing would be safer than this to those having undertaken to give an account equally of

life and of opinion; for even if we were about to miss the truth in this way, it would be a sufficient excuse to us before God to have wished indeed to lead a peaceful life after long wars and to receive the same mind concerning the things previously disputed, but not having confidence in ourselves to look to the scriptures and the teachers; but of some difference even in these appearing, having considered that it is impossible for those being sounded by the spirit for a trace of contrariety and error to be inherent, and having wished to preserve the glory of holiness equally to all, to have become rather reconcilers than their judges, and to have connected them indeed with each other as was possible, and then to have been connected themselves, and to have chosen this as a safer way of peace, with the other ways being yoked with many and obvious dangers. By these things I think even the philanthropic judge will be ashamed and will deem worthy of much pardon those who have desired indeed the greatest things, but have chosen also to risk something for them, and having understood the dangers and cherished the lighter one; for of those having arranged all things well it has not happened to attain the desired truth, of these not by wickedness of mind but by the difficulty of the truth the misfortune must be inscribed. Therefore, that those theologians not saying the same things to the more, not as contradicting those, but as wishing to signify something else of the necessary things, and concerning which they said those have the same mind it is proper to understand, it is possible to collect from many other similar things; for who does not know all the saints turning cause and caused up and down, and before all Nyssa? But Cyril forbids to use these things. Therefore, saying these things contrary to the others and looking to the same purpose has he become of the opposed mind, so that it is necessary either with the others except him or with him alone for the truth to be? And how would it have reason, either the others being so many not to perceive the necessary thing or this one to be so much deceived, and these things having come after many using these names? But rather from the suspicion of falsehood both those all together and this one no less through the glory of holiness have been freed. Therefore, neither do they contradict, and both speak truly; for it is reasonable looking to different conceptions of these names, for some indeed to use them, and the other to guard against them; for the other indeed surely looked to the processions, but this one looked to the Aristotelian technology; so that the ones having said to guard against it would have been able, and the one having been cautious to be confident, if someone inquiring of them had changed the causes of speech and silence.

13.And what is more pious than the order in the divine persons, and more customary everywhere in theology? But some of the saints are also carried away against the name of the order, but neither are lying; for it is both possible to conceive some order of necessity in God, and again to drive another thence as belonging to the created nature. But indeed Augustine and the rest of the Western company say that the Son alone is an image of the Father, and they say that the name of the image is proper to the hypostasis of the Son; but the teachers of the East all confidently call the Spirit an image of the Son and indeed also of the Father. But these indeed considering the identity according to essence deem these things, and use the name of the image instead of the perfect likeness, but those surely were considering the likeness according to form, which is contained in the word of the Son; for by the procession of the word the likeness of the form to that from which it proceeds is peculiarly defined. But Basil does not allow the Son of God to be called a "begotten," and yet the others call him so without fear. Shall we then say that he disagrees with those, or rather shall we connect this one also with all the others? For we will say that some being urged by the conception of the "begotten" rightly said concerning the Son use the word, but the other looking to the use

of the word; for the scripture has taken it in a bad sense calling the Jews "generations of vipers," and has given this to the imperfect ones, both to guard against it himself and to advise all the others. But indeed the greater thing, that one would see this same thing having happened even to the teachers themselves, so that if someone would simply follow those and attend only to the apparent things, he will say that they are rather playing. Thus, in many places and often they have used contrary words looking to different conceptions; and what is wonderful, where this has happened even to the oracles, where indeed they clearly say the Father is greater than the Son, and where they manifestly declare the equality in themselves? And these things the teachers understand not only concerning the double nature in Christ, but some of them also concede both concerning his divine nature, and say that he is greater indeed by the cause, but not greater again by nature, and they say the opposites concerning the same thing, but each of these to one and another thing of them. And who would enumerate the seeming disagreements in the divine oracles, some being said through one thing and all truly, and some indeed appropriately and suitably to the Godhead of the Savior, and others being understood lower and more humanly? Shall we then clash all with each other and either believe the opposites, or choosing the things seeming to be of these and having given the faith to these, shall we despise the rest as not pleasing to us? But I fear lest we rather incur penalties of the affirmation than receive thanks of the caution, but rather let us pay penalties for both, as doing both badly; for it is not fitting for us indeed to be judges of these things no more than teachers. Therefore, having considered all equally true, and giving a cause to each of them, and yet even apart from this it was simply and unexaminedly proper to be persuaded thus, but nevertheless there is not where of the things said seeking a cause we will not meet, and it is necessary for us both to free ourselves from warring with each other and those from the impossible disagreement.

14.But indeed that it is not difficult to connect those having said something concerning the proposed things with those having been silent, nor do I think it necessary to show; for so that I may omit to examine speech and silence and what is the nature of each of these, first indeed no one would assert that they have passed over the dogma being condemned by silence; for where we do not consider even those simply saying what they say to be praiseworthy, unless they are of the best ones and of whom it is necessary for the words to agree with the dogmas, someone would scarcely give leisure to the following of silence to have condemned; for either they were silent concerning the things which no one has said, and we will condemn many other true things, having judged these things thus, or we will limit all the truth to the words of the teachers and we will say there is nothing more nor will God himself revealing to men add anything to the truth of the faith, or concerning the things which others have said, if indeed not knowing what seemed to the others, they did not concede the honors as a reward of virtue and of the correctness concerning the opinions, but as a recompense of goodwill and altogether towards their own will, and as it seems they have transgressed the laws concerning these things, if they did not examine before the rewards the actions of each and the contests before the crowns; but if knowing as indeed they have shown, it was not necessary to publicly proclaim those having spoken and to remember them with good report and to become unwritten witnesses of the primacy in virtue and wisdom, and to threaten those wishing to obey those things which even those dishonoring the sacred scriptures threaten; for neither is the dogma something small and such as could be despised, nor by the care concerning the brothers with opinion thus displeasing to them would they have wished to neglect and to seem themselves the causes of the subsequent destruction of all; but indeed if

by silence alone they hoped to be superior to those having spoken and to persuade all to depart from their opinion, neither towards wise men nor towards teachers would this have been; for they expected the impossible things to happen, therefore they have not even happened, but the greatest part now of the inhabited world and the most beautiful is with those having spoken. And we would say of teachers not to say the good things indeed, but only to be silent about the bad things, but also to bring these to the middle and to advise all to avoid them, and much more whenever these are praised by some others and are judged worthy of all, and those being wise and worthy to persuade; but if they even thought to achieve this same thing by silence at all, it was necessary to spare the proclamations and not to exceed all excess of honor to the praises against those having spoken, knowing how speech with honor will be better than silence without testimony; for it was necessary to have been pleased with the silent ones alone, if the things of those having spoken were opposed to the sacred oracles, or if something of the agreed things from them happened to be clearly removed; but now there being nothing of the sort, the silence was left to them unassisted and bearing the opinion of assent rather than of flight and denial. But let it be laid down that they did not speak being condemned, but sparing the dishonor of the brothers and by not wishing to raise war and battle they looked to silence and hid the division in the depth. But this having cowardice and wickedness together as a suspicion was not more likely to bring all to them than to manifestly drive them away; for indeed it was necessary to care for nothing before the truth and there would have been nothing more pleasing of the contests, from which both they themselves and all would have been benefited, which being evaded until the end, either trusting in themselves or enduring to toil for the salvation of all, they would have altogether shown. But it is not pious at all and just to ascribe any of these things to those blessed ones; for on the contrary both having arrived by providence and wisdom and zeal for the truth to all that happens most justly we would cherish them with the honors of the fathers and teachers, and we would know a just gratitude to all equally, both what they said and what they chose to be silent about, as having chosen both for us, and very wisely. Therefore, being condemned they did not necessarily keep silent nor does silence have anything of necessity's reason to those at least using this against speech; but if someone would say that not even the contrary must be asserted, as if indeed by silence they strengthen the opinion and show accepting it, this especially is to say, that even if it was not altogether accurately of those accepting it to be silent, but yet it has more of showing to assent than to hate and despise; but I think it is neither altogether dishonoring nor very confident in the opinion.

15.I beg you to excuse me, O Greeks, concerning the things I am about to say; for neither declaring nor wishing to prevail these things nor concerning these proposed things more to you than concerning all those things silenced by them I put forward my opinion; for you see me even in the things previously said having guarded against seeming to offend you as far as it was possible, and yet for the examiners of the truth neither speaking nor hearing is it fitting to care for this. I therefore, as I said, consider the saints saying nothing concerning the things which others say clearly, neither strongly agreeing, if it is necessary to speak thus, nor altogether opposing to do this; for the one is far from their virtue and wisdom, but the other would have no reason, all together as if having agreed to choose and to bring forward a support so lifeless to a dogma agreed upon by many; but I think these either ignoring the opinion as using a safe silence, or in mind indeed standing with those having spoken, but abstaining from publishing it, providing for something else. And each of these is a proof of caution and providence befitting saints; either indeed that they were not altogether confident to

speak, but neither were they afraid of the incurable things, to pass over this in silence and to wish to avoid the suspicions both from testifying and from pursuing, they are admirable of the caution, through which also it is just for all things to be attached unquestioningly to the things said by them; or from making the opinion manifest, having foreseen something of the not better things following, they thought to restrain it in themselves, they are praiseworthy of the providence; for if of the words to them when having the order of teachers and fathers the benefit under them was about to be the end, it was not necessary to put forward the things that would harm, and they set up the true and common teacher here also, who held back many of the noteworthy things, knowing the apostles not yet able to bear those things; for what is the benefit of higher truth to those still unstable and shaken in the lower things? That each of these has much reason and much more than to think the teachers the opposite, therefore not so as even to be able to compare, and that to connect these, as has been said, is nothing difficult, whichever of these is about to prevail, I think it has been clearly established to all from the beginning; for if a good thing and worthy of much good report seems the caution concerning these things to all, how is it not necessary for this to be attached to the best of men? But if not even this, and all say all things, not indeed with equal wisdom and the grace from above, but there is in them as it were of holiness and of the contests for piety, thus also a certain order and degree of wisdom and words and the grace giving and confirming these from God, what danger would there be if someone else using the more confident one said something, we should deem it worthy for another being cautious to be silent about these things?

16.For I (so that I may also dwell a little on the word) think that the things concerning the saints are thus. God does not give all things to all men, but adorns indeed this one with that one, and honors another with another of the good things, and having gifted one he has stood, but to the other he adds also more, and just as there is a difference of the gifts of grace of one to another, so also each has differed in itself both to the more perfect and to the more complete; and of their difference and multitude the grace of the one giving is the cause according to some predestination and unspeakable foreknowledge, but surely also the preparation of each of those receiving towards these things, lest, to speak according to Paul, we lie about any of the good things as from ourselves considering and of our actions some the punishments should happen to, but others should attain rewards. Therefore, in what way the one having given will use those having appeared ungrateful concerning the gift, it would be of another study to consider; but to those having used it well and having wished to bring forward only this from themselves he becomes not only a benefactor but also a guardian of what has been given, and himself guides to the purpose of each and solves the difficulties, and how they may progress in it he does and deems worthy of a second grace, whenever this also seems good, and he adds happiness upon all not so much of what they have accomplished themselves as he has become the cause to them a reward; so that the willing is indeed from us, but the achieving is thence, and for us indeed to run, but to attain the desired thing is of his alone philanthropy, rather indeed the missing the good is of our will alone, but to approach the good and to be somehow attached comes from the divine grace. And since neither is the will of the good things equal to all nor the zeal about these things nor does nature contend equally with all in the same way, but also the inclination from the times is not the same to all, and the acquisition of the end happens to some in one way and to others in another, the nature of both the truth and the good being infinite, of which we aim at the one in contemplating, of the other in actions, and thence the differences of the abodes and the varied and multifaceted enjoyment of the ultimate happiness has proceeded.

17.Therefore, the teachers of the church, having been adorned with the gift of wisdom and words, added virtue to this, and first showed themselves having become worthy of the gift by this and enjoyed attaining the truth, or the end of wisdom and of the studies concerning it would have been worthy, and God was the one giving this and bringing it to this; but neither did all bring the same preparation to the wisdom nor did they examine the things of the truth from the same wisdom. Wherefore all were wise, but one differed from another in measure; and all attained the truth, not however did this one comprehend as much of it as that one possessed, but in which things each was confident, he spoke fittingly and appropriately, but another dared something more than another; and the being confident happened to be of each one's wisdom, but the not being deceived was of the truth of the grace of God, both welcoming the mind with which they sought and pitying the zeal and the toil, and not blaming the more cautious ones, but providing safety to those rightly daring. Therefore, we also must praise the caution of some, and admire the boldness of others, and consider the things commonly deemed by all as true, but those to which some have advanced trusting in greater wisdom and the alliance from the Spirit, not even to despise these, nor to think the speakers rash, or to think the silent ones are lessened from the honor to others, or to take away their glory in holiness, even if we think something else true of what they dare beyond; for if not even of the glory in holiness and of the crowns through it all equally partook, and yet all being related to God and having appeared his genuine servants, neither differing by any degrees do they think to be wronged or envy the higher ones the lower ones, they will scarcely share equally for the sake of holiness even the knowledge of the truth or will they bear it hardly, if someone would define the difference to them even by the knowledge of the truth. But if also they all declare the future happiness to be the knowledge of God, who is the first and purest truth altogether, and the differences are many and the degrees if indeed they are believed to be even of the happiness, how is it not that even here the light of the truth has shone differently to them, which was a forerunner and symbol of that light, or how will they not be angry with us, if we say something else, as falsely accusing them and on the pretext of reverence to some defining somewhere the truth concerning divine things, which not even in the future life is it possible for those beholding it to comprehend, and dishonoring the zeal and the grace of the other saints and the truth which they have acquired thence? Besides, if indeed we are about to suspect all things which not commonly and as if from one mouth all deemed worthy, there would be another reason; and yet the present things we will perhaps solve well and we will free ourselves from toils, but we will condemn some altogether and we will exclude them from the choir of teachers, to whom all the synods of the fathers and the order of the leaders have assigned; for those things which those said more than the others, these are almost the things which they said; thus, by sharpness of mind and grace of spirit they have advanced to the greatest extent. Therefore, all those things will seem to be nonsense, and truly those daring to say these things will talk nonsense; but if we admire all those things, where is it just not to accept only these things? For either in all similar things this mind must prevail, or not even in one thing to be valid.

18.Therefore, that the silence is of those not opposing but being cautious and not being very confident in themselves in this part, I think it is clear from the things said; and the writings of the saints testify to the word, in which others more daring than others are seen, as each had of knowledge or grace, and neither do Latins more than Greeks or Greeks towards themselves seem to have differed in this way. But indeed also that those thinking the same things to the others have kept the agreement as not safe to the simpler ones, neither is it impossible nor does it seem to be dissonant with their order; for if for the sake of no one

suffering any harm from the words having clearly contradicted those speaking and having forbidden both to think and to say what to the others is more customary even than breathing itself, and above all they themselves knew these things to be true, how would they not for this very reason have been more willing to be silent? For to be silent is surely gentler than to seem to contradict; for it was likely for the hearers from the Son to proceed the Spirit and not at all comprehending the word, both to conceive many other of the absurd things and these indeed, to which the ones having published the long writings against them lead the Latins and which they say necessarily follow the dogma, it is possible both to think there are two principles and for the Spirit of the other divine persons to be inferior and indeed the other such things; for if Latins arguing about these things and showing neither to think them nor necessarily to follow the opinion were able even today to persuade the Greeks, but they think rather than to be rid of these absurd things that the opinion is thus heard of the addition, not as the speakers would wish, what was likely to happen to men, of all the saints saying the Spirit from the Son and simply dogmatizing this as is their custom, and adding nothing of the things now invented by the Latins for the apology of the dogma and for the avoidance of these absurd things? For I think having thought such things to follow the opinion, but no one contradicting nor even advising to guard against these things and deeming the opinion as nowhere the cause of these things, they would easily have laid down as true and easily to these absurd things; which indeed all foreseeing it is likely to have spared the opinion the teachers and to have been silent about what is able to harm greatly. But if also greatly caring for the safety of the disciples they everywhere advise them to hold only to the things said in the scripture and to meddle with nothing more, so that also they explain many things of the scripture both contrary to the opinion of all and to their own, nor do they respect to seem some clear and superficial interpreters of such things, only so that they may be able to persuade the others to remain within the boundaries and to be freed from the dangers of rashness, what is wonderful if following these reasonings they have also been silent about these things, just as one might find them having been silent about many other things of those which could have been said without danger? For it was necessary not only by word to prescribe the necessary thing, but also to make it manifest by deed and to give themselves as an example of caution; for they knew this to be of true teachers.

19.And since it was not necessary to hide the truth at least from the wiser ones (for either they would have wronged by the sparing of the weaker ones those better prepared being incomplete, not even wishing to measure the word of teaching to these also), they proposed the true opinion to these in another way sufficient for the wise, just as neither did they themselves seek the truth from the scriptures themselves in words, but whatever has the same power as the things said expressly and which agree with the agreed conceptions concerning divine things, they thought it sufficient for themselves for the hunting of this. This path also the rest of the teachers chose in which they dogmatized; let no one examine not because they have spoken this opinion to others being silent, but because they also retained many things in themselves which they were able to say, which perhaps would have brought so much greater danger and thus to so many more men, as much as deeper thought is necessary to the things said by them and much better was needed to the things silenced; but by some other contrivance they also have made those able to follow what they thought partakers, and this it is possible to understand, if someone would attend to their words. But what it is likely for each of the teachers to have suffered towards those being initiated by them, this much earlier the spirit of truth has dispensed towards all his church, it is not unlikely by some wonderful and all reason-conquering

providence; for he foresaw both states of men, and set up teachers suitable to these, to the less perfect ones he set up those using caution, but to the higher ones in mind he released the most daring ones. And he teaches the necessary truth through all equally, by which the faith makes those to be saved; but if someone more theoretical than those and better than suspicions of dangers approaches the initiations of the greater things, to this one also he soothes the desire using ministers whom he has specially prepared for these things; so that if of the saints some we will praise, but others we will blame for the silence or the words, and some we will approve, but others as useless to us we will dismiss, may it be possible to dare those things even against the spirit, not only to those to whom of silence and of words each has become the cause and it is necessary for this reason to partake of the honors and the insults, but also to those using it in each case and appearing both having been silent about some things, and having said some things through the teachers, he breathed into the word of truth; but if that one is one and is believed to be a spirit of truth and equally benefits all men, neither is it necessary for the things of the teachers to have otherwise.

20.But lest by saying many things I trouble you, whence I began these words, I return again thither. For if the teachers of the church were seen clearly contradicting, and being divided in two, some said that the spirit does not proceed from the Son, but others affirmed this in the way they say it, it would have been possible considering the contradiction to be up to the words and the battle, but supposing these to be very much connected with the thoughts, to try to find the reasons for the opposition in the expressions, and what they were aiming at in choosing these things; and succeeding indeed (and it was surely necessary to succeed) both ourselves to have ceased contending, either saying each and thinking with the words of each, or having chosen from all those which are most likely to connect us (for it was possible to accomplish these things in many ways); but erring indeed to grieve as not being able to guess the mind of the teachers, and thinking each both simply, but saying the usual things thus also to have differed from the teachers and from themselves; and not only the teachers, but neither ourselves contradicting each other in word and in the symbol of faith some confessing the affirmation, but others the negation, which if it had happened to be, would have seemed most difficult and this the greatest of differences, not even thus being disposed thus it would have been difficult to agree in mind, the matter being able and the things very much allowing; for I think (and may you not be at all angry with me; for I do not find it difficult to change the things commonly seemed to all of you by a private opinion, but advising these things I say and trying my own mind and wishing if something else and for us to be at peace and for the honor to be preserved to all the teachers), I think therefore I say that these seeming to contradict propositions and both can well be said and neither again well, so that those having undertaken each, if they would guard against the yoked difficulties, both are able to preserve the truth and to be of one mind with themselves. And of these I am ready to provide the proofs, whenever you wish; for I do not think the inquiry concerning those things fits the present words, and neither are you ignorant of what I was about to say, having examined such things much better than me.

21.Therefore, it would have been so readily available for us to be rid of the contentions by solving the opposition concerning the words by the agreement of the thoughts, so to speak; but now the affirmation indeed holy and wise men and so many as by a herald say, thus they thought it without any doubt, but the negation no one has said, but they are all silent about it, but they say what also seems to contend both with this and with the affirmation. And of the silence it is possible to blame their habit seeking caution or the custom of words, which the imitation of the elders among them ever passing to the later ones has made to

prevail in them, through which not only this, but also many of the agreed things the more ancient ones are silent about by these things not being signified expressly by the scripture, but those after them emulating their caution. It is possible therefore to consider these also as causes of the silence; but it is likely also suspecting some danger, which they thought the simpler ones would fall into from the words, to have guarded the teaching of the true things; but to be silent opposing those saying and being conscious of the falsehood to the opinion, having no reason has been shown. But if someone even seems to posit the negation by the silence concerning these things, he rather seems to testify to the scripture and the share of the teachers with whom he conversed than purely to deny; and yet even having been clearly denied it is nothing difficult to be connected with the things said, or we would have been about to connect many others being connected.

22.These things therefore being thus, in vain we will be beating the entangled things both separating and confusing the opposite of what is said, and we will overlook solutions so readily available, as if contending with each other even about such things, and we will separate from each other the teachers, whom the things themselves connect and before their own words. But just as it is not possible for us to be purely at peace, unless the disputed things having been solved by judgment and something pleasing to all having been decided, so neither is it possible to attain the truth, unless the unanimity of the saints guides us to it. Concerning both of these is all our zeal; but also to God you will bring up the cause of not cherishing all the teachers equally, whenever they inquire of you in the common judgment seat? For I do not think such an injustice would be passed over in silence by those having been neglected, but rather no less than those will those seeming to be honored be indignant for them. Will you put forward the worthiness of those having been silent? And yet they are not at all less than them in holiness, but some are far superior in wisdom to those having spoken. But will you say the multitude? And yet they prevail even in this; but if the honors from the synods, they will show the superiority being with them. But the terrible thing to think, to accept an opinion not being strengthened by all together? But neither is this reasonable; for no one thus clearly contradicting, it is sufficient for it to be testified by two, but it has found so many advocates. Or shall we overlook even the miracle concerning Lazarus and the meeting of the Samaritan woman, because the evangelists saying these things did not have all agreeing? Then also the contests in the courts you would arrange in some other way, O men, they will say to us, and very justly; for neither have you ever preferred silence to speech for testimony, but rather even to this being connected with speech you assigned a need for speech, and taking three witnesses being worthy of being believed of the things sought, neither afterwards did you trouble yourselves nor those bringing them seeking all men to come as witnesses.

23.I think you will put forward the worthiness of the other teachers, from whom something contrary to the affirmation of those having spoken is collected; but neither will they say that this is just nor lawful, to add the ambiguous things having overlooked the things said expressly; for on the contrary rather these things must be judged from the clearest things; for the worthiness which you say against our brothers, not all understood in the same way, but some indeed received it as concluding the negation, but others as altogether supporting the affirmation; and not only this, but also in many other things from those of the teachers those presiding over our affirmation used express words; whence at least from such things it is not more necessary to place it with the silence of the others than with our words. And indeed you will not even flee to ignorance, both yourselves knowing all these things and many others testifying to you, and only the not wishing preventing you from having; but if also the accusations put forward by the other saints, as if we wish to

attend, and accuse the brothers indeed justly, but wrong us manifestly, and they themselves would say having come forward that they have been jointly wronged and cast out under a pretext of honor (for I do not think they will even quarrel with each other and vote the opposite concerning us), what refuge will be left to us then? But the greater thing, when the master demanding from us the peace and the knowledge of the truth, of which the one it was necessary to guard as some inheritance, but the other it was necessary to bring from the life here as through it alone being about to be saved, what of all things having said would we not seem both to be additionally ashamed and to owe worse penalties? For neither will we say the obscurity of the scriptures, of which he has set down so many interpreters to us, nor will we call the teachers as advocates, having been condemned by all beforehand; but if they even intend to pass over, some of them even again being silent, but others testifying the opposite clearly, they will not even allow the judge to linger concerning the votes. But neither will we dare to say that we understand the things of the scriptures themselves better than all of them, nor will we insist that we have wished indeed for peace, but have not attained it; for how, who have wished to make the teachers war with each other, of whom the unanimity it was necessary to become a solution of the scandals in us? Or indeed it will be better to be silent having nothing to put forward in apology, but instead of the confession of the accusations the silence will suffice the judge.

24.Thus, for us to divide the teachers of the church in opinions, either warring with each other or badly being at peace, has no excuse; the blame from all sides; but to connect those, as has been said before, is sufficient for every fortune; for if not even the things of the truth would happen to us thus, many things doing the pardon justly will be at hand and by the reverence towards the teachers bringing a swarm of many good things we will redeem the accounts thence; but it is not of the possible things for us to miss the truth under the peace of the teachers no more than for them to suffer this under the guidance of the spirit. Therefore, it is necessary to choose this path being true and readily available and besides these being full of safety; but if there is some other way to connect the teachers better than the one now mentioned, this is a work of prayer for me; for neither would I say that this one alone of all is the best; but to connect them and to show them agreeing through all, this I say to be necessary and this to have been placed as a foundation of our concord, as of this not rightly nor at all being established without it; but in what way this would happen, it is yours to discover; and what indeed of the things said seems to tend to this, not so much suggesting the way as proposing to you an image and type of the agreement of the teachers. But if also there was some opinion to me purely those things and I thought this way to be more profitable, it is nothing wonderful; for may it be possible for me and for each of the others to think whatever they please concerning these things, until you find the better things and whatever will undoubtedly prevail.

25.But it is necessary for this union to be attributed not only to the saints but also to the authorities of the scripture, which I said earlier, and much more when we have need of both them for the present things; for I would say that those sufficing with the opinion of the teachers, who have well examined it and from whom they had the starting points of what they said, need to be shown as little as possible; and if someone demanded from them the proofs of the words, they would immediately have recourse to the scripture, which even when no one demands it of them, many and often they are seen doing; but if it is ever necessary to use it, they do this not looking to the conclusion rather than to connect the teachers; but for the time being also to give the honor from the agreement to the scripture, as without neither honoring nor using it otherwise it will be advantageous; and in general from which things we are about to be at peace alone, otherwise by

contention befitting men somewhere of the disputes not having deviated, to drive the opinion of contradiction as far as possible from these and to place these first to agree, and to do this with wisdom and all that happens, lest we even unknowingly, instead of connecting the scripture and the teachers with each other, separate them both from the truth in common and us from them.

26.These things, O venerable fathers, I think will suffice you instead of all things for the sought-after peace; but if also there are many other useful things besides these to consider, but these seem to be as some beginning and chapter to those things; and starting thence it is likely for you both needing each other to add these things and to accomplish what is sought, but without these nothing of the better things would happen. Wherefore indeed having reminded you concerning these things alone, so as both to pay the promises and to show the zeal for the good, and I think it has very sufficiently, asking this alone of you in addition to the things said, if God mercifully looking upon us, would grant to perceive the true union of the scripture and the teachers, or there will be immediately a union of us and of all the church, as you may deem it worthy to make this manifest by the symbol of faith, whatever it may be, so that you may be able to agree with the words outside and to be united through all things; but if indeed not, it would be a work of prayer to be connected at least in mind; for this even if it does not contain the accuracy of the faith, at least the peace of the teachers towards each other and the thinking truly will contain us, if indeed you will add something else to the symbol, which being commonly deemed by all the holy ones both contends with the affirmation, and does not introduce the negation, and to some of the holy ones it was instead of the things they were silent about, and others as having the same power as the things they said seem to be using, this shape of union is finally as one might say a third voyage; therefore not even this is separate from the agreement of the teachers and our words concerning it. So that from all sides the same thing comes around to us, the agreement of both the scripture and the teachers.

27.But since indeed I have decided to be silent, fearing lest by the length of the words I become unpleasant to you, I wish to enumerate the chapters of my counsel and to remind you of these. Of which some consider economy, this I advised not even to take into mind, but I have said that it is necessary to practice a true union and community of opinions, which I said is to receive one opinion concerning the disputed things; and to confess this either adding or subtracting in the symbol of faith, whichever the grace of God would dictate; and moreover, concerning those by whom some being disturbed were about to despair of this peace, I have shown them to be altogether weak and able reasonably to do all things rather than to prevent you; then also I have added the things that will make this not lingering but thus passing over most things, which was the union of the divine scriptures and of the teachers of the church, to say all; to which indeed I have exhorted you all with caution, if not of the due, but at least of the possible in such things of the words. These things indeed I have both with the chance of succeeding having good fortune rather than skill and wisdom, and with erring having much pardon for the sake of having been zealous for something and having suffered for the good; but it would be yours finally not to delay, but either to do these things if I seem to say something, or to seek better things, having taken God as leader of both. Glory to God the one in Trinity, glory for the sake of all things.

SCHOLARIUS FOR THE UNION

6. Scholarius's Opinion in Favor of Union.

† A report to our most mighty and holy sovereign and king, which was brought by his kinsman, George Scholarius, before the divine and sacred synod:

1.Excellent, most powerful Emperor, my opinion concerning the proposed union, both in the past and at present, is fully expressed in the discourse I prepared and sent to this holy synod of ours. In it, I urged these venerable fathers towards both the union and the relief of the situation in Constantinople. The two books, which I previously composed and now entrust to the present synod, also bear witness to this. One is a counsel concerning both the union and its methods and whatever else is relevant to this matter, while the other deals with the question itself, aiming to demonstrate the agreement of the church's teachers with one another, not by human words or proofs, but by the express statements of the Holy Scripture and the teachers themselves. These two books, though I am a humble man, altogether insignificant and deficient in wisdom, knowledge, understanding and all things together, yet on account of the imposed duty or burden, partly by the grace of speech given to me from above, which I confess to be both small and greatest, both comparing it to the other graces and to my own worth, and partly by the due love of my neighbor, I have composed with sufficient study and multi-day care. And these books will be both a clear and continuous proof of my mind and a sufficient assurance and confirmation concerning the harmony and agreement of the teachers to every Christian and non-contentious soul, it being ready for me, and by the grace of God himself, to give an account to whoever wishes to receive it concerning all the things written in them.

2.Since I am urged along with all the most noble rulers—now also I myself—by your divine power to declare my mind in a few words (for you wish to have all of us agreeing with and obeying the conclusion of the holy union, not giving an opinion, for this is rather more fitting for those who have obtained ecclesiastical thrones and ranks), I shall fulfill what is commanded. And as for the recommendation of my own person, I think it unnecessary to use it; for in matters concerning faith and in the confession of the truth, it is superfluous to introduce one's own person, since we all know that not even the most base of men would be moved by anything in the world to believe or confess something against their conscience, inasmuch as we all know that only by the truth of faith is it possible to be saved and to attain divine mercy.

3.Therefore, overlooking this part, I say first, that I offer thanks to God, because he has directed the minds of all of us to the God-beloved purpose of the union and has not allowed the hopes of all Christians to be in vain.

4.Secondly, that I submit myself to the vote of this holy synod of ours, or rather of this ecumenical one, and with exceeding reverence and pleasure I embrace and honor it, which it brings forth both concerning the union and the manner of the union, and I consider this vote to have been brought forth not from men, but from God; and I do this, not because I am a layman and having a necessity to be persuaded by your divine might and by the most holy ecumenical patriarch and by our synod, and what is more, by the ecumenical one, nor because concerning the proposed matters I myself had both previously received and had the same mind, but even if I happened to have privately of the previously most contrary opinion, I would still do the same, whatever of worthiness I had in the church of God or I was superior to others in wisdom, I would do similarly; for not to do thus would have been a proof of greatest arrogance and vanity; for what is worse than

being one, even if of some worthiness, to wish to resist an ecumenical synod, which represents the whole church of God?

5.Thirdly and finally, wishing by the confession of the truth to sanctify my tongue and expecting the confession in the heavens of our savior Christ, which he promises as a reward to those confessing in him, who is the truth, before men, with a reverent mind I believe and confess, that of the saints of the West and East, whom it is necessary to agree with each other, saying the Holy Spirit to proceed from the Father and the Son, still the Spirit to proceed from the Father through the Son, still to proceed from the Son, to proceed from the essence of the Son, to be from the Son, to be from the Father through the Son, to be poured forth from the Son as from the Father, to be essentially poured forth from both, to well up from the Son and such things, one truth is collected from all these, that the Holy Spirit receives the being from the Father and the Son and proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and one source, and the Father and the Son are one principle of the Holy Spirit; and neither does it follow thence for the Father and the Son to be two principles, nor for the Father and the Son to be mixed together, even if some, because of not being able to see such things well, suspect these absurdities to follow this opinion. Therefore, I agree with this opinion or proposition, that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son or from the Father through the Son as from one principle and one cause, and I say this to be most true, and I say the Western saints with the Eastern ones thus necessarily agree and otherwise it is impossible to agree, subjecting to anathema those thinking two principles or shaking the personal distinction of the Father and the Son.

CONCILIATION PROPOSED BY SCHOLARIUS

7. Formula of Conciliation Proposed by Scholarius.

† The exposition sent by ours to the Latins.

1.Since we Greeks previously understood the Latins to say that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son as from two principles and two spirations, and furthermore, not to say that the Father is the principle and source of the entire Godhead, namely of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and for this reason we were cautious of their addition or expansion in the Creed, and likewise of their communion, now, having come together in this holy and ecumenical synod by the grace of God for the sake of the holy union, after many discussions and dialogues and the presentation of statements both from the Holy Scripture and from the holy teachers of the Church, we Latins insist that what we say, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, is not with this intention that we exclude the Father from being the principle and source of the entire Godhead, namely of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, or that because the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son, the Son does not have it from the Father, or that we declare there to be two principles or two projections of the Holy Spirit, but we confess that the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son as from one principle and a unique projection; and we Greeks confess and believe that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and we insist and believe that it is proper to the Son and wells up from him and essentially from both, that is, from the Father through the Son, is poured forth. And now we are united with each other and are lovingly joined together, having given proof to each other of our own faith and confession, and neither do we any longer consider it necessary to be cautious of the union or communion of the others, but again we agree with each other and are of one mind and by the grace of God we are all restored to one church.

SCHOLARIUS DEFENSE OF LATINISM

8. Scholarius's Justificatory Discourse Accused of Latinism.

† George Scholarius defense of himself.

1.Why, O Lord, do you give us the bread of affliction and the water of straitness? You open and there is no one who closes, you close and there is no one who opens, and we have become as those gathering stubble in harvest and as gleanings in vintage, there being no grape. And why have you delivered us into the hands of enemies, and those who hate us have ruled over us, and our enemies have afflicted us and we have been humbled under their hands? – Because, he says, the devout has perished from the earth and the upright among men is no more. Because you conceive toil and bring forth iniquity, and under your tongue is trouble and pain, and each one oppresses his neighbor and plots evil against his fellow.

2.Let the enemies of the truth and the disciples and teachers of falsehood hear what they are doing and what they are reaping; let them understand at least now and with difficulty, suffering hardships from all sides for no other reason than the inclination of their actions towards the worse and the setting up of falsehood, as it were, as the archetype of their policy and its father; but if they consider the hardship here as nothing terrible, when having blinded the eyes of the soul, and for the pleasure of striking and slandering their neighbor they consider all other things secondary, looking at least to that darkness and the fire, as God will justly receive them, with blows after blows and with stripes after stripes so much greater and more grievous than those here, as indeed they are immortal, even thus let them be corrected and change towards the light from the darkness, from falsehood to the truth, from wishing to wrong all to not wishing to overlook anyone of those who are in their charge neglected. But I am afraid lest they even disregard those terrible things; for what that is threatened will be able to frighten and disturb those thus insensibly disposed towards the present things? Since indeed they ought rather to have been corrected by the immediate terrible things with a sense of living and attending to the flesh, of which making no account, it is evident that they will not be turned much more by those things, unless they are even more driven by those things and cast off the mask they now wear and become shameless towards every kind of deceit and contrivance and make injustice bold, and as those who have despaired of their own salvation, they will even forget nature itself and will be divided indeed, but will not be contrite," the one so that wickedness may not seem to prevail altogether and falsehood to have more than truth, the other so that they may become even more evil and add to their wickedness, so that they may be even more condemned and become an example to others and a living exhortation towards the abandonment of wickedness.

3.These men were not sated with their plots against others, nor did their slanderous tongue have enough, for the things they did unjustly to others, hoping to escape the sleepless eye of God, but indeed they have also conceived toil against me and brought forth iniquity and dug a pit and uncovered it," into which they themselves will most certainly fall; for they are worthy of a pit. And these things against whom by whom? Against one knowing much indeed, but not so as to concede the primacy to those who, knowing more than the things said, know nothing; against one choosing quiet and, God willing, I would say, rather choosing it, those charlatans going around the whole earth, not indeed like the Homeric Odysseus, but acquiring wealth, for which their desire, its fuel never being quenched by want, never has leisure, and this while others are suffering from poverty and are pressed by hunger and thirst, as if it were more appropriate to be merry and

luxurious; against one not uttering even a simple word, unless there is a great necessity, those more talkative than the songbirds and knowing no time of speech and silence; against one purely pious and holding fast to the ancestral dogmas (for this indeed I have more to boast of), those feigning piety with their lips, but being impious in their deeds, and thinking worse than they do.

4.But if they were alleging negligence or envy or love of money or desire for glory or any such thing against us, or were accusing our ways as not upright or our manners as not very decent, I would neither grieve for myself nor would I be eager to refute them falsely, first because I myself would not be very insistent that I am altogether free from these things, being a man, then because the danger from such reproaches is not very great. But since, not tolerating to examine our life (for they do not think, I suppose, to harm us thence, even if they were to ridicule us as much as possible), they try to attack us from the most crucial points and what has long been whispered by them is now loudly proclaimed everywhere, and having deemed it necessary to enumerate the heterodox, whoever they are, they place us first of these, honoring and favoring us only in this, we do not think it right to give way to the falsehood rising up against us and to endure the slander persisting, as if those slandering ought to be hindered by no one from saying whatever they wish, but those being slandered not even to say that they are being slandered, lest some indeed from them should be exempt from penalties, but they themselves should be considered of the opposite part to what they were before, first because we will by no means support our own or rather, to speak more accurately, the enemies of the truth, nor will we give any better handle against us, by bearing the reproaches in silence and making no account of the slanders; for not tolerating them to proceed against the accusers, as being conscious of himself and thinking and professing worse than the apparent things, he pretends to be ignorant or feigns not to care and to disdain to attend; then because those who would have fought even to blood for the truth in us, how ought they not rather to fight here, where words are the weapons, of which we have much more than those opposing and, God willing, I would say more spiritually?

5.Many, I know, even of those not insignificant, will perhaps say to me, "You are troubling yourself about these things in vain, and thinking yourself greatly wronged without suffering any harm, and you are indignant at what another would have even laughed at; for what terrible thing has the word of so-and-so done to you? What sums of money has it deprived you of? What house, what field? What else of the good things you have has become less from his accusation? Have you heard some people ridiculing you? But you have also heard some others praising you, to please one and only of whom is better than to please all those now quarreling with you together; in any case, those praising or those blaming will be worse and more harmful to you; but you as a friend and fellow-lover would never have endured to hear the things whose wickedness you happen to have condemned, but being again hated and reviled by them you are indignant, when it is necessary above all to be pleased with such blasphemies and to think yourself benefited by them in the greatest way." But I would not say that I am being harmed or experiencing anything terrible thence, except for seeming to be wicked, which is not tolerable even to the most worthless, not to mention those having some good from the nourishment of speech. But indeed, if I saw the majority becoming with the truth and not adding themselves to words which they themselves indeed condemn as false, I would have endured being placed among the worthless by some, and this for the sake of not allowing anyone to devise such a thing up to this time, whatever anyone might say; but thus our affairs have turned out and the terrible thing of envy has its teeth in our minds and thus having cooled the flame of love we kindle the torch of hatred day by day, or rather, to

speak more accurately, we have been led to such a degree of unholy and beastly cruelty, having been banished from human customs, that whenever someone using his tongue against the not insignificant is caught, it is necessary to pursue him, to strike him, to silence him; but we even rather welcome him and sometimes are eager to add falsehood to falsehood, these indeed granting him more of the truth and not even putting those who are not such in front of those speaking the truth, but honoring that indeed greatly, but being entangled in unwanted things by the hatred towards so-and-so and supporting the falsehood. And this is what disturbs us, that we are in danger of neither being nor seeming good to anyone; for it is necessary for the worthless of men not associating with them and being fenced off from the good and not pleasing the wicked nor much more pleasing the better ones, or for there to be no middle ground between the wicked and the virtuous, unless someone is about to be altogether overlooked. Therefore, our speech is not to the worthless (for it is not easy to persuade these having become bad once and being unable to relearn the way, but not even thus are we disturbed by their wicked votes and the things said against us worthy of their madness, which one might call old women's quarrels and children's toys against us), but to those for whom it is indeed very proper to be zealous, lest they also be carried away by someone somehow and think what is not better; nor let anyone think that I have chosen this speech more for myself than for all, if indeed it is no less difficult to think the good worthless who have voted thus, than to have the wicked considered instead of the good by those who have thus received it. Besides, as far as I am concerned, it is not possible to harm me greatly; but it is possible sometimes, having been deceived, not to escape without a small penalty, just as indeed having become successful with the truth, they do not enjoy moderate benefits. And of these things each one is a witness to himself; for it happens no less to one of men and in either way or to entire cities to gain or to be harmed from the judgment concerning this matter or to err or to attain the being.

6.The necessity, under which we were unwillingly driven to this speech, one could sufficiently learn from the things said; but that the things said against us are so far from the truth, as if someone were to say the sea is watertight, and man is winged, and the earth is ever-moving like the sky and whatever of the like insensibility and foolishness, the things themselves, God willing, will show most especially not far off, and the speech taking it thence will sufficiently prove it. And indeed, first, they must be asked, as many as declare us unsound concerning the ancestral faith and not at all accurate, where and when, we having exposed our own opinion to them, they have learned this and accuse us; for they would not say they have learned from us being silent, unless they will say they perceive someone dead or of a statue wishing to say something, but saying nothing, being truly dead and more insensible than stones, not indeed so theoretical and thus lifted above the matter, as even to enter the adyta of men themselves and to see whatever is known only to the one who alone fashioned the hearts of men separately. But neither would they have driven to such madness, as to condemn such things of men from mere suspicion and not sound, nor would they have slandered us thus freely nor would they have said they had ever heard us saying such things; for not how they have heard us ever saying anything concerning divine things, whence they were stirred up to such an opinion against us, but not even uttering a simple step; for as if perfectly knowing the future and how they will be thus vehemently carried away against us not wronging anything, we are indeed sparing even the usual and common address to them much more than to touch the most necessary limbs with fire. Therefore, those who have thrown every dart against us, and these not even having anything to say where and when we have shared words with them, what

device would they have spared, if indeed there was for them from our conversation a cover of falsehood and slander?

7.What then will they say? That learning these things from others, they accuse us, which is not likely to be disbelieved? But let them show us those who said it, and we will ask them the same things; for the argument with us is no less against those who begot the beginning than those who received the falsehood. But perhaps they too, feigning the same pretext against us, will accuse some others, having no other refuge for the falsehood, and those others again and this endlessly. If then they were able to say they had once been eyewitnesses of our error concerning the dogmas and had clearly shown this terrible slander against us, not even thus would they have more against us, first because they themselves are not altogether without blame in this matter, but there are even worse things to accuse them of, not once nor simply thus, but often and deliberately having taken the side of the opposite party and tearing down ours, as they thought, exposing their insensibility and dullness better than light; then because even having no harm thence, for us perceiving them erring, not to advise, not to persuade, not to bring in anything whatsoever, by which, no others knowing, to cure and correct our disease, would be to accuse a very great inhumanity and a manifest madness and hatred against us; nevertheless it is clear that they would say something and anything, and much more before judges not entirely preserving justice and judging not very sufficiently. But since they are even deprived of this apology, so as to be evident thence that they are accusing unheard things slanderously (for the things they say no one would have thought not manifestly unjust, not even having these things to say, how much more will they be thought to slander), who would any longer deem them worthy of any words, unless he wishes to favor falsehood more than truth?

8.But even if these things and only these were sufficient to expose their contrivance and falsehood, we must indeed refuse these things against their other trifles, so that no basis for blasphemy against us may be left to them; for not having anything against us that they might even say is worthy of their purpose and desire, nor being able to confirm this weak slander from elsewhere, they seek, as they say, a fig-tree's help and lean the whole body of the accusation on a reed staff; for what else, they say, is the Italian language favored by him wishing it? It is possible thence also sufficiently to expose their wickedness and duplicity; for since they do not accuse everything, but there are things that they even praise in us (for they think thus they will be most likely to escape notice when slandering and will be credible to the listeners), nor do they put aside their eagerness concerning the dialects from the praises, but they themselves both think this and persuade others to think it is something good of our nature and zeal; for I think they are afraid of the opinions of the many concerning this, who are so far from accusing us for this reason, that they even consider themselves to be benefited the most and each one individually thinks the pleasure and the gain thence to be his own. But when the speech is carried to the matter before them and the list of the good things in us is followed by the speech concerning the things being blamed (for it is necessary, those things having been said, that these also should not be silenced), having changed, they again establish the accusation from the same things and use the same things for the construction of the praises and of the accusation, as if it were possible for them to fashion virtue and vice in whatever things they wish, but not some being nothing by nature except good, and the wicked likewise. In which then of these should they be believed, or how should they not be thought themselves wicked in both ways, if neither do they marvel at what they are about to accuse immediately, nor are they ashamed to construct the blame from what they had previously marveled at? For if indeed we are

plainly unjust in being zealous about such things, they ought to have accused us of this before the others, and these things of the whole slander being in danger in this; but if they do not dare to deprive the praises of so obviously good, how are they not much more ashamed as if on some platform with this building the insult? For it seems much better to seem to be deceived but not willingly to be bad. But either being drunk by envy and hatred towards us, they stumble against themselves, and they cannot even understand this, that it was much better for them, either not even to accuse us of this freely, or at least not to do the other slander.

9.Therefore, as the fact that mastering the Italian language does not at all stand in the way of good opinions about us, nor can it contribute anything or even the slightest to those who judge our affairs otherwise, I do not have better witnesses than themselves to produce, nor can I use better proofs and more persuasive than those which they themselves appear to have used in many places in their words on our behalf. But someone might perhaps ask them, even if they are believed to be of the religion of these neighboring barbarians, as many of ours as understand their language; for the same argument applies to both, and one being granted, the other will follow. Either then it is necessary to think that all of ours are of the religion of these barbarians (for almost all have mastered their language no less than their own), than which what could be more absurd? Or not to think that we have shared in the Latin dogmas, even if we have partaken of their language as much as possible; for surely it is not necessary for Latins indeed partaking of the language to also share in the dogmas, but for those mixing with them otherwise not also for the religion to be common. Besides, if this is altogether necessary, the Italians much sooner will condemn their own, of whom so many cherish our language and consider it of greater importance, so that not only we who have been zealous about their language but also almost all the Greeks of today are few compared to them and only; for I omit to say that even of the said barbarians the majority understand our language, but we nevertheless despise them and no one of ours considers them Christians. But they rather condemn the error of those thus disposed and are so far from conceiving such things against us concerning such matters, that they even repay with honors and gifts the greatest those who have undertaken this labor, and those who have partaken of Greek education they hold in honor everywhere, but of this common intercourse of ours there is no hindrance from anyone to whoever wishes to acquire it. How then is it not absurd in Italians indeed for it to be nothing terrible if not even rather worthy of praise and reward, whoever it seemed good to partake of the Greek language, nor is this one thought, just as of the language, so also of the dogmas to wish to communicate with us, but among us to be considered very hateful the one who even in any way understands their language? Or how is it not altogether unreasonable, to think no one a barbarian, even if he uses the language of the barbarians as much as possible, nor to exclude them from the same things as themselves, as it is not necessary for the dogmas to follow the use of the language, but to be disposed so harshly (for I hesitate to say inhumanly and altogether irrationally) towards us, as to impute heterodoxy to us and rejection of ancestral dogmas for nothing else than considering the Roman language worthy of study? But if some of ours of old, having adopted the Roman dogmas, necessarily also needed their language, these indeed must be accused of the language, but of their bad opinion, or as it were of some hand of the language leading them to the misfortune and error concerning the dogmas which they chose; for they ought, having despised the true dogmas and having adopted what was least necessary, no longer to endure to remain with their own or rather to say the alien ones, nor to cherish the honors here, but to run to those with whom they chose to communicate and whom they thought fit to consider the truth; and this was not possible without first having mastered their language.

Just as therefore if those living there, indeed very much of the language, but of the dogmas were confessing not to communicate with the Latins, they would have no cause nor would anyone say that they err in this and only this, so neither does it bring any harm to us before sensible judges to understand the language of the opponents while the accuracy in the dogmas is preserved; just as again if we were pleased with their dogmas, we would not be outside of accusation for being altogether inexperienced in their language; for it is possible both for those attached to their customs and dogmas to be foolishly disposed towards the language, and for those understanding the language best to be as far as possible from their way of life and the error concerning the dogmas.

10.If then, and our opinion having been well and often examined, we were caught not thinking rightly and distorting the truth in the dogmas, what prevents the slanderers from going directly, and having publicly refuted the insult and the shamelessness, which it is proper to receive punishment from us and to fulfill their desire, which they both nurture and will nurture to their own harm, until the falsehood altogether prevails over the truth? But if nothing thence is it possible to seize against us strongly and neither have we given proof of the opinion nor having given it were we caught as having touched something very unsafe and not at all healthy, how trying to condemn us from the language, do they not blush nor are ashamed exposing themselves under envy daring the things of the mad and truly raving? But I indeed omitting all other things, which someone else would have added by which to shake and utterly overthrow this rotten foundation of their madness, being pleased with the things said and remaining with them, I go to the rest of their blasphemy, saying only this, that indeed most men, says Dion, envy those who do, but not those who are done to, and neither enduring not to envy, nor daring to reveal the passion, they are displeased with those who are done to, as it were, and through them they shoot at those who are envied unjustly; they spit upwards, the proverb says. And these therefore are so far from accusing the Latins of having intercourse, that they would even have been of the same mind with them if it were necessary, and now they are still of the same mind among themselves, but they have been so maddened by the hatred towards us, that they even contradict their own conscience and fight against their own opinion, so that they may make us suffer something terrible; for not being able to contain the hatred against us, nor enduring to make it evident, they do not confess to hating us, but they testify to being displeased with the things done by us and hate the pursuits through us, not us through those things, or rather, they are forced to war against themselves by the hatred towards us; for they harm themselves no less, which they would not easily have endured from others being placed among the bad, not disdaining to blame these things, and both doing and proclaiming things contrary to what they think about themselves, or those whom it is necessary to praise, lest I say to marvel at and to place among the best; but they spare no mockery or ridicule against them, which is most fitting for those others in every way, so much has the hatred against us brought them to madness. Thus, having been estranged from love towards their neighbor, they have wandered into the wilderness of envy and pits and places unworthy of divine visitation; for it being possible for them neither to war against themselves, nor to stumble against us at all, they have indeed chosen both, no gain being proposed, unless someone would say the not seeming to be wicked, and they have loved wickedness more than goodness, and injustice more than to speak justice; for which they will be placed as sheep in Hades and death will shepherd them and iniquity will surround their heel.

11.But let it be so, they say, and let it be granted that the language of the opponents being uncultivated is nothing terrible nor such as to give a sufficient proof of the perversion of those acting unjustly; but if indeed only the Italian language was cultivated by you, and you were altogether unsociable with those very ones and in no way mixed with them, one could have said that for some other reason perhaps not unpleasant nor inappropriate you practice their language; but now as one of those who have chosen theirs altogether deliberately you converse and shamelessly associate and are always pleased to be with them much more than with your own; than which what could be a clearer proof of paying attention only to them and being altogether negligent of us? But this did not suffice you, but as if you had been wronged in the greatest way by your country or as if not owing thanks to them for all things, you exalt theirs, wherever and with whomever you happen to be conversing, as if ignoring that their praises end directly in blame and accusation of us.

12.Alas for the insensibility; alas for the dullness; that the names have so deceived them, and thinking language and intercourse to differ, of the one they make no account, but they pay attention to the other as the greatest proof against us. For if they wish to speak about the inarticulate and insignificant voice, how do they not know that concerning this not only we differ from Italians, but not even any of the other men from anyone? But if concerning this articulate and significant one and the servant of human thoughts, which is divided according to races and serves differently among others according to what seemed good to each having been established and conveys the things from each to each, let them say what else they think intercourse is besides this and with what do they think men converse differently, but not with voice, and doing what differently do they thus speak, but not converse? But they would say nothing true, even if they were to go beyond Aristotle and Plato, as long as they fight against the common dogmas and adhere to their own, they will have nothing but boasting and audacity; for if both are not the same, intercourse having been altogether abolished, where is the voice then? Or not using such a voice what prevents them from being altogether unsociable? But these, as if of those lying at a distance from each other, endure them speaking, but think they are being wronged by conversing, and they prevent conversing, but allow the use of the voice; but I cannot understand, neither how someone conversing would be harmed, not using his own voice, nor how he would know the voice not harming anything, having avoided intercourse as being able to wrong, nor indeed to what useful purpose a silent and being silenced voice and experience of dialects, which it is not allowed to use, brings.

13.And if there are things that we praise in men, of which those least share in ours (for it is necessary also to answer to the rest of their opposition), the words also apply blame to them praising those zealous about those things, which indeed is to accuse those neglecting them, not for this reason are we accusers of the one who bore us and unmindful of the things served to us by her; for it is nothing to us, that these are deficient in their wisdom and the other harmony and order, and they are admired for these things, but they, as of the good things, so also of the praises for these, and we saying nothing, have less, if indeed those would be wronged by us being deprived of the due glory and the just praises, but these are wronged by themselves, being willingly negligent of what it was necessary to have made no small care; and this indeed is the most paradoxical, that against us indeed they themselves devise the worst things not justly and deeming worthy of blames than which it is not possible to find worse, then they think they do not err at all, but us even being silent out of reverence for the country which no one would have caught lying saying, they think they are being wronged the most and dare to write of ingratitude those who have been benefited nothing. But perhaps

this also will accuse some others and it will seem to the opinion of the differences towards them a not impassive envy to us inhumanly; for not even enduring those being praised, for which they do as truly worthy of praise, and deeming the praises of those as their own insult, how would one not plainly think them to be hating and envying those for virtue and glory?

14.But we are so far from admitting to err in what we justly praise them, touching no others openly, that we are not even able to be caught by one and only, that we will be now if ever clearly, even if we are tried by ten thousand blows and scoffs; for these are those who both simply deem all those nourished by words, but especially those becoming here by the love of our language and returning full of the good things among us, worthy of great honors, and adding money to the honors and each one leading their life before those most dear and using them as private and public benefactors, and not only these things, but also before this providing from themselves the expenses for this, so that the same ones are both fathers and nurturers and guardians and whatever one might say of the good and honorable things, and to their city good citizens and saviors to the race; for not for two perhaps or three or four of those who have chosen this life, but of the whole race and the country and themselves each of those able are zealous about such things, by whom such men become an ornament no less than eyes to a body or rather to say a healthy mind to a man. So far are they from accusing these things among themselves, which of ours we, through which it is possible to see the rustics among them wiser than the zealous here, and the Greeks among us being only a name and except for two or three the others not being able to be and be called even scribes; and among them Aristotle and Plato are disciples and are pleased being approved by the disciples, and these being foreigners and among whom they would never have expected to come into being, but among us they lie as a useless burden and keep a silence not of their own will, not having by whom they might even be heard, as a certain treasure or a clear and drinkable spring lacking the one who will dig it up and use it for glory, and these among whom they would never have expected to be silent or hidden; as I might better lament my misfortune, just as of many other good things of old present to us, so indeed of the beauty of words by the very hatred towards the beautiful and the alienation from the first and last good, from whom alone all good things come down here, we have been gently and little by little stripped, as it is not possible for divine grace to be present or to remain not having been well managed and as they might happen to be worthy or not being kept in the same way as not even perfume in a rotten vessel; and much more I know that we will be stripped of these things, and not only by hunger for bread nor of water but much worse, that of speech, the evil opinion of us having been gone through by the justice of God and will go through much worse, until we cast down the evil seeds being able to cast down better ones.

15.And these things indeed I was forced to say by themselves; but it is necessary to go back again and to dissolve the charge of ingratitude, having said a little to this, I think indeed that it is sufficient. That indeed of ingratitude towards the one who bore us we indeed are not in any way liable, but they themselves and above all are accountable, is evident thence; for they enjoying all together the good things of the country not only bring in nothing worthy nor labor for the things they enjoy as drones, but moreover are the most ready of all to dare the most terrible things against the very one who bore them, fortune having stumbled a little, not to mention agreeing with the Italians, with whom the differences are light and moderate, not such as to those altogether foreign, as these say going diametrically opposite to their own opinion, as if in both, both in what they think and in what they say, they would favor the kindred falsehood; but we with all things at once the

country receiving us adversely, and these not being altogether useless and wicked, and not to mention sparing of gifts or honors, but already even persecuting both hands of speech, nevertheless we are troubled about nothing nor do we choose to withdraw from it; but if perhaps we should even wish it, but not indeed for the sake of avenging the one who has used us neither humanely nor paternally, but seeking only bread and the possible honor. Which then of these is it just to attach the name of ingratitude, to those who having received nothing or very little the reverence and the love towards the one who gave is preserved with whatever one might say of the excess of care, or to those who lacking none of the good things with her, but she uses them worse than those having nothing? And which would one justly consider to be wronging the one who bore them, those who would not have spared even their own soul, if need be to give it up and even this freely for her, or those who would not have endured anything unpleasant for her, but enjoying good fortune as a country, and in misfortune not only being accustomed to withdraw, but already even doing those things, which the most wicked one would have spared against a foreign one?

16.And as a summary to the things said from the beginning I add that if indeed they hold fast to the complete correctness of the dogmas, not simply thus and knowing nothing of what they think, but having examined it well and often, and for this reason they hate and turn away from those erring in any way, not even this is allowed to them unless after a third admonition having come forward they give an account concerning the faith in them, to which the word of truth commands to be ready everywhere and to all, and let them show whence they think the others err while they themselves think unerringly and remain within the limits of Theology; for they will persuade not only us perhaps, but also many of the great ones among the Latins having put forward all their strong points and having fought for their own opinion as far as possible, and much sooner themselves, to consider nothing else true than the things received from them; for who is so contentious, whether Italian or Greek, as not to wish to hold fast to the truth having become clear and to disregard such great persuasiveness of words? Or what would be better for glory to those thus sufficiently equipped with words, than both to hear something and to become from so many and such great teachers and to consider for themselves the healthy opinion? But if they recognize those erring in the dogmas no better than commoners from the language and the dress, and this alone they have to say about the Latins that they are Latins, just as if someone were to say he knows the decade well, but ignores that it is generated potentially from even and odd, and that it comes into being from the same of both and the first in actuality odd and the first in actuality likewise even being put together and how it is a circle and a limit of all number and how from the doubles and triples within it being put together it begets the best of numbers, and all the other things which those who are ignorant are necessarily not even to say they know the decade, how are they not ashamed accusing us of heterodoxy, not only ignoring what we ever think of ourselves nor what thinking we might think better being able to say, but nor they themselves knowing what they ever think, as both the speech showed and the things themselves teach? For much more was it necessary for those thus disposed and ailing in disposition with unskillfulness and ignorance to be covered over by the reproaches thence and to be pleased if anyone would endure their rusticity, not to mention going openly against those knowing and whom themselves, God be it said, sometimes they will put forward of their own opinion and unwillingly, quite with few, even to blood fighting for it and refuting the opposite portion. But not thus we; but we always attend to the better ones and hold out our ears to those having something more than what we know to say and are so far from thinking anything bad about them, that even against those less than us we do not contend nor do we

dispute with anyone about primacy, even if now by the slander of these men we have been forced to say nothing false indeed, but something unintended and unusual, and what of some others once saying on their own behalf deliberately, we have condemned shamelessness and audacity and untimely ambition.

17.But since it is necessary also to stop speaking somewhere, having said that again, which made the beginning of the speech to us, we will immediately cease, that if indeed they were accusing us of anything else of all things, we would have made no account, but we would have endured, just as of gifts, having less than all, so also being altogether in disrepute here and being considered worse than all here; but since they accuse those things, which indeed possessing or seeming to possess and to God and to all men it is necessary to be hated, we did not think it right to be silent as if agreeing with the falsehood and rejoicing in such reproaches as benefactions, but dimly thus and moderately, but not indeed so as also to be left behind in none of the words of the truth, we have apologized against their revilings. And now if indeed by these words or rather to say by the very truth itself even if not first being ashamed, they would cease throwing against us the usual things, we also will take care of fortune and we will be against those troubling us, until God mercifully looking upon us may grant us to be rid of these things, and we will no longer differ from them about anything; but if they will not cease receiving us with the same things, we also will repay them with much more and unsparing words and for the truth in us we will yield nothing, even if it were necessary to suffer something, obeying the one commanding this; "for if he draws back," he says, "the just one, my soul does not take pleasure in him." †

ON DIVINE PREDESTINATION IN GENERAL

B. Theological Questions.

I. Concerning Divine Predestination.

1. Concerning Providence and Predestination in general, the First Discourse.

† Concerning divine providence and predestination: an important subject.

1.In this discourse, we are discussing the eternal knowledge and arrangement of beings and events by the Creator of all. First, we reject the term "fate." For even if it is possible to call divine providence thus, not only as it exists in God alone before the existence of the things provided for, but also as it is sometimes attributed to the things themselves, it likens these to the eternal reasons in God concerning their existence and order. But because the Stoics did not thus understand the term from the beginning, and used it very badly, we reject it. The name of providence and predestination, from the sacred and most unerring school, is sufficient for us. Then, since some think that this providence does not exist at all, but that all things exist and happen randomly and as chance may have it, while others posit it differently, of whom to divide the opinions and refute them is the work of a long leisure, and we do not have such a proposition concerning anything in the present, but being predisposed to help the former afflicted with a most shameful disease, as such divine providence exists undeniably in all things and concerning all things, if indeed anything else of the confessedly existing things, we will set forth the main points of the truer accounts concerning it, of which there are many, while touching upon it. From which, even that it confessedly exists, those not incurably ill would be sufficiently persuaded. For this reason, we will choose to say things easily understood by many concerning a very deep subject. We presuppose as a foundation to the discourse, that the will of divine providence to reveal itself was of its most gracious philanthropy for the kindling of a greater desire than the human, and lest they should unwittingly be impious concerning the greatest things, and at the same time the revealing of itself agrees with the being, if indeed anywhere else. For ass from the magnitude and beauty of the creations, the creator is correspondingly contemplated, so from the most evident works of providence, the providence disposing these things concerning them is recognized. But that even it being thus evident, we cannot conceive the divine purpose concerning the economies of human life, is necessarily because of its variety and all-wise depth. "For who has known the mind of the Lord," he says, "or who has become his counselor?" "Whence it is not even safe to dare the discourse concerning it, unless one is illuminated by it or follows only those who have been illuminated. For this reason, hoping to have it alone as a fellow worker and guide here also, both defining and disposing our mind and speech towards the purpose of truth, we speak.

2.Indeed, God is the cause of all things that exist and come to be, yet not in the same way for all things. For He creates the so-called existing beings, He alone truly existing, both the separate substances and the heavens and all the bodies within them, and all the so-called elements. But the things that come to be, these existing beings themselves become their causes. For God not only brought the natures of existing things into being, but also granted them to be causes of others, thus placing a certain trace of His divinity within them, so that they differ from the things that come to be. And He deemed it wiser not only to directly govern and oversee their coming to be and existence, but also to bring these about through the service of others, because of the great imperfection that exists and must exist within them, with the forms of those beings immersed in matter, and therefore they are perishable. And indeed, they bring about many things even in the realms below

(for animals come from animals, and plants from plants), but they produce things similar to themselves, so that which produces proximately and most directly would be the cause, but less so that which does not do so from itself, but by the power of other higher beings. And those which do not produce things similar to themselves would most directly be the causes of those things, all the way up to the first cause itself, which is far above these generated and perishable things, and is most causative for the proximate causes of their coming to be from themselves. For this is what brings the powers of all the higher causes, and even of the one that proximately and ultimately brings forth what comes to be, to the thing that comes to be; and without that power, nothing would come to be from all things. Therefore, God is no less the immediate creator of even the lowest things, even though they are brought about through other causes.

3.Therefore, these existing beings, which themselves are also causes of generated things, possess movements and powers and diverse activities according to their order in the universe, and they have received the capacity to be causative for these lowest things from God, so that each of the things that come to be are all causes together with a certain order. For the cause of an animal is the animal in the same species, a horse of a horse, and the like for a lion, and similarly for a fish and a bird and a plant. And their causes are the elements. And indeed, the moon and the other stars and especially the sun and the heavens above these are causes, of which each has its namesake as a more immediate cause, but the more general is simply the more causative, both because it encompasses more things and because of its role in the ultimate production of the things that come to be and exist, and in being the cause of their activity. The most general and ultimate cause is God. For He is the creator of all the secondary causes and of all their power and activity, and they all act by His power, not only by having once been given the power to act, but also by continuously receiving the same power from Him, since there is one divine will concerning them, extending from the moment they came into being and continuing throughout the ages, and by God's will that the same things should always be in them and that they should always be in the same states. For they did not produce these things by nature, but by will, and therefore they are superior to old age and corruption and the weakness of time in their activity, whether they are living beings, or merely bodies, or moved by separate substances, each providing the need to the universe that is determined for them by their creator and master. And each of the ultimate producers, I mean of those in the realm of generation, being weak in its activity, ultimately loses the power to produce and even to exist. However, God grants this kind of power, enduring through succession, to their entire kind, with the higher created beings serving the divine will for the fulfillment of this power. And for those whose generation is not from atoms, but from the totality of the elements, their kind also does not fail through succession, with the power in the whole being dispensed from God through the action of the higher productive causes in a timely manner for their production.

4.Even if, therefore, things that come into being are said to be made poetically by reason of the causal genus, yet their causality is instrumental. For the creative power of each of them, in comparison to the higher one, is instrumental to it, and the powers of all together are instrumental much more to the power of the first maker. For each of the former does not make the power of the lower one, but only uses it as made by God. And God creates both the powers of all things together with the substances. And a creator in human beings would make the instrument of the art in the making of some art, then would also use it, or would use it having received it from another, but he would never accomplish anything belonging to the art without an instrument. But God, being able to make each thing without an instrument and making, makes some of the

same things also through instruments out of the abundance of wisdom and goodness, evidently those in the generated things. Thus all beings having been made by him participate in a mixed way in his likeness (for the work must in some way resemble the artisan), and some participate more and some less, according to the nature of the form, if more or fewer perfections are contained in it from the inexhaustible source of perfections; and they are made like in some way also to the one who generates those to whom he gave this, some being generative of more, some of fewer, according to the order in all of them. But all together, descending from the higher to the last, are similarly slaves and there is no divinity in them, except what is fitting for creatures and slaves of the best creator and master. Thus he alone is the poetic cause, if we wish to speak properly, but the others serve as instruments; and calling him the first cause, and the others secondary causes, we use the names according to order. For the terms belong to the ordered and coordinated, but he is infinitely separated from all in energy and power and nature. Therefore he alone is both God and all that we understand by this name, and he himself is the end of all and the good and does not desire all things.

5.With the same goodness and power, as he has made things from non-being, he evidently also provides for them according to the natures of each. And he wills the good for each nature, whatever he willed to be good and an end for each, being good and loving the one who made it; and he orders each towards its own end, being all-wise, as they would not be ordered in any other way, and he fulfills such an order being able to do all things. For he provides for all these generated things not only for their continuous existence in the species, until also the generation of humans, to which they are ordered, but also for the temporary existence of the individuals in each species. For providence of the uninterrupted motion of all this universe and its parts, from which motion these things are in any way generated and live, and of their generation and life is providence, being indivisibly distributed to each by an excess of knowledge and power, as the hyper-good will tirelessly fulfills its course from the higher things even to the last in each moment of time, which is for all to partake together according to the power of partaking given to each from it, along with the most harmonious arrangement of all things in the universe. But more particularly he provides for those individuals which are ordered immediately to him and are immediately able to enjoy him, such as the individuals of the rational nature, and for this reason it is true in some places that without the divine will not even a sparrow falls into a trap, and in others that God does not care about the oxen, both saying very truly. For just as a sparrow is caught by divine will, so also oxen are fed by humans and are sacrificed; but in the way that God does not care about the oxen, he also does not care about the sparrows. For he cares about them so that, enjoying being as much as is suitable for them and as he pleased, they may proclaim and silently the creator with the abundance of speech and from them those able may philosophize, and may be perfected to love and wonder at the all-wise power and goodness, and so that the special providence concerning human life may not be hindered, most things do not exist for the sake of and are not ordered to serve need; and he also cares about them, so that human sympathy may be seen even in irrational beings, for which man must provide, as long as he serves their needs while living. God cares about them in such ways; but beyond that nothing, because there is no end beyond this life for such things, nor are they aiming at it by some choice of their own, but only by a natural impulse, not even knowing to what their temporary life will eventually lead them. And not only is man ordered to serve these things, but also among themselves the weaker become food for the stronger; and God wills that grass may grow (for he does through which he also wills), and it grows, so that a sheep may be fed, and when hungry it becomes a remedy for a wolf, and a wolf similarly for a lion.

ON DIVINE PREDESTINATION IN GENERAL

6.The human situation is not like that of other generated and perishable things, but man is composed of a mortal and immortal principle. Although man eventually sheds the mortal part, living only with the immortal, and even if the mortal part is somehow taken up again, it is already transformed so that the life with it does not differ at all from that intellectual happiness of life with the immortal alone, except that he will enjoy it perfectly, if indeed it is composed by itself, but is dissolved by an accident, which is not necessary to be eternal; for we affirm these things from the trustworthiness of the sacred oracles, in which the probable is also sufficiently present. Therefore, God creates human bodies, or indeed those of the remaining animals and whatever lives in generated things, from seed and the higher creative powers, which is the same as to say by the way of nature, either he makes some things, or they are generated; but he creates a soul for each individual in each body immediately, as he made the separated substances before (for this is to mold only the hearts of men), and the "working until now" concerning men has been said more specifically, not only of all being created anew, but also of those daily being remolded from wickedness to virtue, as many as make themselves ready. But he passed by those at once; but for each human body he creates a new soul, so that neither, entering from outside, many strange and impossible things may be, nor, being generated with the seed and by succession, a worse one may follow. And as the life in such a body of man is not contrary to the original will of God concerning him, and as the soul pays a kind of penalty in it for some former wicked and irrational desire, and that the soul having lived virtuously here and having been purified as a voluntary path, ascends to the place prepared for it in the heavens unstained, immediately being released, such things which have been confessed it is not necessary to elaborate upon, and that the end of man is the participation of the ultimate good, which is to intellectually know God immediately and according to species, he himself being the first truth and the ultimate good, but we speak only about how God provides for him thus created in such ways.

7.He provides for him, simply speaking, better than for all other beings and becoming things, not because he wills his own good more for him than for them their own proper good, but because the good of man is greater than that of the others, and is accomplished with much human effort and a greater inclination from God because of the difficulties accompanying human life. Hence, most of them fail through their own fault, not being worthy of divine cooperation with justice; for of the other generated things he does not provide so that they may always be, but of man, so that he may always be and may be better, and of the heaven and the other bodies, not so that they may be better, but only so that they may always be and never cease being such and acting with energy (for neither of those has mind and the deliberative power accompanying man), but the former are always moved towards what is best for them, being such from the divine will immediately, or from the contact of the power of some separated substances, neither knowing nor choosing, and if ever they change themselves, it is not according to nature, but according to the motions and the actions, and this will be for the sake of the improvement of humans; but the latter are moved until, not having even foreseen themselves at all; man, however, using choice and being associated with more beginnings in life both of always choosing what leads to the good, and of being aware of those turning him away because of not living only with mind and thought, but also with fantasies and senses and appetites of such a kind, which arise from the connected body and which, towards the good for them, and this is the partial, force the consent of the human reason, unless it is very strong so as to strangle them, but is willingly washed away; living thus, not ever overcoming all difficulties and always choosing the good and living according to reason and the law from

God, and despising all the partial and temporary goods if it is not necessary to use them as instruments and organs, but hastening towards the truly good, and thus being purified and being released from punishment day by day, he would become worthy to come to his own end, not receiving special providence from God.

8.Nor does the divine being provide for the separated substances, which we call angels and ministering spirits, in such a varied and multifaceted way as for us humans, having entrusted most of the governance to these spirits themselves and continually entrusting them especially in those who live more worthily. For he does provide for those natures, so that they may contemplate only the best and truest things, accomplishing the best and most blessed life there, preserving them in the gift of happiness given to each, so that they may never fall away, having once received it, causing countless evils to themselves and the human race both now and in the future, but he does not change them towards the better or guide them desiring to improve; for nothing better would happen to them being established in the ultimate degree of happiness from God and being self-sufficient each according to its species. I say according to species, because they are divided into species and in their individuality each has a different species. Therefore, it was well said that the divine being provides for man better than for all other things, and in the human nature the all-wise and multifaceted heavenly care is also very benevolent. But having separated, we must examine the care concerning man in outline and completely.

9.Now of the human soul, as has been said, God takes very careful providence, so that it may choose the most proper and most advantageous life here and, as far as possible, having fulfilled it and having lived according to reason and law, it may attain the end appointed for it and not have been created in vain for anything else, if not for an image of God on earth, as the divine oracles declare and the works themselves agree. And he not only provides for the whole nature from the beginning until now always perfecting the human reason with laws and examples of the best life, which he sent down to the human race, but he also provides for each soul more specifically, so that it may be suited to the goods given to it by nature. If many fall away from the divine teachings, or do not even wish to seek them from the beginning, and for this reason wander blindly here, thinking and living with distorted mind and will that life which we call animal, and when they are released from the body, they are not worthy of the end appointed by nature, but are cast down into the place of wretchedness, which is proper to such a life of theirs, this should not be wondered at; for this is not contrary to the divine purpose, that it is possible for there to be such people; nor would it have been possible for this not to be, as long as men, as nature, but choice, in men resemble the best and the proper of the reason in them and the divine life. Therefore, it would neither have been beneficial for them to be forced towards the good, nor would it have been possible, as long as men could use choice being what they are, nor, if they were not led towards the good or were led away from it being forced, but choosing and willingly, it is wonderful that some have chosen the better things, while others have rushed towards the worse, nor would the wickedness of men seem reasonably to prevail over the divine purpose concerning them; for if the arrow had a mind, so that being released, it would nevertheless come, even willingly, to the target, or be carried aside somewhere and fall through, and the maker made it thus, willing and able, being himself both the maker and the archer, the good providence of him would have been manifest in setting the target and it being proper to the power of the arrow, and in releasing it skillfully and calmly and cooperating, if it wished to lead itself; but if, being carried aside somewhere and not following the one who released it well and cooperated or even made the way, it did not reach the target, but was lying there somewhere struck down, neither would this be a

weakness of the providence over it nor a wickedness from there. Thus also God provides for each man, so that having become as good as possible, and having sought the truth with the mind, which is the end proper to him, and the good with the will, by this twofold way he may be worthily raised up to the place of happiness; and indeed most ascend, but he does not force anyone, so that even unwillingly one might take the good which is proposed for him; for this would have been impossible because of the things said. And the twofold place is justly prepared for men; for if they had to live eternally, being released from the body, it would not have been fitting for those who had not used the present life similarly nor desired the same things throughout life to live there similarly, nor would it have been just for those who had most of all turned away from the choice here, but for those who had been purified and philosophized to arrive at the place proper for such, but for those filled with the sensual desires and having ignored the need of the life here not to be present there (for no unclean thing shall enter into that city, the sacred word said), but to be received in a place full of darkness and wretchedness. Of these two places and two abodes, one is prepared according to nature for man and is given to those who have lived according to nature, but the other is a deprivation of the proper end for those who have not desired it nor taken care to obtain it; and the goodness of God prepares the one, the justice of him agreeing (for it is also good), but the divine justice, not contradicting the goodness; for it also wills the just things. And he provides most wisely for the bodily life of man here, not for its own sake alone, but also so that the soul may neither be hindered by it towards the end nor be led astray.

10.That God provides for all things that he has made and makes, and in a different way according to the order of the substance of each, and that the end of this providence for him is that they may attain the best, or simply the according to nature, although the ultimate end for them themselves is the simply best, even if not as enjoyable, but because they themselves also in a way desire it in fulfilling the divine will concerning them, which they would have fulfilled even if they had known and chosen, let this be said in the way of a remark; for the discourse about man is useful to us. But the other things, as they serve in the work the providences concerning him of God, thus also in the discourse they are necessarily included, not only so that what belongs to all beings and is suited to man might be shown, but also because having demonstrated the excellence of the heavenly providence concerning him, in a typical way and through less, but sufficiently, a way would be found for the discovery of the truth concerning what is most proposed. From the things said themselves it is clear also that the end and the things leading to it are defined for humans; for otherwise there would not even be such a providence concerning them. For concerning the separated substances such a thing would not be sought very much; for these are not on the way, but at the end, and if ever they were not yet at the end, what would be sought concerning them, let it be left to consider now. And concerning the parts of all this universe, which are continuously since they have been generated, it is clear that the end is defined for them and they go towards it unwillingly, as if going towards it by nature, whether the end of their motion, or the end of their energy in the lower things in generation and corruption; and none of them ever fails of the end in general, if it is not possible for God, who moves them towards the end with his omnipotent will, through which he also once made what was not, to fail. And those in generation and corruption sometimes fail of the proximate end, in which abortions and deformities sometimes happen because their species are immersed in the whole and through the lack of some proximate principle or the combination of the higher causes, which would also be a failure of the higher causes in a way; but that this particular animal and not this should be aborted or deformed or become monstrous, there would be no reason for which it would be

defined by the divine; but that such things should happen sometimes in the works of nature is indeed very much defined (for otherwise it would not have been possible for any of them to become thus ever), and it seems in some way like those who sin through choice to those who fare badly through the whole, except that this happens to them unwillingly and to a very small extent. If therefore only humans of all beings and becoming things are travelers in this life, appointed to contemplate eternal happiness, and the virtuous willing, it is necessary to examine such things accurately concerning them, and these, it being ours to examine concerning ourselves.

11.For all humans in common the end of this life is defined by nature, for those living according to nature, which is the same as to say, according to the reason and law in them, the end according to nature (for it is not worse to repeat the same things), which is the immediate knowledge of God and the intellectual pleasure in it; for man, when he is released from this connected body, would be theoretical of the universals and knowing of the truth, having his eye opened and purified by the zeal from here, he would have happiness and an end, the knowledge of the universal truth, which we also say is eternal life; but for those who have lived contrary to nature, for all in common the deprivation of eternal life is defined, being themselves also eternal, but living in deep darkness and wretchedness, which kind it is, the divine oracles narrate. And these are defined for each not by the same divine will, but the best end is primary for the good, and this is "to will to will," and it has been said in the oracles that God says somewhere "he wills to will the death of the sinner, just as he wills to will to live eternally by conversion"; but the deprivation of the end, being wretchedness, follows the worst; for he also wills the punishment of wickedness, as thus the divine justice would also be fulfilled, and as it follows that those having journeyed the way leading to the good may arrive at it unchangeably, so also that those not willing to journey may not arrive. Whence, because those being saved are matured for life from the primary good will of God, for this reason we say that those worthy of that salvation are specially defined and have been defined, but those to be punished, are not properly defined for eternal punishments, but rather disapproved of from the life proposed for men from the good father. But let it be said that it is defined for all.

12.Thus, in common, these two ends are defined for all humans, and as if from afar and before the existence of the world they were defined, we say that they are predestined for humans, and those coming to these, are also predestined to these. And with the end being defined for humans, it is necessary that the things leading to it be defined somewhere. And as it is clear that such things are defined in common for all humans; for all the things which the natural law teaches and the law in the writing and the evangelical law of grace and the laws of the saints of God and all philosophy concerning ethics are about these, which lead to happiness, and on the contrary, and some are called virtues, others vices, having an order, like the parts of man, in which they are and in which they are produced, for example, prudence is a virtue of reason, and justice is another manner, and temperance is of desire, and courage of anger, and one virtue is of the mind, another of speech, another of work; and this generates that, and another grows from this, and one prepares the way, and another purifies, and another perfects and leads up, through which, proceeding in an orderly manner, man cannot not come to the end of happiness; but the opposites of these lead the one who has gone through them by these to the path of wickedness towards wretchedness. And just as it is impossible for grain not to be generated in a certain way by nature and the fruit of such a tree, or for all the things sought for these to result in an orderly manner, without these immediately following because each is ordered towards each, therefore it is said also

"you will know them by their fruits," so necessarily in human life according to choice virtue must follow virtue and vice vice in turn, until through such an interweaving each becomes appropriate either by partaking of God or by departing from him unhappily, whichever one he takes care for.

13.But to say the truth, there is nothing at all which is vice, but only a privation of virtue, nor is anything defined in the path of wickedness, but rather everything is indefinite and confused. But if anything is defined even in these, it is from the opposition to the good and through the good; for with the good things being defined and the states and following each other in an orderly way, the privations of them also follow each other, nor do those who shape their own life with the privations live truly, but they are in a shadow of life. Similarly, also the subsequent wretchedness for them is worse than any death, for whom it would have been better according to the saying not to have been born in the first place, if it had been possible for them to know before being born, what would happen to them having chosen as they did. Thus, the human race in common has received such a preparation and guidance from God towards the good and receives it; for if fathers and rulers of nations care greatly how the children or the subjects will live suitably to the good order hoped for from them, and for this reason they define it for them, and teach them what doing and how governing their own life they would become worthy of it sometime, much more should God have defined happiness and the things leading to it for his children, so that knowing all things they might be able to hasten.

14.But the care concerning each individual contains much more and more wonderful things than the good things defined in common for all. For as a father and benevolent ruler, he both assists and corrects; nor having only shown the end and the path and the stopping places, does he leave them to use themselves alone and gives to others other helps appropriate to their upbringing and nature, and does not become angry with those who are negligent and grumble, until he sees and tries to take them back from their small-minded carelessness and add to the way with a better hope, but also invites those who have turned back from the middle of the way, and then with a cry and tears from repentance he lets them enter again and begin, forgiving those needing it; and he accomplishes the same disposition towards the good for some with the abundance of bodily and external goods, for others with the lack of them. And for those who are weak towards perseverance in the good, wishing indeed to choose it and wanting to choose it, which it is customary for many to happen for many reasons, either he makes leisure from the opposing things, or he takes up and strengthens the choice to overcome the oncoming things; and many plots are made against men both by men and by evil demons towards the choice of the good and the action, which it is difficult to resist without God; but for those having a strong will and allowing difficulties to come upon them, so that resisting manfully and conquering with the inclination from him they are worthily deemed of greater happiness there and stand as an example of steadfastness for human life for the rest. And he releases them from unforeseen dangers and gives unexpected goods, when some, hoping intently on him and continually seeking the divine will alone, set all their things on fire with divine love; and sometimes, foreseeing, they are worthy of asking for some things, and are released from others, being able to do and willing to do many things beyond the order of the partial makers, which being all better than speech and number, we find narrated in the older life of men and those paying attention see them being accomplished today.

15.In the divine economy of each of these things, there is one end, the fulfillment of divine goodness and justice, insofar as each one is evidently either predestined for life, or is of those who have been disapproved, we for the most part being ignorant in the present moment of the order of the things being

governed towards the final end, but God preparing all things for the fulfillment of the eternal plan; for there is nothing of such things which was not known to God from afar and before the foundation of the world to become thus. Nor does he only know them, and how they happen to be generated or perfected or not perfected, but he also orders them to be generated thus; and not only this, but he also fulfills such an order of them both remaining immediately and with instruments, as has been said. Nor was it reasonable for him to make a small account of human reason, for the sake of which almost all the other things exist, as if the sensible world were not worthy of even one human soul, as if also the things existing for the sake of the whole end were not entrusted and known to be accomplished by many economies and the greatest of all, nor is it little for the improvement of each soul that the economy according to the other connected life is beneficial, nor should one fear that the divine being grows weary in such philanthropies either reckoning through himself or fulfilling through others, nor could it have been entrusted to the motion of the higher bodies, not being able to act on the human mind and will and the life according to them, except by chance.

16.Many things having been proposed of the discourse about providence and not being comprehended even by mind and reason, we will conclude the discourse about all things with this summary as far as possible, as many things as it is necessary to think concerning divine providence for pious people, both recapitulating some and adding others. For humans, an end of this generation and life has been prepared from God twofold, since it was necessary for them to live by choice, not by nature. And it is necessary for all to arrive at one or the other, but he arrives at what he has prepared his own life for; and coming he is also led; for both the choice of each and the cooperation from God concur towards human life, because both our will and the willing and the action are from God, from whom also is being, just as in those living badly both the choice and the withdrawal of divine grace concur. And not only does one arrive at the final end and is also led at the same time, but the whole life of each is thus governed; for just as the actions in this life are as it were certain limits of the motion towards the final end, ordered in relation to each other towards the final end. And towards these limits man is both moved and led, with grace cooperating everywhere or abandoning; with it cooperating, he is attached to the good, even if it is difficult, but withdrawing from it, he deserts to the evil life. But he is not compelled towards the good or the evil by the divine grace cooperating or leaving; for those things are accomplished invisibly, but the whole impulse of the soul towards the good or the evil is from itself; and it is not only because the divine grace does not appear to cooperate or leave obviously in the choosing itself, but also because it does not impose any compulsion on the choice, nor is there anything from there to act what one does not at all wish; but sometimes the divine seems to compel, as the hearts which have become soft or hardened, inclining them wherever it wishes according to the saying, but added to the firm judgment of the soul, or it escapes the notice of most, but does not escape the most wise knowledge.

17.And many things, as said before, he arranges through the lower causes, and many through angels governing good things, and many he acts immediately into the souls of men, without violence he disposes the lives of each. And he also governs many things for the common benefit, sometimes dealing more sharply with the more wicked and those whose reformation he has despaired of, in order to heal the similar ones by fear, sometimes calling out to the knowledge of the good from some paradoxical action, in order to show the surplus of wisdom and power; for some seem to most people to have become the most wicked, but having a certain worthiness in them, unknown to most, but known to the spirit which searches all things, they are called to the ministries of the most divine things and have prospered. In these also are included the

unexpected adversities of afflictions and deaths and the myriad forms of so-called good fortune and misfortune, when something contrary to expectation follows for those who seem to have deliberated badly, or the opposite, as if being helped or harmed by some external causes; in which there is much that is paradoxical because of the ignorance of the reasons lying in divine providence, but those who consider them well and fulfill them piously would not escape all of the reasons for which they happen, comforting their pious thirst for the divine light. But whether the ends are known or unknown, one thing is very certain, that all things serve the divine purpose concerning each in a proper and rational way and the distant arrangement concerning it of the highest providence, and through all things man, both of the things happening by him and the things happening to him in whatever way from the beginning until the end of this life, is arranged together with divine providence, turning all things with its own economies, so that he himself may obtain the things appropriate to the whole choice of life; and for this reason all things according to the present life of men are predestined and pre-arranged by God; for he knows the ways of men, and he tracks their paths and their tracks according to the saying, and before they come to be and be moved; and he sees not only their works or the inner counsels concerning the things to be done, but also the first formation of the thought, before it is worked out and formed, with the all-seeing eyes, all the things not yet become in themselves being in him in a manner appropriate to him. And he knows much more also that he himself will cooperate, before anyone has cooperated and was, and will abandon, before anyone willingly undergoes this, and will also move together towards happiness, or by not moving together because someone does not wish to move together and will also disapprove, and will dispose all human conversation and life, as would be suitable for all the reasons of the providence concerning all things, evidently of each individual of men and of those with whom he associates and of the life of all men and of all this universe, and as the goodness of the arranger and the justice would wonderfully be fulfilled; for with one vote he accomplishes so many things concerning all.

18.And having foreknown all these things surely, he also arranges and fulfills according to his foreknowledge concerning them. However, he does not exclude from such foreknowledge or arrangement or the outcome of the things arranged the particularity concerning actions of man, or which is the willing and choosing to act, whatever one acts, but in all these this remains firm. And so that the whole discourse may become clear from one example, God ought, as it was possible for John the Baptist, either flattering Herod, to be benefited for a time, but to be punished eternally for overlooking the law of God being trampled upon and for overlooking those trampling it upon him being unprofitable, or having rebuked, to die for it, but to be crowned eternally, because he chose to die, in order only to satisfy in all things owed to the laws of God, to choose the second, and it was necessary for this to be foreseen eternally with the infinite knowledge proper to the creator; similarly, it was necessary thence that Herod also, if it was possible for him, having feared the divine law and John who rebuked him, to refrain from the sin and to confess gratitude to the one who led him away, or having become angry and granting favor to the one sympathizing, to seek how to avenge him, so that he might be able to transgress unchecked and to avenge himself sometime, would choose the second, or would in many ways be the cause of eternal punishment for himself. But with John having come into being, and the other things having been brought together as they were going to be foreknown, to deliberate which one he would run (for such things are not chosen without deliberation by the wise, where on the one hand death with virtue and glory and better hope meets someone, and on the other hand to survive with the opposites of these for a little), then at that time God did not compel John to choose this or that, but only

cooperated towards willing the good more with the grace dwelling in him, if it had also been dwelt in him and he himself was the cause, having made himself worthy; similarly, he did not compel Herod either to choose this or that concerning John and himself, with the same time having arisen for him also to deliberate about which of the two it would be preferable for him to choose. Therefore, neither the divine compelling, nor they themselves being compelled from somewhere to choose this definitively, but in the choice of each being placed the ability to appear more preferable to them, and it being possible for each to be chosen by them, as far as the freedom of the will and the nature of the thing itself, because in the things done by choice there is the possibility, John chooses the better, but Herod the worse; and John chose beforehand, and it was better in every respect to choose thus, but what was chosen by Herod was worse for him and for all; and thus it was interwoven, so that if Herod had not sinned and done the worse things, John would not have attained the better here, and if John had not done the better, Herod would not have fulfilled the worse. However, John was not good because of Herod, if not because of his own choice, nor was Herod bad because of John, if not because of himself; he would have been good also because of him, if he had chosen this more; and since each chose what pleased him and his disposition according to the saying, "I no longer work the evil, but the sin dwelling in me," and as the grace in the one having it also works the good, and I am the cause of the sin and he of the grace, having made himself worthy to receive, then all things concurred and cooperated so that the one would be worthily crowned as he had chosen, and the other would undergo punishments there and here worthy of licentiousness and lawlessness and murder.

19.For those who could have done either, both opposites were possible before choosing one of them. For both were equally possible for them; but once each did one, it was necessary that what had been done was not by its own nature, but by having been worked out already, and it was not possible both to be and not to be worked out, just as before coming into being it was possible both to be and not to be generated. Thus it was for them, and thus it is judged for us. But for divine knowledge, it was as if already generated, even before being generated, and it was necessary, because they themselves could choose what they would choose, and not by some necessity, the things being up to them; but that each would choose this and not this, he knew definitively, and just as he foreknew what would be in so many years, so also he knew necessarily what could be; for divine knowledge comprehends the whole of human choice and action, as it has in itself concerning anything, at the same time also tending towards the final end, which is in both possibilities and necessities alike, or rather all things are present to it thus as to an infinite and most common cause of all; therefore he not only knew the whole upbringing of each, but also arranged it appropriately beforehand in the divine predestination, and later also in the work itself; and he arranged it by adding grace to the one, and by taking away grace from the other because of the inability for the light of grace to dwell with the darkness of voluntary evil, nor should those who chose to be darkened rather than illuminated be illuminated against their will. And grace did not make John not consider the fearful thing to be fearful or simply to delight in death, but it made him fear more the one who kills only the body, but does not touch the soul, which the saying counsels, and for this reason he courageously chooses death, or even places his soul with a more intense divine love for the sake of the beloved doctrines. But although helped by grace, so as to judge correctly what should be chosen, yet with his whole choice he took the better and the whole of his own judgment was the beautiful; nevertheless also the whole of grace was, as far as it was concerned, without which we can do nothing. Therefore it is also said to lead first because of the weakness of the creature from itself, but to

follow the leading choice because it does not compel, as it is with light and the one having or willing to see with it. And furthermore John prayed not to be abandoned, but to be guided towards the choice of the better, and God listened both to John himself and to his work at that time, and to himself, from the time when he foresaw John as worthy to be listened to; and John did not pray in vain. But Herod contemplated and did those things for which he should be abandoned, and he was abandoned not only then, but from the time when he was worthy to be abandoned. Therefore his wickedness also suffered its own, and it did not happen in vain nor thus.

20.From all these things thus divided in outline and in an example applied well in one from many, it is clear that both the human wills and choices and the things said to be up to us and whatever is done by us possibly, are all subject to divine providence, which is a foreseeing of what is beneficial in an unchanging arrangement of the things resulting towards this, and these were foreknown as they would be, by the cause of all and predestined; for being known that they would be thus, it was necessary to be predestined thus; and being predestined thus, and thus coming to be, since as they were going to be thus, thus it was predestined; for it was neither possible for God to be ignorant of the future, or to wait for how something would become, in order to know, nor was it necessary for the divine knowledge, having known the following of each of the becoming things, to fail in any other way in such a following of something, or as it was foreknown, to become. But it was not predestined in themselves (for they are not always the same), but only predestined in God; and neither do humans have knowledge of the divine predestination concerning anything of the things up to them, so that they may follow it even unwillingly, although the wise do not ignore that everything is defined there, nor are they compelled from there, not knowing, so that the things which are natural to be done by choice and possibly may not be done thus, or those who are naturally to do thus may not do thus. And it is clear that with these things being thus, divine predestination does not benefit those who have chosen the better before choosing it, except insofar as it was predestined for human nature in common, that it is necessary to live according to reason and law, and living thus to be God-loving, and being such to live better in the future; for these things even the wise know very well. But it is not because of knowing alone that they are such (for many, knowing well and persuading others, wish to be wicked themselves), but because it was necessary for God that these also would choose the worse, and this was predestined thus in the divine foreknowledge concerning them, which they themselves do not know. Therefore this does not harm them either. Therefore both choose willingly whatever they choose; therefore both some will be blessed and others will be punished, as having become such by their whole choice. And God is a cause in some things, but without cause in others; and if he is the cause of all, yet not of any necessity in the things chosen; for as each thing was going to be and as it was natural for each to be or to do, thus it was foreknown by God and predestined, and as it is fitting for the divine will concerning all things to be intertwined in such things, where it does not compel, but where it cooperates only, where it allows for the sake of benefit, and where it abandons completely.

21.If some of the divine ones, separating the things up to us, say that God foreknows but does not predestine, "predestination" wants to say "to compel"; but this has also been said by us, that in the things done by will, divine foreknowledge and predestination does not impose any more necessity than if, after acting freely whatever they would choose, he knew that these things had been done by them; for to be known sometime is also from them (for as existing it is also known), but to have been foreknown for so much time is

of the surplus of divine knowledge. Therefore, foreknowledge does not cooperate with them or hinder them, until some necessity is also imposed from the foreknower, so that neither does predestination; but foreknowledge cooperates with God's knowing that it is predestined; for there would never be knowledge worthy of God of indefinite things. Therefore, it is necessary that the things known be defined without error and definitively; and it is necessary that the things foreknown be predestined, and be defined not from anywhere else but from him, being the maker of all things and the ultimate end; for thus all things are said to be from him and to him, as he himself being both the one ordering each thing and the one to whom all things are ultimately ordered. And from here it follows that each thing is also ordered by him to its proximate ends. Therefore, they do not ignore divine predestination even in the things up to us, as being only of human actions, or because they are worse than the other undefined things, or because they are very much better and not comprehended by divine knowledge; for they heard somewhere that the scripture has called those whom God foreknew and predestined, and these were those who had forethought and acted piously in whatever was up to them. But they take predestination instead of necessity, not establishing very accurately the meaning of the word, but thinking very accurately that divine predestination does not compel the free will so that it is no longer such. Thus they also agree with the multitude of the other divine ones and with the canon of truth.

22.With all these things being posited thus, that nothing of what has been confessed is destroyed, is clear; for the necessary remains well, and the possible remains in the causes and the things generated from them, and the accidental remains in the things; for all things are contained in the order of divine providence, as has been said, and all this order divides well, keeping what is proper for each. But moreover, the usefulness of prayers is not expelled thus, not only as they themselves being under this order, as has been said in the example of John, but also because God is accustomed to do many things beyond the order of the lower causes governing human life, or does not change the whole disposition of his providence and the all-embracing order, nor does he transgress. Therefore, nothing prevents him from doing such things also, granting favor to the pious petitions of men, he who is said to do the will of those fearing him and to hear their own petition, and continually exhorts us to seek; for he has been released, confessedly, from all necessity, which he himself placed in the created things, and for this reason he willingly changes all defined necessity from himself to the partial causes for the salvation of those who flee to him piously and persistently pray, or for those for whom they entreat, whose salvation is the end of the providence concerning them which is also ministered through the other creatures. For it makes no difference to stop the running sun at the prayers of the righteous, or to make it eclipse in full moon, which is more paradoxical, and no one having prayed for this, in order that some good might be accomplished on either side; for in each of the miracles the defined necessity was strangled by the released one. And having raised up one who had been killed in his sleep by robbers and hidden him somewhere, he released him from a ready misfortune, so that something better concerning him or concerning others might be governed by the addition of his life; but he also released another from a similar evil with a prayer, having seen a terrible thing coming unavoidably and having fled to the one able to save. Sometimes, after saving them, having also changed those who had intended to kill, and those who would have been killed by tyrants for confessing their faith to the end were preserved and did not ask, those who were being drowned were not drowned, and those being set on fire were not burned, and wild beasts being let loose, neither were they harmed at all and were honored as beasts ought to be honored, and being poisoned they did not die; but having asked at another time, after having been proven by boldness and

many struggles, he led them out of life with peace and without any natural cause of those working such ends in men. In all these things the definitively necessary in the creatures, being caused and created, is changed by a greater eternal necessity; for the necessity in the created things is because God willed it thus, and for each, willing what is best for its own nature, and for the others, whatever is needed for them to be. But the simply best, being placed in the will of God, is defined both by him always and at every moment by never willing anything contrary to the defined order in the created things, which would not be simply best, under which the good in them is ordered, and by happening to have foreknown definitively that he would do thus; but it is inviolable and released in relation to the necessity established in the created things and slaves, nor is it interwoven with the following of beings, but is suspended from the simplest and freest divine will, which is no law nor necessity except itself; for it cannot ever not be of the best, either definitively or released. And as he made the things in the world not being before, not of course bringing forward the necessity defined in the created things by him (for it was not yet), so also he transforms existing things, whenever he wishes to accomplish the most complete and best order of providence and the greater or common good without also destroying the other things. And these agree well with the things said at the beginning, in which it is that God did not make the beings by nature, but by willing.

23.If then the efficacy of prayers is not negated concerning the principal matters of human life, much less is it negated in dispositions and whole ways of life and places and whatever is simply connected with human actions or passions. For neither do definite things follow from these for humans, nor are all things connected in one way for all, but it is possible from the same things for human choices to be moved towards opposites, and not only of many people, but also of the same ones, at different times, and as also from opposites or different things it is possible to be led to choose the same things. And they are indeed included in the divine order, but are not always fulfilled with a special fulfillment of divine grace like their ends, but as only preceding or following them are before the eyes of God and as through them each person is prepared for the principal matters of his own life; but they are left to the order of the partial causes for the most part and to human will. In these things, therefore, and especially hearing the prayers, God, by cooperating with human weaknesses, often changes the disposition of the partial causes towards what is beneficial, and sometimes even brings the wills of humans to himself, those moved from elsewhere; and we humans pray for both of these, and it was not possible for the supremely good one not to remove the external hindrances for those desiring what is beneficial for the proposed life, for which they seem to desire to be useful, and to illuminate the souls for the discovery of what is beneficial, whenever these are not very clear. And he does these things even without prayers in those worthy and not asking to obtain, just as many, praying without a worthy preparation and ignorance of what is beneficial, are left by the way of their own will and by nature for a certain benefit of themselves or others, even if they seem to suffer evil, but others do not receive what they seek, but what is beneficial for them; for it would be of the providence of the same most benevolent father, "forbidding bread to him that asketh it," he says, "and giving fish to him that asks for bread, having been deceived," if anyone were worthy of the good gifts of the father, being a good child in other things.

24.But a greater indication of God's good providence concerning us is that he also leads to praying somewhere, so that having promised to live blamelessly and having asked him piously, they may receive what he wishes to give them having been improved, whether this is an addition of life, or release from slavery, or whatever; for there is no one to whom God does not give occasions of purification, to each different ones,

knowing who will not seize them, but giving all that is proper to goodness to every creature, so that concerning the remaining things he may care for both those improving and those impenitent with his own justice. The sacred histories are full of such things, and the polytheists also narrate many such things, even if they have erred concerning their causes and manners, blaming some divinity for such things and providence and necessity, distributing divinity not piously to the works of the one God, having been deceived about their causality, and speaking about providence, either not of all or not correctly, and establishing necessity where it is not necessary according to any reason, and what is greater, not considering anything to be consistent for themselves or for each other. In all these things narrated concerning divine philanthropy, with it being true that we have used the most correct reasoning in praying about what we ought to the creator, the predestined and unchanging providence of God is also preserved; for neither is the whole order of providence concerning the sun changed because it once stopped its course by the authority of the maker, nor was this outside of the things predestined concerning the sun. And Hezekiah also received an addition of life from repentance concerning his life and pious refuge to the cause of life, God having thus governed and having defined life for him then, as he threatened, if he did not repent; but neither was the divine predestination concerning the life and death of each changed from this, in which is also contained the ability to dispose these things towards what is beneficial for the Lord of death and life, nor was this outside of the things predestined concerning Hezekiah, that having prayed with improvement of life he might receive this addition, and whatever was the end of the whole divine providence concerning Hezekiah, it was impossible to change; so that even if so much time was added to him, that would have been the final limit of life for him and would have been proposed beforehand; and he would not, even if he had chosen to repent, it being possible for him both to will and not to will to repent, but God had to define definitively that he would repent and would not die immediately then; and if he would have died immediately not repenting, it would not have become thus as thus predestined, but it would have been that it would become thus predestined in the all-embracing knowledge of God, and it would have become what is happening according to human opinion and predestined by divine knowledge. And the same discourse is about the similar things. Since therefore nothing of the confessed things is negated from all these being posited thus, as being about the truest things, we confess thanks to the one who has given to know and say thus, to whom glory is due from all for the ages; amen.

ON DIVINE PREDESTINATION IN GENERAL TO LORD JOSEPH

2. Concerning Providence and Predestination in general, the Second Discourse.

† To the most honorable and devout among monks, Lord Joeseph, in Thessalonica, from Gennadius the Monk.

1.I received your letter while bedridden, and now, having recovered slightly from my illness, I initially wished to offer no response to the matters you inquired about. However, out of customary goodwill, I felt compelled to fulfill the duty of writing. For our time, and indeed the discourse of our age, has passed away—nay, all that is good has vanished. We must sit in some corner, lamenting in silence the utter deformity of our generation in every matter, and entreating God for deliverance from such a life, whenever He deigns to grant it. Yet, reverence for the great Basil compelled me to respond. Therefore, you may attribute the grace of this apology to him, not to me. For the great teacher of the Church says somewhere: "Deaths are brought about when the bounds of life are fulfilled, which the just judgment of God has appointed for each, foreseeing from afar what is beneficial for us." But you, most devout and beloved, say that you hear many who, through various arguments, neither wish nor accept this. Hence, some of them even accuse the great Basil in this matter, claiming that he spoke thus out of expediency and for the benefit of those who heard him at that time.

2.It is indeed no wonder that many say such things, for the divine, lofty, and philosophy-filled truths escape the understanding of the majority. Therefore, there is no need to engage in discourse with them. But for the sake of goodwill, we commend you to the great father and to the Holy Spirit who enlightened his sacred soul. Let it be, as they say, that one of the true theologians spoke something out of expediency. Yet, it is impossible to theologize falsely, whether for expediency or otherwise. Would the canon of all precision and care ever theologize out of expediency? And especially concerning the greatest dogma, which pertains to the second article of faith? Would he, for the benefit of his listeners, propose false doctrines? And would the benefit of the listeners consist in becoming morally better while holding false beliefs about God and divine matters? Would he, in benefiting others in small things, willingly harm himself in the greatest matters by speaking falsely about divine things? And this, not even addressing the general public, but privately to some who were educated and capable of understanding? Indeed, to any reasoning mind, even if the conclusion is expedient, the premises are not drawn from expediency but from reason and the truth itself. For without these, it is impossible to reach a conclusion. Would the teacher of truth make the demonstration from divine Scriptures in a casual and expedient manner? And if he were to argue from falsehoods, aiming only to persuade, would he still be a teacher of truth, or rather numbered among sophists? If, therefore, the great Basil wished—or rather, compelled—us to bear the end of life with grateful patience, as ordained by heavenly providence, lest we otherwise fall into impiety by either ignoring or disregarding divine predestination out of an irrational love of life for ourselves and our loved ones, was it not most expedient for him to speak about divine providence with truth, desiring to persuade? Or would it not also have been most expedient for his listeners, if they wished to be persuaded, especially through this means? Thus, it is utterly vulgar to accuse the entirely blameless one in this way. It would be wiser for them to accuse him by saying that, though he was wise and divine, as a man he was ignorant in this matter and unable to attain the true and wise understanding and discernment. But even this is without reason. For we, though knowing that the great Basil surpassed all

not only in wisdom but also in the divine illuminations he received, do not place him above Athanasius, Gregory the Theologian, Gregory of Nyssa, or Augustine, with all of whom Basil agrees, and they with him. And how could such great teachers together have erred in this matter?

3.That he frequently speaks of these same matters with great elaboration, treating the discourse on them as most necessary and intending to benefit those capable of understanding with the glory of truth, hear what he says elsewhere, and with diligence you will find it: "Do not say that anything happens to men by chance or accident, as if the world were governed by no ruler, introducing evil doctrines to yourself, nor fall outside the bounds of piety. For the God who created and ensouled us has given to each soul its own manner of life and appointed different limits for each one's departure. For He has ordained that one should remain longer in the presence of the flesh, while another should be released sooner from the bonds of the body, according to the ineffable wisdom and justice of His own counsel. Just as those who fall into prison are confined for a longer or shorter time in the misery of their bonds, so too are souls either detained for a long time in this life or released sooner, according to the worth and proportion of each, wisely and profoundly, as no human mind could comprehend the divine foresight concerning each of us. Do you not hear David saying, 'Bring my soul out of prison'? Have you not heard concerning the holy Tobit that 'his soul was released'? And what of Simeon, when he held our Lord in his arms—what voice did he utter? Did he not say, 'Now let Your servant depart in peace'? For to one who is eager for the life above, every punishment and every prison is lighter than the time spent in the body." These things he says in one discourse. Does he, then, teach the paternal and sovereign providence concerning human life and death, and indeed the divine predestination for humanity, with examples and scriptural proofs, out of expediency and with great care? And yet, if he were addressing opponents, you would see him bringing forth the whole of Scripture. But everywhere in his discourses, he calls the end of life preordained, and from this, the limits of life become unequal and dissimilar for men, according to the diverse and incomprehensible divine dispensation for each—unequal in time, and dissimilar in manner. These are his words.

4.That he did not speak those initial things out of expediency, but as necessary and as one who truly believed them, let this suffice for you. Moreover, in a manner worthy of his all-encompassing wisdom, magnanimity, and the Spirit who enlightened him, the divine luminary of the world thought and taught thus. For he knew that in human affairs, the divine predestination works all-wise and all-good, which is the eternal order in God for guiding man to the blessed life, though it occurs in time, as God sends him to that boundary like an arrow to its target, and directs him as from within, though he is unable on his own, even if he were made for this purpose. And for this reason, God heals and restores the weaknesses and deficiencies of life through His manifold dispensations and even death itself, through the abundance of His mercy. For the divine apostle says, "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to His mercy He saved us"—then, now, and as long as the race of men exists, as He once opened the way of life to us by His own compassion alone. For God, who providentially cares for all His creations, rightly and according to the worth and order of each in the universe, grants a special providence to the rational nature, fitting it with gifts befitting its adornment, and ordaining for it the blessed life as its end and purpose, consisting in the pure and immediate knowledge of God and divine things (for this, He says, is eternal life: that they may know You, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom You have sent—that is, the mysteries of theology and divine economy, which believers now see in a mirror and in a riddle). He Himself sets that boundary, end, and goal for it,

which none of the created things, nor all together, can achieve. He Himself directs it toward that goal (for though it is a boundary, it is so to the glory of God, yet it is transcendent), and He directs it by moving it from within (for He has given it the power of free will, so that it can move toward Him from within, with the guidance from above), guiding it toward this, assisting it, removing difficulties, bringing others when needed for training, allowing it to turn back when beneficial, immediately leading it back when it strays, encouraging, chastening when necessary, sometimes invisibly, sometimes visibly to those who pay attention, sometimes acting directly through Himself when He sends grace, and sometimes through the guardian angels, each of whom is assigned to each human, moving them toward good and delivering them from the snares of demons, which they hide along this path, as David says, which we walk, not only for our souls but also for our lives, as much as they are able, and strengthening the weakness of human reasoning. To put it simply (for it is neither possible nor necessary to delve into the inscrutable and innumerable details), He governs their entire life toward the best, so that the divine goodness of paternal providence is in no way lacking to His children, as many as desire that life, caring little for the present life and only according to law, and He sends them the end of life or allows it to be prepared in a manner consistent with His other providences, so that it may be ultimately well-determined, fittingly accompanying the efforts and zeal of those who strive for their own salvation.

5.For this reason, God is said to provide for all things that have come into being under Him, and the goodness of divine providence extends to all things that in any way participate in being. However, He predestines only the rational nature, humanity, so that for man, the providence of God and predestination are the same. For in both cases, the discourse reveals the end ordained for each according to its proper order. Simply put, they are not identical, but predestination is a distinct part of providence. For while other creatures are ordered toward an end consistent with their nature and are merely led as they were ordained to be led, without leading themselves, man is directed toward a transcendent end. He is both ordained by God toward that end and led from within, assisted by a guardian angel. Thus, as God alone knows those who will be ordained, when they also bring forth their own contribution through the divine and transcendent gift concerning them, and knowing that they will be ordained even before they are ordained and attain the end—indeed, even before they come into existence—He is said to predestine them, and they are called predestined. He predestined those who are saved to be saved, just as He saves those whom He predestined to be saved. Likewise, those who utterly rebel against the path to the goal, or who wander here and there willingly, nullifying God's care for them, which He demonstrates in every way as though they were to be ordained and were ordained, justly fall away from the goal and are rejected through their own fault when the time comes for them to experience the failure to attain the end. Yet, they were pre-rejected by God even before they came into being, not because He wills to reject them eternally, but because He knows they will be eternally rejected, and they nullify all the providence and care of God the Father for them, as well as His zeal for them to attain the end. But these matters require a separate and extensive treatment. Now, we must return to the subject at hand, for our purpose is not to discuss divine predestination at length but to show what moved the great luminary of the Church.

6.On these matters, it is necessary to consider well (let the opposite also be examined for greater confirmation of the truth): if human life and death were left entirely to their own choice, nature, and chance, or even to the common and temporary providence over all living things, the attainment of the end appointed

for humanity would be lost. For since this end is utterly transcendent, no one can be brought to it unless the One who established and ordained it draws them, resolving the many difficulties here and through the methods mentioned above. In vain, then, would Moses and the pedagogical law given through him be directed toward a greater and more perfect law. In vain would all the zeal for the salvation of humanity be spent—to put it briefly (for there is no need to elaborate on each point). Divine predestination would no longer exist, as neither would God bring them to the goal and end at the proper time, nor would He have drawn them to Himself from afar, even before they came into being. Divine providence would be overthrown, not only concerning human affairs but concerning almost all things. For our faith takes the most intricate and wise administration of human affairs as the end and fruit of the simpler governance of the universe, since God is said to have subjected all things under humanity's feet, as one who has been set over the works of His hands and made a little lower than the angels. Therefore, when the generation of humanity ceases, the motion of the heavens will also cease, as the divine oracles say, for it is ordained to serve humanity as its primary purpose. But let us leave aside other matters. What, then, will be the providence of the heavenly Father concerning humanity, if their end is to attain the blessed life, and the path is this present life, through which those who walk well attain the end? Yet, they cannot walk well or attain the end without God. If He does not care for their journey—that is, their present life—from its beginning, progress, and completion, so that through it they may be well-directed toward the end, overcoming every difficulty arising from countless circumstances, nor governs His children with paternal care, but leaves them to be carried away by the weakness of nature, the instability of choice, and the irrationality of chance, through which it is impossible to attain that transcendent end, and if He provides for His children only as much as for oxen—not in a uniquely specific manner—then what? But the blessed Paul, in his letter to the Corinthians, says that God cares for oxen, not as though He does not care at all for oxen and the like, but as though the providence concerning them bears almost no comparison to the providence concerning humanity, so that only the latter can and ought to be called true providence and care, for the sake of all that is just and rational in the divine.

7.If these things are denied, as has been said, then in vain is Job praised when he says, "The Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; as it pleased the Lord, so it has been done." In vain is David highly honored daily in the churches through almost all his psalms, hymning and proclaiming the divine predestination, not only saying of each individual, "He will command His angels concerning you," and so on, but also of whole nations, communities, and cities, as Isaiah and Amos harmoniously declare, the one saying, "He who makes peace and creates evil," and the other, "There is no evil in a city that the Lord has not done." And again, Isaiah himself says, "All our works, O Lord, You have wrought in us." In vain are the superintendencies of the angelic orders, through whom these things are accomplished according to the divine decrees. And in vain does our Lord Jesus say, "Without the divine will, not a hair of your head will perish," and so on, and concerning Himself, "Thus it is written, and thus it was necessary for Christ to suffer," and so on, and "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as You will," and "Without Me, you can do nothing," and many such things that confirm the divine predestination concerning the life and death of each person, since He Himself spoke these things as a man and as one suffering according to human nature. Shall we then regard all these things as ordained earnestly and in a manner befitting God? But let us come to the apostles. Peter, advising all the brethren to make their calling and election sure through good works, says, "For if you do these things, you will never stumble," and concerning himself, he says, "Knowing that shortly I must put off my tent, as our

Lord Jesus Christ has shown me." Paul, calling himself separated for the gospel of God, which He promised beforehand through His prophets in the Holy Scriptures, and so on, affirms what was said through Moses, "I will have mercy on whom I have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I have compassion," and concludes, "So then it depends not on human will or exertion, but on God, who has mercy," and again, "Those whom He foreknew, He also predestined," and so on, and "vessels of wrath prepared for destruction," and "vessels of mercy prepared for glory," and again, "None of us lives to himself, and none dies to himself," and to the Ephesians, "He chose us in Him before the foundation of the world, predestining us for adoption," and so on. Similarly, concerning those rejected from eternal life, he says in his letter to the Romans, "What if God, desiring to show His wrath and to make known His power, has endured with much patience vessels of wrath prepared for destruction, in order to make known the riches of His glory for vessels of mercy, which He has prepared beforehand for glory," and everywhere in his letters, he confirms the divine predestination, the specific providence concerning humanity, and all that follows from it concerning human affairs. Shall we say that he speaks these things in vain, or rather, that they speak in vain? Far be it!

8.Do you see, when the opposite opinion is hypothetically set forth, how many truths are overthrown? Indeed, almost nothing remains. For the things drawn from Holy Scripture are full of various mysteries, but all of them, along with those, are contained within the one vast subject before us, and if this is shaken, none of those will remain. If the divine predestination, which is the greatest part of divine providence and an indisputable dogma of the faith, and as it were the bond of the whole faith, holds all things together, and if some men are predestined to eternal life (to whom the merciful are also to be numbered), while others are rejected from it, then reasonably, both the life and death of each are appropriately ordered toward the attainment or failure to attain the end. For the most part, this arrangement is aided by the wickedness or virtue, prudence or imprudence of each, and sometimes it is ordered according to what is fitting for their dispositions and worth, both in life and death, as God administers it through various and manifold methods, judged differently for different people according to His vast and all-wise governance. Thus, the divine predestination is accomplished, whether in the attainment or failure to attain the goal and end (for let predestination be understood broadly here, as including both predestination and rejection). And since human life, as they choose it from within, either leads to the end with the assistance from above or turns away from the end with abandonment from above, reasonably, the transition from this life and the beginning of whichever disposition and life there is conforms and corresponds to the path toward the end, that is, the present life, and to the subsequent attainment or failure to attain the end. For death is like a boundary between both lives and a connection between the path and the end. Sometimes it is evident to all how death relates to the immediately following life, whether wretched or blessed, as in the case of those who choose to die for the sake of righteousness and piety, clearly not without God and the inspiration from above, as is fitting for martyrs and all who die with virtue and for its sake, even if they are not openly brought to martyrdom but are violently taken from life through plots and slanders. Or consider those who have fled the world and lived a life fitting for the cross, and whose death is similarly unconsoled, while others endure an unjust death, or conversely, those who, through unjust and wicked deeds and a life wholly conformed to them, endure a fittingly violent end.

9.Not only is such a death clear to human judgment, but to those who choose to die for virtue and piety, a bright and varied heavenly testimony appears, astounding the eyes and souls of those present. Sometimes,

however, the manner of death escapes the notice of many, except for those who endure it, and even they may not fully perceive it while still in the body. For the divine philanthropy, if the death is violent, may cleanse them sufficiently to attain a blessed end through mercy, or it may benefit others if the violent death serves as a prelude to their future wretchedness and a demonstration of their present wickedness and rejection. And for the wicked, the addition to their future misery may be painless here or serve as a just recompense for some righteousness here, as the rest of their wickedness will receive its due and fitting punishment there. For the righteousness here is not entirely without reward, both in life and death. Sometimes, the divine also grants, in response to the prayers of some (for not all prayers nor all people are granted this), a different end to their life. Some pray for a painless and peaceful end to their life, while others pray for a more noble end, one that provides a full measure of philosophy and hope. For they know that to depart life in this way is either an addition of crowns for those who have lived rightly or a complete purification and release from all guilt for those who have stumbled. The divine judgment concerning each person is served by the different order and choice of life in each, as well as the community of choice and order in many, determining the varied or identical end of life for each. And what mind could suffice to trace the infinite depth of divine economy in such matters, gathered from the divine Scriptures and divine works?

10.Just as the divine economy concerning the manner of death is most varied and all-wise, according to the disposition of His providence for each person, so too is the divine economy concerning the time of departure diverse and manifold. Some are taken from this life in youth, as the addition of years would not increase their virtue and understanding but rather change them for the worse. Others are allowed to live longer, progressing toward the good through the addition of life and benefiting others by their example. Still others, on the contrary, are permitted to live so that they may become participants in the sins of their fathers and bear the penalty of those sins here. Some, suffering from illness and infirmity, endure hardship and die prematurely, their death granted before its time so that they may resolve the sins of their lighter transgressions through death. Some live longer for the common good, while others live to the common detriment, each being worthy either to serve or to enjoy divine favor or divine rejection. Some depart sooner for their own benefit but to the loss of those who would have benefited from their life, when they are judged unworthy of it. For those who live only for themselves and God, their life is lengthened or shortened for various reasons beneficial to them, and this is often made clear to many, both to themselves and to others. And so, the time of death harmonizes with its manner in the all-wise divine will, so that sometimes it can even be discerned by those who carefully consider it, and more so when God reveals it, but for the most part, it is known only to God and escapes the notice of all men. The sacred histories are full of such examples, and the discernments of the holy fathers are neither written nor read in vain by those who care for their salvation along with the truth. But the greater matter is that the divine Scripture is filled with these things, confirming them with the very words now written, even if, for the sake of brevity, we have omitted the testimonies from it concerning each of these. Nor does Scripture itself recount all the ways (for that would be impossible), but only a few, so that from these we may have a firm faith in divine providence, not only concerning our birth and life but also our departure from here, as befits the divine dignity, goodness, and wisdom. Rather, it is the same thing for God to provide for us in life and to determine the end of our life, what it will be like and when, not to overlook it entirely. For the boundary, end, and judgment of this life is also its seal, and all the living are concerned with it, whether they pray for death to come near or pray against it, each for different

reasons. Sometimes, they are even led by the same reasoning, for they hear the words, "In whatever state I find you, there I will judge you."

11.But what reason is there for God to provide so paternally for the life of humans, yet to take no account of their death? For life here is a kind of journey towards the proposed end, while death ends life here, and all of each person's effort, and all provision from God, cease together. Many things bring about death, so that even those things that end this life, the only substance of God's providences concerning us, through which we are defined in relation to Him—for He Himself is our end, nor does He define us for any other end besides Himself—will then such great providence of God concerning us be a mere byproduct of the various and multifaceted causes of death, and of chance, and of spontaneity, and of those things said to occur by happenstance, and of all things whatsoever, being, as it were, according to providence? Or rather, will He who does not care when and how death will end life and its fruitfulness to the living earnestly care, nor how they will live and what the living will accomplish? But if this is false and impossible, and through Him remaining, they are guided towards the defined end, as much as the earnest ones strive even from within themselves, then reasonably even with the measure of life He has used what is expedient for those defined, and He measures life, being able to measure, and the things that bring about the end, they bring it about with His command or permission and not preventing it. For God powerfully reaches from the very last even to the very last, as it is said in Wisdom, "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father" and the following, our Lord Himself says. But that not all are earnest, nor are destined for eternal life, is nothing to the point; for it is enough for us, with the great Father Basil, that for those predestined, the measures of life are fixed by God, and for their eternal benefit they are extended or contracted, like gold and silver vessels for honor, according to Paul, even if countless is the grace of their birth for the replenishment of the fallen angels from heaven, known only to God, and by Him some of them are revealed, whom He would reveal here, and for Him it is impossible for any to remain hidden.

12.Then, just as He provides for all in the life of humans, but differently and according to the worth of each, so also concerning their end it is likely that the divine judgment has a varied order and outlook. For He stations an angel over all humans, but the faithful do not enjoy the same guardianship of the angel as the unfaithful, nor the wicked as the good, even if both are faithful; so also here it is utterly necessary that both our life and the end of all are determined, but the different judgment concerning these things according to the differences of the living is known only to God, few things having been revealed to us both from the divine scriptures and from the sacred histories, as we lovingly went through, and it is not right for us, because of not being able to attempt the incomprehensible and the unrevealed, to also disbelieve and turn away from the acknowledged and revealed things for us to know. And yet, that even the lives of the rejected or the pitied are subject to the divine scale, and that they also undergo the departure from life that seems good to Him, the divine scripture teaches. And the violent deaths make it clear, having been inflicted with plagues and ruling with a zeal for righteousness, with angels ministering and prophets not without God; and the exterminations threatened through the prophets to cities and nations make it clear, and those that ceased by repentance for those who fled to God or came to pass for the unrepentant who remained, and the additions of life for some who repented after the sentence of death, with the end announced by God and having become completely clear with signs; and Ananias and Sapphira expired not by the power of Peter, but by the power of God, which Peter would have invoked, and even without Peter being present and refuting the falsehood, they would

have expired thus with God willing it; and how many of humans lawlessly transgressing incurably are violently taken away, one undergoing one kind of violence, and they escape the notice of humans who consider indeed the apparent aspect of the violence, but are utterly unable to reckon the heavenly inclination towards this. But let the obvious and unnatural departures of deaths, differing in no way from the resurrection from the dead, be dismissed in this part as occurring according to the order of the predestined, sometimes with God miraculously delivering, as it is thus expedient for them and in accordance with His will, and at other times allowing them to depart through both, either with nature serving, or with tyrannical force driving them out.

13.These things, therefore, are sufficient to make clear our purpose, for the establishment of the truth no less than of the teacher's opinion. But if it is said in Wisdom, "God did not make death," this is understood according to the cause of death; for He does not primarily will the death of humans, nor does He make it, just as He does not make its cause, sin; but the order of justice, which He very much wills, as it is to bring punishment upon those who sin, He consequently wills and does it, even if with an excess of mercy and loving-kindness He manages even this for His children in countless ways for the better, and for the common good of the race with a penalty, He paternally uses it towards whomever He would and it would be fitting. And for this reason it is said in the first book of Kings, "The Lord kills and makes alive," not as if He alone were doing each separately, which is the same as willing each to happen, as He has authority over life and death, but as even in killing He often makes alive, and manages and orders the time and manner of death for the benefit and the predestined life of many. And again, if it is said in Ecclesiastes, "God has left man in the counsel of his own hand," even if this would be understood especially concerning the rejected, yet it simply testifies to the freedom of self-determination for all; for He does not drag them unwillingly towards the good; but of whatever they themselves choose to do, He Himself is the overseer and dispenser of what is fitting for each, and through self-determination they are not excluded from divine providence, neither for the worse, nor for the better for them, but simply good and just.

14.By these and such things the great Basil was led to teach those things concerning the boundaries of life to his children and to bring them to the divine will from this point, primarily theologizing, and consequently also providing what is beneficial for morals, which is what all teachers have been zealous about. And if he had not had such things to know from anywhere else, he at least heard the prophet David saying daily, and he could not have disregarded the one who possessed the divine; and he heard him saying, "Make me know, O Lord, my end and the number of my days, what it is." Therefore, he sought to learn from one who knew, as also knowing that it is determined and knowing that it is possible to learn what is determined. And lest anyone should say, "It was necessary for God, and therefore He had to reveal it, if He willed, but He was not able to do so in such things, having somehow entrusted these things to nature and other causes," he says again elsewhere, "Bring my soul out of prison." And he did not simply seek to die or be released (for this was going to happen someday even without seeking it), but to be brought out by divine will, and to come to old age. And for this reason he says elsewhere, "Do not take me away in the midst of my days." But he was not seeking something uncustomary to divine providence, being such and knowing from the Spirit what things are right to ask. Therefore, God brings out the soul of man from this life, whenever He wills, in the half or at all in some part of the more common measure to all those who continue in life, and He adds and

shortens, as was said before, either thus judging Himself or even granting to those who pray, foreknown only to Him, as of a boundary and limit, which finally comes out in the deeds.

15.But since some, as you say, blame the great Basil himself and for this reason do not accept him, and again find fault, you now, most holy one, have understood well the cause and the fault-finding, how much wisdom and truth it contains; and you have learned that he did not theologize these things from negligence, but primarily, and he calls these things boundaries and chapters of piety, from which it is not right for anyone to deviate; you have heard from us and all the teachers agreeing with the like, but rather according with the divine works and laws, which from many we have now set before you, as much as to hint at the teacher's adaptation to the divine canons; but whenever you send to us the attempts to the contrary, which you say you have heard from many, we will send you the solutions of those as well. But since this decision of the great Basil pertains to the divine predestination, you have our extensive discourse concerning divine providence and predestination, written by us primarily then and very diligently (O of the common misfortune; O of my most wretched life). There you will find every perplexity being solved, not only those by which some are shaken; for being perplexed whether it is possible for the human choice to be active in the chosen things, and to be crowned or punished, with the divine predestination prevailing, and whether it is possible for our prayers to the divine to be still useful to us, and concerning those things said to happen from chance and spontaneity, and some such things being perplexed and not being able to solve, they reject the divine predestination as the cause of the perplexities for them. There you will see all these things being healed with the medicine of truth; there you will also find John of Damascus being reconciled with the guide very well and as the divine John himself would wish and be grateful to those reconciling; there you will excellently theologize the divine providence, not halting and denying to confess it, as most suffer through ignorance, but as it itself wishes well, and as it wished to be revealed to the children, as it pleased, giving them the appropriate preparation first from philosophy. Therefore, since that discourse of his will be sufficient for you for all things, we are not now dealing with these things.

16.But to you, dearest friend, concerning the boundaries of human life, let the authority of Basil alone be sufficient against the opponents, if you are not able to counter them and solve the perplexities; for to do this in such things is of the wise, and at the same time it is thus canonically established and predetermined to do by the guides of the church. But concerning the divine predestination, let the authority of Paul be sufficient for you, not to mention the entire sacred scripture; and establishing you in the glory of the truth with abundance, I add the great Maximus as a seal, the seal of the saints and wise and theologians, which is the same as adding all those before him for this reason; for he set forth more than two hundred chapters, which he inscribes "Gnostic and Theological," with a completely different subject being defined for each chapter, and as it were, he composed these as pronouncements and boundaries, just as Hippocrates once did the so-called "Aphorisms," and Ptolemy the "Fruits." Therefore, the two hundredth chapter for him is thus defined: "In whatever way He wills, God, who determined the life of each before the ages, leads each to the proper end of life, whether just or unjust." And this whole and alone is the chapter for him. Therefore, having fore-agreed to all that even the life of each is determined according to the time and its limit, he consequently hands over also the manner of the end to the divine will; as if even the manner of the end were pre-ordained with the measure of life or before the ages, and each of humans would be led to the end of life, as it would seem proper to God to be proper to his life here and to the state that will follow after it, and whether to die

justly or unjustly, and whether those living justly or unjustly, would belong only to the varied and all-wise judgment of God concerning both. But we have discussed these things more extensively, not from ourselves, but following the sacred scriptures; but this most great teacher of the church, so named, adds only the conclusion, as if legislating.

You have, dearest friend, this discourse of ours from quietude, or rather the great Basil has it, and the one who illumined that soul. To Him be glory unto the ages. Amen.

FALSE DOCTRINES OF PREDESTINATION

3. False doctrines concerning Predestination. On Divine Predestination, the Third Discourse

† To the same most honorable leader and most holy father, Gennadius Scholarius, a monk.

1.I owe you much gratitude, most holy father and brother, because even though you were sufficiently persuaded by the establishment of the uses of the great father Basil, or rather of the common opinion of the teachers concerning the boundaries of life about which you inquired, the same to say also concerning the divine predestination, you have sent to us also the things that seem to oppose this opinion, we ourselves having urged you to do this; which having seen, we send to you now a third treatise accordingly to the time and the need, even if the previous book of ours sent to you concerning divine providence and predestination surpasses these second ones in virtue and power much more than in size; for there we have set forth this whole subject. But in these we have decided to set forth to you, the dearest, a solution of some of the things that seem to contradict.

2.The most holy high priest of Ephesus (for it is necessary to begin from the later ones as better and because of our reverent affection towards him) contends with the distinction of the great teachers, which in the second treatise we have well purposed to make clear to you, and he bears witness to us having divinely spoken of their things as was necessary; for he says in what you sent to us verbatim, "that if not to all humans, but to the best and most intimate ones God preordains not only the end, but also all things concerning life." And this was also established by us throughout the second writing as the common opinion of the teachers who accurately examine these things with wisdom and grace, not only of the greatest father Basil, that for those predestined for eternal life, all things both concerning life and the end of life are arranged by God accordingly to such predestination. This alone would have seemed to some, as not said by the blessed one in due season, that affirming the wise decision of the great Basil, he nevertheless says that the great one spoke it negligently; but it is known to me rather that he himself dogmatically affirms the truth and agrees verbatim with the great Basil, but appearing to digress negligently or rather economically, for the sake of pleasing those then inquiring about this; for this answer, having written shortly before while still among the hieromonks, he read to the king John in the church of our Lord Jesus Christ, in... which they called Manifest, near the monastery of Mangana. And he read it with me present; for I came having been informed from the said monastery, having been informed at the same time also to bring the writing, having heard from us concerning this to the king, and if he had not hastened to give it to the one who asked, he would have instructed better from what he heard from us cautiously, with the wise king also voting with him. But for us both the conclusion of the answer agreeing with the great Basil was sufficient, and the excuse which he offered concerning fearing to completely reject the indecisiveness of the common people, which they insist upon concerning human life and death, as having been unable to know anything further. But that it was impossible for the great Basil to say such things so clearly and in many places negligently, even if ten thousand presidents of the Ephesians should say it, was sufficiently shown to you then first, and we, not sparing rather that most beautiful father, but suspecting that something of the sort had been said unreasonably about the great Basil by others also, passed over in silence the one who said it, but only refuted the saying.

FALSE DOCTRINES OF PREDESTINATION

3.Therefore, you also have this holy man, confirming the divine predestination and agreeing with the great Basil. But neither did the great light of the church in those discourses examine further the discourse concerning these things, nor did this holy president of Ephesus have the necessity, answering one question, to include the entire discourse concerning divine predestination, just as we first did more thoroughly, and then twice under the pretext of the great one's advocacy, we have done this as was possible. But let it be sufficient for us and for you, the dearest, that he says that God preordains for all the good of his children, not only the end, but also all things concerning life; and this the great Basil having said, anticipated: "Deaths indeed are brought on," he says, "the boundaries of life being fulfilled, which the just judgment of God has fixed around each one, foreseeing from afar what is beneficial for us," and again elsewhere: "Do not say that any of the things happening to humans is an automatic chance occurrence, as if no protector were governing the world, proposing wicked dogmas to yourself, nor fall out of the boundaries of piety; for God who fashioned us and gave us life has given to each soul its own course of life and has fixed other boundaries of departure for others," and the other things, as he brings forward for the establishment of the dogma, as they lie in the second of the writings themselves in their own words. And generally, concerning the divine predestination and both of those predestined for eternal life and of those rejected and of the different disposition of God concerning them suitable to their own choice both living and dying, how much he philosophizes, those who have well studied his many and great treatises know, in which he sows the discourse concerning these things everywhere.

4.Therefore, the one of Ephesus is such to the great father and to us; but of Diodorus, whoever this one is, it is not worth considering, where, as I said before, the chorus of all the theologians has concordantly and accurately and primarily already defined concerning these things; and if we do not consider the blessed Gregory of Nyssa worthy to be weighed only against the chorus of all the teachers in two questions, nor those who follow a private opinion happening to anyone, but honoring him in all the concordant things, we set him aside in these his own, even though he is so great, what account will we give of Diodorus, even if he were winged, nor is there even mention in the church and to those who have striven beyond its bounds, nor even a name, or if some of the monks having attached himself to him alone, would advocate somewhere in writing the indefiniteness of human things and the lack of governance, either not having looked into the theologians, or not even being able to understand their things? But consider also what Diodorus says. "I will fulfill," he says, "the number of your days," that is, "I will bring you to a rich old age and full." Therefore, God is also according to him the one who determines the life of good men. And again: "Just as God threatens untimely deaths to the lawless, so he promises longevity to those who obey, and he lengthens indeed the life to the pious, but he cuts short to the disobedient," not adding also the opposite which is most true, that he also shortens the life to the pious sometimes and lengthens to the impious, as in the writing before this we have thoroughly discussed concerning them following the divine scripture. Therefore, to both those predestined for life and those rejected, God is the one who sets the boundaries of this life, even if a different end after this life meets them and is proper to the choice of each.

5.Then he says that "such things do not show that each of humans has a limit of life." What could be more obtuse than this? Are not the length and narrowness of intervals distinguished and known by limits? And will the one who lengthens or shortens the path and interval of life with such authority need another to set the limits? And who is the one who sets them and how will life be extended or shortened by God, without

presupposing the limits of life as willed in the knowledge of the one who extends life and shortens it? So that on the contrary it is true, that such things, even if they show nothing else, show that humans have limits of life from God. Then he says: "If the time of life was determined, these things would not be, namely the shortening and extension of life," as if he were saying, "If it has an end, it could not be finite." Then he says: "If the end of each one's life was determined, neither just nor unjust would be able to shake it," namely by virtue and wickedness. And if it was not determined, how does God add to some through worthiness, and how does he take away from others through unworthiness? For something is added to what is determined, and something is taken away from what is determined, and by being determined, either the addition or the subtraction is known to be true; and even the very thing of being added and being taken away makes what is added and what is taken away determined, if indeed the addition were not infinite and indefinite. But the addition or diminution of life here has a determined measure, so also the end; and this same end and limit of life here is also the beginning of the future, whether wretched or blessed, and this end is death.

6.Then he considers the infants dying in the womb, but he does not consider those protected from the mother's womb, those predestined from the mother's womb, those sanctified from the womb, those born from promises, even if there was anything concerning the infants to the matter at hand? But let us omit these. Then he introduces a robber and one giving poison, not distinguishing who are being robbed and who are being poisoned and for what reasons; but is God to be blamed for neither, but is he not rather to be admired for the due recompense to those who choose these things for the sake of piety and virtue or who suffer in any way in patience, and for the zeal of such pious ones and exceedingly to be glorified, or for those who die for him, for whom he promises the rewards of endurance, not willing them to philosophize thus and to die for him, or rather for themselves. And how did he prevent deaths most manifest until he willed, so as to perplex those inflicting them and to be added to the faith with the will also themselves to undergo anything whatever for the true faith? But he opportunely allowed them to be crowned by death after the noble demonstration of the struggles. But there is no need for a wider consideration concerning robbers and poisons, but only that such things are connected haphazardly.

7.But I omit the other things of this one. "But foreknowledge," he says, "is not a limit; for God foreknew the transgression of Adam and the turning of the devil and the attempts of the murderers and the error of the impious, and did he himself then determine these to become such?" But this, he says, "is impious to conceive." - It would have been possible therefore for someone to say to him as if retaliating, "And if he did not determine, O man, but neither did he prevent, being able to prevent; but the one being able to prevent and not preventing, he himself seems to be doing it." But someone would say to him more truthfully and very appropriately, "If 'he determined' you say 'he commanded,' O good expounder of divine things, or 'he forced,' and who is the one thinking or saying this? But if 'he arranged towards the limit and the end' you say by his own provision, not even this will anyone say concerning Adam and the others; for towards the limit and the end it was not granted as a favor, nor did he himself wish to be determined nor did he need the cooperation and guidance of the one able to determine, but being immediately born he became reckless; whence there was nothing in common between the discourses concerning the predestined and the first humans. But that the things concerning them were otherwise determined in the divine knowledge, is also very true; for that Adam and Eve would become wicked was by no means determined by God neither as commanded, where indeed he does not force the human choice towards the good, nor as arranged by them

and cooperated with, which he is accustomed to do only towards doing good. But that having become wicked from themselves they would also undergo the punishment, was very much determined in the knowledge of the creator, and if it were not thus, he would not have foretold that "in whatever day they eat from the tree, they will die by death," nor would it have turned out thus; but having been foretold thus and having happened, it was also determined in the divine knowledge. And they immediately underwent only this natural death, namely the division of the composite and the deprivation of life here, as about to inevitably befall them and those who would be from them in a laborious life and old age and diseases instead of the painless life and suitable for the immortals, which having cast away they rather knew; but the psychic separation from the true life and the falling away from the proposed end, the death much worse than the former, they themselves immediately underwent in deed and incurably transmitted to those born from them until the most loving and wisest medicine of the divine dispensation. And indeed there is no one who says that foreknowledge is a limit, unless he would also wish to call the end of the movement a motion; but rather the limit is somehow the cause of the foreknowledge; for this being presupposed, it is possible to be foreknown by the one having such power, how this one will attain something of the limit being carried towards it or will not attain not being carried and how and when it will attain.

8.These things therefore have been said more from abundance than necessity; for inappropriately to the subject concerning the limits of life and the divine predestination both Diodorus has been perplexed before and it has been pointed out to us now for the sake of discussion, but it suffices to say this much, that by ignorance of the limit and the predestination and the act of predestining and the providence, or rather by great ignorance of human and divine wisdom, both this Diodorus and some others have not been able to look into the depth of the subject and the purpose of the teachers; for this one seems either to understand the limit as necessity and command, very vulgarly, or to wish to understand the limit of human life as some end of life determined for each of humans naturally unavoidable, and for this reason he says, "If there was a limit of life, how would the life of humans be lengthened by God and how would it be shortened? And how would anyone be able to shake this limit, becoming worse or better?" But it is simpler also to think thus; for by nature there is no limit of human life from many causes, wherefore it has also been said, "Watch therefore, for you do not know in what hour the thief comes." But if the end of life here was determined in nature, it would be and the same for all; but if it was possible by nature to be also different, it would be known by humans, at least by the wise, who have examined also the other works of nature very well. It is only possible to take a limit of human life to the greatest extent, and this possibly and rarely, as few reach this, as David says that by might and with difficulty some of humans reach the eightieth year of age, let it be even a hundred years. But the time immediately from the ensoulment in the womb of the human until the greatest limit of life, and itself being possible and indefinite, as has been said, by nature, with infinite parts of itself, it indefinitely shortens the life of those born, some dying immediately after being ensouled in the womb of the mother and others after a little while and in almost infinite atoms of time determined up to the gestation, and after the gestation again of those having come out of the womb up to the movement or walking, and thenceforth similarly of myriads being killed daily in this path and ways of generation and corruption in myriads of ways. By nature therefore there is no such limit of life, and perhaps considering this limit Diodorus says those things, not being able to see further, that the life of humans being indefinite from itself is determined and ended by paternal providence concerning them, of which the proofs are countless and

most manifest, as he would wish, with nature serving as it were a master, and it is the same in the life of humans both to be indefinite according to itself and to be determined by divine providence. And yet having been determined by him, he would have had the power to alter what is by nature in as many of humans as he wished, shortening or widening and generally determining by necessity of the divine freedom and greatness overcoming the established necessity as if by a slave nature. But Diodorus himself is sufficient for us in the crucial points as it were primarily advocating; for he says, "Untimely deaths of lawless humans being threatened by God and happening or not happening to those repenting and longevity again of the pious being promised and fulfilled and life being lengthened indeed to the God-loving, but being cut short to the disobedient." But do not these things for the rest agree with the divine predestination of the God-loving and the rejection of those otherwise disposed and the fitting providence of God concerning each?

9.But the one immediately after Diodorus introduces Solomon saying, "that you may not die before your time." If therefore, he says, it is possible to die before one's time, how is it necessary to glorify a limit and order? But on the contrary, it is rather true, that if indeed it is possible to die before one's time, how is it not necessary to glorify a limit and order, for behold, there is also a time for someone to die, which is the same as saying a limit of life and a change of limit and time; for if here he understands by time the distance to the longer end of human life according to David, Solomon advises not to be impious for long, lest one perish untimely and come before the time that seems to be determined by nature, but being indefinite to the atoms of nature, to which neither do all reach nor do all miss it, but many who would have reached, having come close somewhere, through their wickedness were not allowed to reach, or through virtue others in danger were snatched away, Solomon himself says; and many not having reached through natural weakness, through virtue did reach or some other dispensation of the superior to be accomplished through them as worthy instruments; but life is extended even to those being wicked again through other undeniable dispensations, concerning which there would be another need to consider. But so that we may omit the other things, there is a time for each one's death, when he is about to depart with good hopes, either being conscious to himself of having lived according to reason and law or having well healed his negligences during life with the medicine of repentance; and there is also one being cleansed by God with the endurance of trials allowed from there after discernment, and the all-wise physician determines such an opportune time for those who bring some disposition towards the need to be healed in time; but to the impious for a long time and becoming very hardened, as those sick of the despaired, Solomon forbids such a time, not being deprived, they will not be grieved by not living long in the sojourn time, but by having no hope from here of the blessed life in the homeland; but they will be deprived, lest they also render the earth barren, similarly to the example of the fruitless fig tree. But if the one saying these things understands by time that which is from divinely determined providence, therefore also Solomon knew such a limit and time, which is within indeed and itself of the naturally determined time according to the farther end, but otherwise indefinite, as has been said; but it is possible both to increase and decrease, with God thus arranging, in ways of dispensation which he knows. And such a time is said to increase, because it would have been decreased, if God willed this; and it is said to decrease, because it would have increased, if God willed this, with the cause of God's willing or not willing in such things being their worthiness, for some he wills, others he does not will, and towards the worse indeed or the better, but simply all towards the better; whichever of these has happened, whether increase of life or decrease, this was the final purpose of God concerning each and a limit, final indeed in the deed, as the

human will precedes, so that the peculiarity of the choice would be preserved, and the decree from God follows, but preceding in the divine knowledge as eternally knowing the future things, not as they are in themselves (for they are not eternally themselves), but as they are in him, some indeed as knowing and doing, others as knowing only and allowing, even if not doing, which is somehow the same as doing, as much as regards the thing happening, even if not as much as regards the one allowing.

10.But what remains of those sayings is not even worthy of consideration. This only is to be noted, that Diodorus said, "If there was a limit, the life of some would not be lengthened or shortened by God." But this one says on the contrary, that if indeed there was a limit, the life of some would be shortened by God, the wicked. And they wish to conclude the same thing, but from opposite suppositions, so far are they from knowing about what they propose to say, and they propose about the greatest things. Know therefore, my dearest and most holy, that some of the educated, not being able to easily seek the things of the teachers, I mean of the most and most worthy, or seeking indeed, but not having the ability to see as simpler ones or even striving beyond their own capacity, erring from the truth as is likely, have suffered almost the same as those once accustomed to contradict the faith, through which they tried to bring the things of the sacred scripture to contradiction; for the sayings teaching and establishing the divine predestination, of which the divine scripture is full of the clearest, they tried to forcibly draw to the abolition of the sayings cooperating with the self-determination of man and the rewards or punishments following it, and thus, the scripture being invalidated, as they thought, by seeming to contradict, they also invalidated the faith at the same time. And these therefore, even if not from the same mind, suffer the same things. For if the things of humans were foreordained, they say, since it is not possible to fall short of the divine predestination, as if they would have thus become forced and the choice would not be in humans, and consequently neither would it be reasonable to reward or punish those thus forced towards the good or the opposite; but since these things are impossible, it remains that the divine predestination does not exist at all in human affairs. And of the arguments that seem to oppose the predestination, this one especially seems to partake of reasonableness. But the order of the apostolic sayings, or rather oracles, refutes those suffering these things either through unbelief or through ignorance, lest we connect here the other things of the sacred scripture having been well collected in the other writings.

11.Therefore, God knows all things that exist and their energies, and he knows not only the works of humans, but also their thoughts, and he knows these things in himself as the one and first cause of all things and encompassing all things through the infinity of nature and knowledge and power, and he knows in his own way; for in the one knowing, the known is according to the manner of the one knowing. Whence also he knows the future as present, and the possible, necessarily; for thus they are in him; nevertheless, these are no less future and possible by their own nature. And he not only knows, but also provides for all of them, as without the heavenly providence they would not even be able to exist and be preserved; and he provides for each one suitably and properly to the nature given to each by him and the order in the universe and its peculiarities. And he provides for human nature in a more particular way, both higher and more varied, suitably to its superiority to the other natures. Whence the "provision concerning human providence" has been named more particularly, a kind of guidance and direction towards the proposed limit; for the other things are led to an end consistent with nature, but the end of man is above nature, towards which it is necessary for him to be moved indeed choosing and neglecting nothing from within himself, but it is not

possible to attain and be well defined towards it without the cooperations provided from God, concerning which we have discussed elaborately in the previous writings, but now we only touch upon it.

12.Therefore, the knowledge of human affairs and the proper determination of their end, as they are in the one knowing and determining God, are knowledge and determination as if present and are called so separately, but with respect to the things happening and being determined, they are called foreknowledge and predestination. And predestination being taken generally thus, is divided into predestination properly so called and reprobation; and predestination is of those attaining the end, and reprobation of those failing to attain it; for both those predestined for eternal life and those reprobated from it have fallen under the order of divine providence differently indeed, but both. And in order, foreknowledge is first, and this particular and properly called predestination is second, and predestination presupposes foreknowledge as its beginning and preceding in order, and consequently also of the other things foreknowledge is prior to those following the divine predestination. And the leader of this theology for us after our Lord, who in the gospels gives it to us scattered to collect, becomes Paul, the great herald of truth; "For whom he foreknew," he says, "he also predestined, and whom he predestined, he called, and whom he called, he justified, and whom he justified, he glorified." For God, foreknowing also the things to come in the manner which has been said, foreknew those who would genuinely love him, having done what was up to themselves and neglecting nothing proposed; and being accustomed through exceeding goodness to cooperate all things for good to those who love him, for this reason to those who are called according to a proper purpose, to those who voluntarily, that is, take care to attain what is up to themselves of the call, and for this reason being called, that is, being worthy to be called, he adds to them also the cooperation from himself, as without it they would not be able to attain because of the many and great difficulties present in the matter. Therefore he says, "Without me you can do nothing." For this reason, having foreknown them through abundance of wisdom, he consequently predestined through excess of goodness, and having predestined he called, and the following accordingly, as that the glorified are glorified because of these things to be glorified, and the same ones to be justified, have been justified, and even earlier to have been called, are to be called, and the other things likewise. Therefore, the divine predestination is not a prior cause of the glory of those being glorified; for it has prior to itself foreknowledge, as without which predestination would not be. But neither is foreknowledge a prior cause, but since it was going to happen according to the particular starting points of those choosing the good and the end following such ones, for this reason the one knowing all things before their birth foreknew them, and to those foreknown that they will be such from themselves and will cooperate with himself he foreknew, and will determine those who from themselves will wish to be determined towards the end, of whom God will need the most; just as he foreknew those who will be alienated from the end from within themselves, and for this reason not even cooperating with him will attain (for how would he cooperate with those not wishing to be cooperated with?), he reasonably reprobated these and allotted and assigned to them the appropriate ingloriousness, which they voluntarily chose beforehand; for just as they did not approve to have God in knowledge, God handed them over to a disapproved mind to do the things that are not fitting," and as from themselves first they will be alienated in deed, they were reasonably alienated in the divine knowledge from the womb according to the likeness of those predestined from the mother's womb, which is the same as to be appropriated or alienated from the beginning of themselves from the known, but also from afar as such they

were going to be foreknown, and either predestined they were, or reprobated. These things are the fruit of the great Paul and of the spirit moving him.

13.Therefore, even if it is impossible for what God has foreknown as going to happen not to happen, yet it is not simply necessary for these things to happen thus; for they could have not happened thus, with the human choice having the first principle of happening; but being about to be thus from themselves, I say of humans, what pertains to God was thus foreknown by divine abundance of knowledge. Therefore, just as God does not force by foreknowing, so neither by predestining or reprobating, but he only cooperates towards the good with those who have first chosen this, just as towards the opposite he does not cooperate indeed, but abandoning those turned away from the end from within themselves, he allows them to be carried away; and those who have become faithful servants in a little, by the power that pertains to them, he sets over many by his own provision, which they could not have obtained from within themselves, and to the wicked and also sluggish towards the good he neither gives grace nor takes back the given. Whence, as soon as he saw the cause of the just predestination concerning Paul, as "he will willingly subdue his body and enslave it" for the sake of divine love, he set him apart, that is, predestined him from the mother's womb and cooperated with him in all ways towards the good until his last breath. Accordingly to such predestination towards the end also the whole life of the predestined is determined towards the end by the divine providence and governed, having the good and first zeal of the predestined as a provision, and the life of those attaining it has an end accordingly, both being such itself and befitting the ultimate end; for the end of this life here and the beginning of the life after this is the same, which is the departure from here; and it is managed by God himself in time and manner and place properly to those loving him, and for this reason reasonably cooperating through all things towards the attainment of the end, which is the eternal and blessed life, with God and the divine ones. And to this end the life here is connected through many things in between orderly fortified with the sure hopes those with proper zeal and divine assistances; but the pious and virtuous end connects immediately afterwards, with the hopes being accomplished in deed, even if with some delay towards its more perfect attainment in the common recompense of nature. And thus, those who do not care to attain the end, neither being determined towards it from within themselves nor does God cooperate how they would be determined, having cooperated similarly to the others; for it would have been of necessity and force; but the wretchedness of themselves having been foreknown, as wretched ones from within themselves he uses them thereafter, both their life and their end he deems unworthy of any providence similar to the former and of which the fruit is the attainment of the proposed end, but only as much as he has given to them for being and living as a common gift to nature. And he inflicts upon some things worthy of their wickedness both living and dying in ways of dispensation with justice and considering the common good.

14.But these things have been articulated in the previous writings; but now it suffices to assure your love, that nothing of what you have sent at our urging is either contrary or can be contrary to those our previous writings. For what indeed could ever be able to be opposed to the most manifest truth and so many standing with it? And even if it is opposed, it is false and impossible; for know, most holy and dearest soul, that in ecclesiastical contemplations nothing is deeper than this; for it has much and varied breadth, and needing accurate knowledge and higher intellect, and it is as it were a gymnasium of philosophy and theology; wherefore also of the lesser ones some withdraw doing well to have needed to mention it, but others groping say whatever happens in their own writings; but the guides of the church to us and of the faith, as indeed

being well armed with both wisdom and divine grace, both nobly and concordantly with each other delineate to us the nature of the question, following the canon of the divine scriptures and harmonized with the oracles of the spirit. This Dionysius is the great, the holy Athanasius, the three lights of the world, Augustine, in addition to these Theodoret, Maximus, the divine Damascene above all; and of Diodorus and Anastasius we are indeed followers; but where they agree with those great ones, we are also servants. Above these things, know well, that the varied and all-wise providence of the creator concerning humans is both masterly and paternal, and whatever is interwoven with the discourse concerning this, the same to say of the divine predestination, particularly pertains to the second article of the faith, but generally runs through the whole faith of Christians and all the contemplations concerning it. Whence neither could there be a more God-pleasing sentiment for Christians than to hang all things of humans on the heavenly and divine knowledge and judgment with respect to their end, their choice indeed preceding towards these things in the time of deeds, even if the divine knowledge oversees them from afar as about to be and being, presupposing the human choice, and predestines indeed in the knowledge those to be determined in the time of deeds both from within themselves and by him, and reprobates those to be reprobated similarly, nor could there be a more difficult sentiment than to separate in any way the human life and end both in common and in particular and the human souls and lives altogether, and especially of those living more earnestly, from the more particular and truly paternal and most wise and unceasing providence of the creator concerning humans and order, or even to separate the lives of the wicked from his judicial order, how many have completely broken themselves off from paternal providence, which in the second of the writings has been thoroughly and in detail set forth by us. Wherefore also previously, as you said, being satisfied thence, now with the attacks of those seeming to oppose, you will be more pleased and will pray for the divine mercy for us; and we also are grateful to you for everything and pray to God that you may be numbered among those predestined for eternal life after a deep old age for the common good, because you have been numbered and will be numbered in due time most surely hoping. To him be the glory unto the ages. Amen. Repentance, †

PREDESTINATION AND NATRUAL LAWS

4. Predestination and Natural Laws. On Divine Predestination, the Fourth Discourse.

† To the great steward, Mr. Theodore Agallianes.

1.You do well, my dearest, in either allowing us to erase the discourse you sent, if it seems displeasing, or deeming it worthy to confirm; for it is necessary concerning such things not to be confident in ourselves alone, but to seek the vote of those knowing and able to judge, nor to be satisfied with the praises from the common people, which even someone lying would attract through ignorance or sophistry; but we, having carefully examined the writing, recognized it as appropriate to your long-standing knowledge and experience concerning such things and indeed quite venerable; for its purpose is very true, as it is shown to be both the common opinion of all the teachers of the church and an unadulterated dogma of the sacred scripture, and it is demonstrated as well as possible and as it could become easily understood by many. We send to you this vote of ours concerning the writing readily; you will have every wise man sharing in it with us. But if there are no such men in this region (woe to the dire lack of our race), but let the circle of the wisest teachers be sufficient for you, whom we follow and in the research of whom with much zeal we have grown old; and you, following them, rightly agree with us, I mean Dionysius, Basil the Great, the theologian Gregory, John with the golden tongue and mind, Cyril, Theodoret, Maximus the all-wise confessor, Justin the philosopher and martyr, the most holy Athanasius, and many others in these and after these; but Anastasius from Sinai we would not deny to be holy and the fathers then practicing with him, whose place of teacher he also reasonably filled, but we would never call him a theologian, nor able to genuinely follow the theologians, and similarly if any of the later ones agrees with Anastasius of the same disposition; wherefore also he seeks some things well, but does not solve all things appropriately, differing in many things from the opinion of the teachers and the common canons of the faith, through ignorance, not contending nor being contentious. Whence it is not right even to reconcile Anastasius with the teachers, and if any other of the simpler and later ones would depart from the canon of sacred theology through ignorance, but it is necessary only to pass them by cautiously, as being separated from not paying close attention; for theology is the knowledge of knowledges and the first wisdom in height, but the last for this reason and the last in its attainment after all human wisdom. But it is necessary to attach oneself only to the teachers and theologians, those most full indeed of other wisdom, but having been occupied faithfully and earnestly concerning all the sacred scripture.

2.This is not our opinion, but the great Basil in the Dialogues demands this; "For it is necessary," he says, "for the educated of the listeners to examine the things said by the teachers by the divine scriptures, and to accept the things in accordance with the scriptures, but to reject the alien things and to turn away more vehemently from those persisting in such teachings." And concerning this, thus much; but it is a wonder and worthy alas of many tears, that some indeed hymn God daily as shepherd and refuge and guide and protector and being with us always, and not only with us, but also around us, or rather for greater security and providence, and comforter in afflictions and deliverer in war and helper and guardian not only of those perfect in age, but also of infants themselves, and avenger against those harming and champion of our life, and holding our lots in his hands, and rescuing from death and nourishing in famine and increasing in old age with abundance, and destroying others according to their wickedness and handing them over into the hands of enemies, and teacher indeed of hands for battle, and of fingers for war, and physician of those broken in

heart, and raising up the meek and exalting, but humbling sinners to the ground, and taking out the soul from death, and the eyes from tears, and the feet from slipping, and giving food not only to humans, but also to cattle and to the young ravens, and filling some with length of days, but not allowing others even to halve the days, and utterly destroying the very wicked.

3.Thus indeed they hymn God daily with the divine David, being inspired these things from heaven, and then they think the opposite of these and teach others; and they say both that the Lord kills and makes alive and deem it worthy to believe those saying it, but they decide for indefiniteness of life and death and consider the whole of human affairs as chance and automatic; for the whole of human affairs is life here and the end of this life leading to another life. And they hear and say daily that God makes peace and creates evils for cities and nations worthy of each one's preparation and choice, but in deed they disbelieve these things. And our creator himself says that even our hairs have been numbered by the heavenly providence concerning us, to show how much more it cares for the other necessary things in us, and that not only man comes to slaughter, but not even a sparrow falls into a trap without divine will, and if not a sparrow, much less a man, even if the divine purpose concerning each of these differs greatly appropriately to the distinction of natures, and not only does our creator say these things, but also has shown and shows them in deeds; but they, as if not paying attention to his works and those of his disciples and the martyrs who have taken up the apostolic struggles, think and say whatever happens. And they agree with David daily: "Behold, as the eyes of servants are on the hands of their masters, as the eyes of a maiden are on the hands of her mistress, so our eyes are on the Lord our God until he has mercy on us," and they hear in the gospels the Canaanite woman comparing herself to the dogs eating from the crumbs falling from the table of their masters, wherefore also being justly blessed for the greatness of her faith, she immediately received her reward, the healing; but they wish humans to be worse than the dogs concerning the master, not of servants, nor of maidens, nor of children coming with maternal hopes to the hands, but even of dogs, who lie in wait at the tables of their masters, licking and passing under the feet of their lords with their innate and strong hope and reverence, as having naturally recognized the compassion and providence of their masters concerning them.

4.Therefore, they are rightly rebuked as not ascribing even the benevolence of a human master or a female mistress or a father or mother to us to God who made this sensible world for us, who has adorned our nature with so many gifts, who endured to suffer so much for us, who came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance, who has treated us not only as servants or children, but also as friends and brothers, and for this reason he says that there is nothing greater in the name of friendship than to have laid down his soul for his friends. Nor having done these things once, has he ceased, but he does them continuously and gives continuously, each of all those good things having its beginning extending to all time through his infinite and all-pervading power. And he commands indeed continuously: "Seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all other things will be added to you"; for he will give much better and more abundantly than you are about to seek; for you, he says, perhaps seek a serpent instead of bread, being deceived, but he will give bread, not a serpent, and all things, he says, will be added by him, if only you care for your ultimate end, for which you were also born, namely of eternal life, doing some things yourselves, but praying for others. For even the wicked enjoy the heavenly care through the extreme benevolence and philanthropy of the one who created them, and the earnest ones and those caring for the true life primarily enjoy it with addition; for if he will nourish advantageously, and he will not nourish disadvantageously, and he will add life

to one advantageously, and to another he will shorten it for the better, "unless wickedness changes his understanding or deceit deceives his soul," just as he shortens it to the one living wickedly for the better of others, lest they be harmed living and be benefited by the violent cutting off of wickedness, or he adds it for the worse to others, worthy to suffer evil by him. But now our discourse is concerning the prudent and earnest children, who seek the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things are added to them from there. If therefore he gives all things truly, he is also Lord of all things; if he is Lord of all things, therefore also of our life and end; for these here are the main points of the things given to us by him; if he is the giver of these and the Lord, he is also the determiner of them therefore, determining and ordering and circumscribing the time and manner to those being given; for he knew what he would give and when and how, and he knows each of these things determined; for it is impossible for the knowledge of the undetermined to exist; and being the determiner of these themselves, he is also eternally predestined; for not only from nearby does he know and determine, but with his essence he has had eternal knowledge of all things, and he knows as present, even if they are future, and he knows necessarily, even if they are possible in themselves. Hence the prophecies both of the other things from the beginning and of the works and times of our salvation; hence what is written and what it was necessary for our Jesus to suffer and do. This is the foundation of our whole faith; these are the boundaries of our piety, according to the divine Basil, from which he says those who wish to reject the boundaries of human life fall away.

5.But these things, lamenting my ignorance and the other lack of our race, have now been said thus; but concerning the divine predestination and the providence from there concerning all humans, even if not all enjoy them in the same way, but each appropriately to their disposition both in faith and life, it has been said by us in three sufficient discourses and with much elaboration, of which the former one, which you do not mention well in the writing, is constructive of the truth, but the remaining two, in addition to constructing the truth more clearly, also solve what seem to some to oppose it through their ignorance. And the most learned and God-beloved Joseph among monks in Thessaloniki requested them from us; and we, favoring the virtue and friendship of the man, did not neglect to satisfy his eager soul with those discourses, for which he also acknowledged much gratitude to us. He, having transcribed them, will send them to you if you wish and seek them; and now for your sake we are defining these few things briefly.

6.Of whatever therefore God is the creator, of all these he is also the savior and provider, how each would both exist and be led towards its proper end, and especially of the creatures, which absolutely and continuously need the oversight from God, and especially of all the human race as immortal in the better part and ordained for a greater good than as the present life has it, as not being able to attain the supernatural end without the cooperation from God because of the difficulties from the composite body and for many other reasons I say; and especially among humans he provides for the faithful, increasing the gift of faith in them by the care concerning other things. And he provides equally for all the faithful again the things contributing to the present life, but for the more earnest he provides for the better for them; for he does not give what they themselves deny through philosophy and flee, but he strengthens their mind from above towards their flight, and those who flee the necessary needs of life with much trust in him and are about to die of starvation and nakedness he nourishes through ravens and by the protection of the divine power; but those who either do not wish to dare such things or are unable because of being attached to life and not even paying close attention to the earnest pursuits of divine love, he fulfills their desires concerning living, giving some

sufficiency, but allowing others even abundance, and whether to use them well or badly rests with them thereafter.

7.Therefore, the general name of the oversight extending to all things of God is administration and governance; and of this, as much as it is concerning the beings, it is called administration and governance by the name of the genus; but as much as it is concerning the creatures, it is specifically called providence and foresight. And since the creatures in general are divided into the human and rational and into the irrational nature, as much as the divine providence is concerning the other of the creatures, it is specifically called providence by the name of the genus, but as much as it is concerning the human nature, it is specifically called predestination; for the end of the others is temporary and dissolving with them, I mean as much as has been allotted to each of them for themselves; but the end of man is eternal, and this is the blessed life, consisting in the knowledge of the truth and given supernaturally to those who have striven to attain this end with the cooperation from God in the immediate and mental contemplation of God as far as it is attainable; for this temporary life here fulfills the need of a gymnasium for the demonstration of virtue, and its limit, which is near, is the separation of the soul from the body, and the last, is the eternal life following it, being appropriately rendered to the earnest ones as blessed and happy, but wretched to those having the opposite. Therefore, since there is a double life in humans and similarly a double end of this, and of the end after the departure from here, the arrangement concerning the whole better part of God is called the determination of God both specifically by the name of the genus, and because it is from eternity in the divine knowledge and before the existence of things, it is called predestination, and those of this part are called both determined and predestined; but the arrangement concerning the whole worse part is called reprobation, and those having suffered this justly, reprobated; for some cooperate towards the good and are determined, but are also led from within with all zeal, but others cooperate indeed, but becoming reckless fall away; and some live according to God piously using the divine gifts, but others live according to vain desires and have misused the gifts for them; wherefore also some depart with a pious end of the present life and hopeful, but others end appropriately to the whole wickedness of their life; and some are led to their proper end, the life in heaven, paternally, but others are dragged down to the punishments in Hades by the judicial rod of the master.

8.Therefore, the wisest teachers of the church, understanding the divine predestination comprehensively, insofar as it signifies the universal providence and pre-arrangement concerning all humans, appropriately to the eternal knowledge of God concerning the future, say that all humans are both provided for and predestined by God; for they cannot exclude from the divine order the things concerning the unbelievers or the wicked, as many as are concerning their life and their end, nor is it true; for God does not rule only the good or the faithful, but also those otherwise disposed, so that he both provides for all and arranges the things of each appropriately to them. But if he provides, he also determines and predestines all the things of the good for their own better, but of those otherwise disposed some for their better, others for their worse, or rather all for their worse, when they will also pay the penalties of this temporary and most lenient care, not wishing to be improved even by it. But simply for the better God arranges the things of both; for the fulfillment of divine justice concerning those worthy of divine aversion and the judgment thenceforth meeting them is simply good, even if God does not will this with a prior will by his paternal and beneficent one, but the wickedness of the children makes this one idle in them and activates the judicial rod as having taken the rank of enemies instead of sons. And not only the things concerning their life are arranged, as

indeed the divine providence runs through all in an orderly way through exceeding goodness, but indeed also the things concerning the end; for if it is not possible to come to the ultimate limit or for the reprobated to fail to attain it without the divine judgment according to the worthiness of each, neither could the time of departure from here happen without the divine arrangement, of the near limit of the departure from here being in harmony with the ultimate one and appropriately contributing to it; for it is necessary for the present limit of life to be conformed to the last one, being completed with virtue or wickedness, either existing, even if it does not seem so to many, or even being revealed to all, and for the last limit to appropriately follow this limit, being the attainment of the end or the failure to attain it.

9.For these reasons therefore, the teachers say that the things of life and death and the things after it alike of the good and the wicked have been determined by God and determined from afar, understanding these things comprehensively; but when it was necessary to divide the divine arrangement concerning the good and the wicked into more specific names, they call the arrangement concerning the good the predestination of God, as has been said, and reprobation that concerning the wicked; and they say that those arranged themselves are some predestined for eternal life, others reprobated from it, very much agreeing with the sacred scripture; for the inspired Paul concerning the better part says in the letter to the Ephesians, "God has chosen us in himself before the foundation of the world," "having predestined us for adoption," and also in the letter to the Romans, "Whom he foreknew, he also predestined to be conformed," and the following, "these he also glorified"; but concerning the worse part, because it willed to become worse, he says thus in the letter to the Romans: "But if God, willing to show his wrath and to make known his power, endured with much long-suffering vessels of wrath fitted to destruction," and the following, and he calls these same ones in the letter to the Ephesians "alienated from the life of God" and hardened in heart," and again "vessels for dishonor, wooden and earthen," just as he calls the chosen ones vessels of silver and gold, both useful and prepared for every good work, of which all the being prepared was from God, but the usefulness or uselessness has come from themselves. And our Lord distinguishes these with other names, but also with the difference of sheep and goats and the right and left standing; although having willed indeed to make all of the better calling and order and for this sake having done and harmonized all the preparation with nature towards the good, but by reason and choice they were allowed to live not being forced from anywhere. And not only with the sacred scripture, but also with reason do the teachers agree saying and thinking these things; for even if the providence of God and the foreknowledge and the predestination are verified for both parts with all necessities being comprehensively understood, but it is more appropriate to choose the determination for the better part in a concise and specific way; for the end of man and truly and properly the limit is eternal life, for the sake of which he came into being, not the punishment in Hades, being itself also an end proper to the choice of such ones, but properly rather a falling away from the true and genuine end, and for this reason God properly determines and predestines those hastening towards the true and genuine limit; but he is not said to determine those worthy of wretchedness towards it, but they themselves rather are led towards the opposite order of wretchedness; and being such, it is wholly necessary for them to be reprobated from the naturally proposed end.

10.Some, not seeing this accuracy of the teachers, exclude the wicked and unbelievers from the divine providence and order, as if God does not care about their life or their end; but the more vulgar ones think so similarly about all humans, and they wish the things of human life and end to be haphazard and by chance,

who are much worse than the former ones; since this is to be deaf to all the sacred scripture and to depart from the boundaries of piety, as the great Basil says; for the inspired Paul, the mouth of Christ, says, "God is the savior of all men, especially of those who believe," not speaking about the future salvation and eternal life (for none of the unbelievers will attain that), but about the providence in this life, and consequently also of the end of life (for it is the same to provide for life and its end), either paternally or judicially determining what is necessary or advantageous concerning each one of them, the wisdom and power that leads all things. Therefore, Paul does not exclude the unbelievers from the divine economy concerning human life, nor even more so the wicked, even if he puts him forth more as the savior of the faithful; although even for the future blessedness, as far as it depends on him, God saves the unbelievers, as not neglecting anything of the preparation for this for them, but he rather saves in deed those who receive the preparation and use it very well. Thus also he is said to love all, both the wicked and the good, in the things pertaining to the need of this life here, not only raining on all equally and shining the sun and doing all such things, but also rescuing from obvious dangers not only the faithful but also the unbelievers out of philanthropy, and more so if they would live justly; "For glory," he says (here obviously), "and justification is from God to the one working the good, especially to the Jew (to the one worshiping the one God), then also to the Greek" (to the one wandering concerning the divine things); for there he will receive the unfortunate fruit of unbelief, but of the other good work he will not be left unrewarded here. But he is said to love the good more with respect to the true and future life, as cooperating with them alone who have first cared to attend to this and have first loved God and the hopes from there, having cooperated also with all, if they had wished, or rather having cooperated appropriately, until they showed they did not need to be cooperated with. The other pronouncements of the sacred scripture concerning the boundaries of life both in the good and the wicked and those predestined for eternal life and those reprobated from it, and how each lives and dies by God's command, you will see collected in the previous discourses; but here the divine Paul suffices for us.

11.And concerning the divine predestination, thus much in the present, saying the other things to you having all things to declare, which pertain to the consideration of this; but we add something else for your kindness, which will also be the end of the discourse. This visible world above the earth God has made under a certain law, multifaceted and full of much wisdom, so that the various and diverse movement of its parts and their separation and convergence, serving the divine will for the existence and succession of these creatures and corruptible things, which are all for our sake, humans, and become the cause of various results, not knowing indeed themselves of these parts of this world what they do, but by the aptitudes implanted in them by God for doing such things, serving both unwillingly and naturally. Whence some, having observed their various but orderly movements, and then their various results in these lower creatures here, have thenceforth established a craft very intelligently seeking and considering such things, but unwisely they have attributed divinities to these parts of the world, having considered their organic service as a creative and divine oversight. Similarly also these creatures, those near the earth, serve their own laws imperceptibly, naturally implanted in them by God, and the life of humans likewise is led by such proper laws. Therefore, those skilled in these things call such laws in all the creatures of God "natural laws," as having been implanted by God in the nature of things. From the laws in the higher regions come rains and droughts, cold and heat, from which again healthy and diseased conditions happen to humans and other animals and fruitfulness and unfruitfulness, and these are different according to the differences of places; from the laws in these creatures,

which happen and exist for the sake of humans, the various needs of humans are fulfilled; likewise from the natural laws in humans the life of humans is governed, and not only does it consist, but it is also destroyed. For example, it is a natural law, of the pilot knowing well how to pilot and the captain being prudent, for the ship to be saved, unless a storm greater than all skill and understanding occurs; but if the pilot or the captain is unskilled, and even if the pilot knows, he does not wish to pay attention nor to pilot himself as he knows how, it is a law for the ship to be lost, a great storm having arisen, or even without a storm from other causes indeed. From this law it happens that most of those sailing are saved because of two knowing how to act well, but are lost because of two being unwise and unskilled.

12.It is wholly necessary for such laws of the divine order, which run through all nature, for the part of nature to be preserved, and God preserves these laws as a rule, not changing them; for he would not be going to contradict himself and his own commands. But he does not serve the laws laid down by him absolutely for the creatures and those begun with the creatures, but at their own times and in their own circumstances he changes them for the better or the worse for those thenceforth to be benefited or harmed worthily, and the need for temporarily changing them having immediately ceased, they are again preserved as they were originally ordained. The history of such wonders, of such miracles, is full both new and old, both sacred and of those outside; and now fewer indeed both in number and order than those former ones, for which reasonable causes we have shown in a separate discourse elaborately worked out, but they do happen and are well seen by those who see the things of God with God; for he saves a ship having many on board, which would have been sunk by the folly of the captain and pilot, through the virtue of those on board, but he sometimes allows, with the most wicked of those on board and the rulers of the ship being such, even good ones to be sunk for the benefit of their own souls, and he delivers others paradoxically, bringing them out of the deep by angels, being about to be drowned, and he prevents others who would have sailed in it from being broken or sunk at the very point of embarking by sudden and unexpected obstacles; and being immediately prevented from sailing, they are pained indeed, but having well recognized the divine mercy, in addition to their life being extended to them, they also become better in soul by the miracle. Thus also a city transgressing the law is entrusted to wicked rulers, and on the contrary is inhabited by good citizens; "For I will give you rulers," he says, "according to your hearts." And the king suffers the consequences of the wickedness of the people, the same plague coming from God upon him and those ruled by him, because being able to prevent the wickedness, he did not prevent it indulging them; and the people also suffer the consequences of the royal wickedness, being co-educated, as instead of correcting or driving them away, he increases their own wickedness with flatteries. "For the sin," he says, "of a king is upon the head of the people, and the opposite." And a city is either captured by the enemies unexpectedly, or is delivered unexpectedly by them, the laws prevailing in such cases yielding to the divine will, and some are handed over to the enemies for destruction because of their incurable wickedness, and others suffer this for improvement. "Be courageous," says God through Jeremiah to the Jews, "you were sold to the nations not for destruction." And he also comes upon those who have used those enslaved by divine permission more harshly, as he says through Isaiah: "I gave them into your hand, but you did not give them mercy. Now destruction will come upon you suddenly, and you will not know it."

13.But also of those living earnestly in the midst of the wicked and therefore about to be abandoned, some are snatched away from the impending evils, and others living by the experience of the evils of their

relatives become better by being tested. And similarly, a plague being about to happen and being foretold in a nation or city by those considering these things from the cosmic disposition, as has been said, he does not allow it to happen, and he stops it having begun, with the humans piously and with the appropriate repentance of evils taking refuge in the divine mercy; and what would not have come from natural causes, he himself moving nature brings it on, punishing or educating. And of parents prospering according to the external life, but living otherwise wickedly, some fathers themselves are punished, being deprived of the multifaceted recreation from their successors, and the children are delivered from the wickedness of those who begot them, or it is wholly necessary for those continuing to be conformed or even to become much worse very reasonably. But also to the parents coming to awareness, the beneficial good fortune of the children is established, their minds being improved and beginning to live more prudently, just as those who are insensible and after the plague another addition of punishments occurs, as God reproached the Jews through Jeremiah: "In vain I struck your children; they did not receive correction," and the rest. And the country being unfortunate, the children are delivered from such a life by the good providence of God, and the fathers from the grief over their children, being about to live wretchedly, even if they immediately lament and mourn, being ignorant or being overcome by the suffering; and the departure of the younger ones by death with piety in our country thus terribly enslaved and in many ways in danger concerning the greatest of goods, what greater benefactions of God are there to those who have mind? But concerning those who have come to the measure of age, there would be another discourse, and it is likely that the judgment of God concerning such ones is different and varied, being measured by their different choice; and since the plague was the occasion of such questions there, we will add a little also concerning it, leaving the more to you to consider.

14.The plague is a corruption of the air either following natural causes according to the divine law upon them, if God would allow and would not wish to prevent it completely or to stop it immediately having occurred, other reasons of dispensation overcoming the law in nature, or happening by divine command and contrary to such a law; for as master of nature he is able both to stop it being moved and to move it not having been moved. Whichever this corruption of the air may be, it has an end and purpose proximately indeed the defeat of the more delicate bodies or the more susceptible ones, but further the universal benefit of those dying and the improvement of those losing them, or of those remaining unchanged, an addition of greater advantages. And not all those who have fallen ill die, nor do all such ones fall ill, because it is necessary for the divine will to prevail concerning all, both those who have remained unaffected, and those defeated by the disease, and those who have been delivered after it, willing something different concerning different ones and not bringing the same vote concerning all, or rather not bringing it only upon the events, but also having brought it from afar in the pre-eternal knowledge concerning all his works and the rational ones, as has been said, especially, of whom he cares more and incomparably, even if some are saved by being translated, not even this is without divine providence moving their mind to be translated, and not seeing, who also remaining would have been delivered, even if others dying and being translated, as dying without divine will they die, and remaining they would not have been delivered; and some indeed are translated for a short time, then die returning and the plague having ceased for a greater manifestation of this truth. Others indeed are rescued having been translated, but become worse in their choice, and defining their salvation by flight alone and not by the divine will, are worthy of such a precipice, and for this reason having been allowed to

fall into it, which would be worse than ten thousand deaths for those having suffered it. But if someone were about to inquire concerning the heterodox, since the sacred discourse, even if not quite equally, places these also under the divine providence, it was possible indeed to consider even concerning these the things pertaining to the plague; but they are rather passed over in silence now as more fitting.

15.How then is the divine providence concerning humans not manifested in all the things said, which are a handful from a sea, not only illuminating those who have mind and are pious very well, but also being witnessed by the sacred scriptures; as it is a work not only of acceptance concerning the good nor of pity concerning the more worthless, immediately as repentance would correct them, but also a vote of divine justice concerning those incurably having it; and generally speaking, the arrangement of divine providence concerning humans either acts concerning each one, not separating from the multitude or the common law of order concerning these things, but either cooperating or co-punishing, or separating it acts paradoxically concerning whomever it would wish, and either saves separately, or judicially comes upon them. But some, being blinded concerning all these things, do not flee the sins which are causes of divine wrath, but move to other places, carrying the provisions of wrath on their shoulders or the animals they ride, and then they sing daily: "Where shall I go from your spirit, Lord, and where shall I flee from your face?"; for it was necessary, first hiding from the causes of wrath and being secured, then having trusted in the one able to save even at home and being quiet, then to sing that ode truly both at once and wisely. But God through extreme long-suffering, of those remaining uncorrected, then fleeing, then also falsely singing endures, as much as he endures, he alone knowing the purpose and the end of such forbearance.

16.But you, be grateful to God who has enlightened you and trusting in him alone, know that he is the savior and provider of all humans and guardian, especially of the faithful, who kills and makes alive, since "no one lives for himself and no one dies for himself" according to the divine apostle. Be persuaded by the great Basil genuinely saying: "Do not say that any of the things happening to humans is a chance occurrence, as if no one governs the world, putting forth wicked dogmas to yourself, nor fall away from the boundaries of piety," and saying again elsewhere: "The end of life is predetermined in each one, and thenceforth unequal and dissimilar limits of life become for humans according to the various and to us incomprehensible dispensations of the divine economy concerning each one, unequal indeed according to time, but dissimilar according to manner." Be persuaded by the same things being said by all the other teachers; and the great Maximus, the crown of confessors and theologians, the seal of all, saying thus in the chapter of the Two Hundredth: "In whatever way God, who determined the life of each before the ages, wills, he leads each one to the proper end of his life, whether righteous or unrighteous." Be persuaded by all these; but you do most excellently being persuaded by them, and rejecting the profane and old wives' fables according to Paul's advice.

PREDESTINATION AND PRAYER

5. Predestination and the Utility of Prayer. On Divine Predestination, the Fifth Discourse.

† How Divine Providence and Divine Predestination Do Not Abolish the Usefulness of Prayers..

1.The discourse concerning divine providence has much strength of proof from the orderly things happening in this whole universe, but it is especially confirmed by the cares of the Divine concerning our rational nature, by which also many of the wise men from outside, both before and after those enlightened by divine wisdom and through it having more highly contemplated these things accurately, having paid attention, established the pious and wise opinion concerning God providing for all existing things, and refuted the opinion of those otherwise thinking in their own writings concerning this; and we also have treated concerning divine providence and divine predestination in four discourses, having been moved to this by the zeal of friends worthy of study. Therefore, since the divine providence concerning beings is acknowledged by all those having mind, we will turn to the matter being sought alone, and we will show how, it being firmly posited, the use of prayers is also well preserved. For some know that praying is pursued by all humans in common, as this does not happen in vain, but they think it would be pursued in vain, divine providence leading all things and predetermining before they come to be and exist, those thinking there is a God, being carried away thence to the same precipice as the atheists, are ignorant that not providing for his own works by God amounts to the same as not even establishing them in the beginning, but having subsisted by themselves and being led by themselves as each would happen. But it is not inappropriate to first define and distinguish providence briefly and as much as suffices for the present need, and thus to proceed to what is being sought.

2.If therefore there is a God, he is also the creator of all existing things. For if there is a God, he is self-begotten and uncaused and having being from no one, and if he alone is God, being one, he alone is self-begotten and uncaused; and of him alone being such, the beings must necessarily have been made by him; for they cannot have being from elsewhere than themselves, there being one self-begotten one, and have this from God, there being one and only God happening to be. If therefore he is the creator of all existing things, he is also their provider and foreseer; for to provide is to arrange for the good and the proper end for the one being provided for, as also to be provided for is to be arranged for the good; but if the beings have not come to be and exist in vain, it is necessary for each to be arranged for its proper end, and consequently for the common and ultimate end of all, which is the most common and ultimate good. But concerning the ultimate end, there is no need to consider now. But that it is necessary for all things to be arranged for their proper good, as this would be their end of coming to be and existing, not coming to be from themselves, neither would they be led by themselves to their proper end, therefore they would be arranged by God who made them; and they are arranged not only by being made such and having been implanted in them the power both to be led to their proper end by their own nature and by the order of each in this whole universe, but also by their energies being directed towards achieving the end more and more easily; and this would be rightly called being administered and governed.

3.Therefore, of all existing things, God is not only the creator, but also the provider and administrator and governor, and the divine providence runs through all existing things, being present in them indeed in deed and in the outcome and being seen by those able to see, but in the reason of such an order of the things happening upon them, being in God as a kind of reason of the arrangement towards the end. And the order

is primarily towards the ultimate good and most common end of all, which is God himself, the one and only beginning of all; and consequently also towards the ends of the proper energies of each, through which proximately each would be led to its proper end and through them to the most common and ultimate end of all. And this would be clear to those not able to be led much by reason from the works of God, if they would deign to pay attention, and especially in the case of humans, that is to say, in their own case; for they themselves are makers and creators according to the divine image in themselves, some differing from others both in order and in the proper ends of each, and they are makers not only of subordinate works, but also of those proper to their nature of whom they are fathers. Of all these therefore they are not only makers, but also providers, how they would both exist and exist well, as it is fitting for each to exist well and as they themselves would be able to provide for this and would know how. And this primarily indeed is a work of virtue and goodness, of which they take care for their own sake and of others, and especially of the commonly beneficial, to as many as this is fitting, both kings and rulers in general, and consequently also it is a work of human and powerful wisdom for them, then also of the power proper to their nature. And of these three causes of beneficent providence, there is no small superiority and inferiority in humans, and with their differences, the zeal and wisdom and strength concerning works appropriately meet, so that by the difference of these causes, a different arrangement in the works towards the proper good of each also comes to be. If therefore they are adorned with these advantages by God, through which it is possible for them both to be makers and creators and moreover providers and governors, as indeed after being and all good things having come to them from there, how much more will God be the provider of all his works and administrator and governor, as indeed also of the advantages conducive to these, namely of goodness and wisdom and power, essentially proper to him, not more of one than of the rest, but equally of all and infinitely of all and appropriately to the infinity of his essence? But how he has used even the creatures as instruments of governance and the variety of such service from servants, is worthy of much discourse and wonder, so let it be passed over now, and let us proceed only to what is being sought.

4.Therefore, the divine providence encompasses all the works of God, as without it nothing at all would exist and be preserved; for there is nothing good for them from themselves, but all things are from God. But now let us consider especially how much of it is concerning humans alone. Therefore, this divine providence runs through all humans, being his work and the most beautiful of the visible works, differently however according to the order and worthiness of each; for if it were only directed to God, there would be one providence of him concerning all humans; for he wills, he says, all humans to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth". Therefore, he also assigned one order and worthiness to them from the beginning, but from the different choice and order of humans, the order of providence concerning them also varies; for of the unbelievers, as much as it pertains to their present life, he provides only, similarly also of those indeed faithful, but sinners; "For he makes his sun to shine," he says, "on the good and the evil, and sends rain on the just and the unjust," and from these two works of divine providence concerning the commonality of humans, being most important and evident, it is shown that the other works of divine providence extend equally to all, those extending to the present life; but to the righteous, especially if they are also faithful, the good of providence shines, less so to the unbelievers; therefore it has also been said: "Glory to everyone who does good, first to the Jew (that is, to the faithful), then also to the Greek (that is, to the unbeliever)." And glory must be understood here, not that eternal and future one, but that appearing to them in the temporary

things, as a reward from the divine goodness for the works of righteousness. But that these things are so, the divine Paul clearly shows; for "God," he says, "provides for all men, especially those who believe," therefore also for all the faithful, but especially for those living according to reason and law and pursuing with all zeal the things leading to the end.

5.Therefore, while all humans enjoy the divine providence in this life according to the more common understanding of the name of providence, those well-formed in faith and life alone attain a most specific providence; for they especially care for eternal life as using the body only as a servant and co-worker and as passing through this life here. And God provides for them appropriately to their intention, cooperating all things with them for the good and advancing them towards the end, while not neglecting even their life, insofar as they are concerned about it prudently and appropriately to the sought-after end. And these alone are predestined and called so, as having been led forward to eternal life; and they are said to be predestined, not as having been forced, but as having been determined before by themselves or rather arranged towards their proper end, being foreknown by God that they will be determined and will be deemed worthy to attain eternal life, because of their piety and virtue. And this is to be predestined by them, to be known from afar by God as determined towards their proper end those who will sometime be determined by themselves as far as it depends on them; for they are not always, but coming into being, then living here according to reason and law with all their zeal with the help from God, they are determined towards the end pre-established for them by the creator and father, and before being determined by themselves they must be determined; and being about to be determined, they are determined sometime, and being determined they are then so. For they are said to be determined also thence, as carefully and unceasingly pursuing the path extending towards the limit and the end; but they are more properly determined and are determined, when having been delivered from the passage here, they have reached the limit and the end and are no longer running towards the limit, but have already attained it. Therefore, they are thus determined by themselves and are determined, but in the eternal knowledge of God and the creative and providential one of all, where even the future things are present and are all known as present, they are both predestined and are called so, the preposition in this word adding nothing more to them in their own work, but preserving the proper dignity to the divine providence, namely the pre-existence of the reasons of all future things in the mind of the creator and at the same time provider and their eternal presence eternally.

6.Thence therefore it is clear that the divine predestination is a part of the divine providence; for the one runs through all humans, differently however according to the order and worthiness of each, but predestination is only of those being determined towards eternal life, which is the end of this life here, with proper zeal and divine cooperation; and just as the providence concerning humans is a part of the providence concerning all beings, insofar as they themselves are a part of the totality of all beings and those being provided for (for the reason of the particular providence concerning them contains the providence concerning the others pre-eminently), so also of the providence concerning all humans a part is the providence concerning those predestined for eternal life; but this is no less a containing of that, because it is the purpose and end of the whole providence of God; for all the other things have come to be and are for the sake of humans, and humans, for the sake of being predestined and being saved; but those indeed even unwillingly serve the divine purpose concerning humans as being naturally determined towards such service, but of humans being honored with choice, the greatest of the divine gifts towards them, the most part

becoming reckless departs from the divine purpose, which is their proper end both according to nature and grace, and small is the predestined and saved in the comparison of those reprobated, even if simply it is most and conquers every number. And that even concerning these predestined ones, the arrangement of divine providence is varied and different, in reason indeed eternally in the predestining and providing God, but in deed temporally in themselves being temporally determined (for according to the different paths of their earnest and God-loving life here, the help of providence differently meets them and guides and co-works and defends in every way, and there a different beauty of blessedness succeeds them, being measured by the different degrees of labors), these and such things having been examined in our many writings concerning predestination we omit now, and we come to the present need, the things said being sufficient.

7.Therefore, these predestined ones, even not praying concerning being saved, would be saved, and they would be delivered from temptations, not praying to be delivered; "For even when Moses is silent," he says, "God hears," kindly paying attention to the worthiness of being heard, not waiting for speech through the tongue; for it is possible to speak with the heart while the tongue is silent. And sometimes they are both aware of the temptations and are delivered from them, so that there is not even time for them between being asked concerning deliverance and being delivered; and what is even more paradoxical, that even when the temptation is near, not having been aware, after the deliverance they knew it having come near and weakened. So great is the providence of the creator concerning the predestined of his children. But he allows temptations for others, and for themselves too, from which he has often delivered others' temptations, for their correction or greater testing and for the benefit of others and their eternal gain, which is especially for those living earnestly, and in order to attain it, they not only rejoice being tempted externally, but also willingly subject themselves to temptations with pleasure, and by toiling the body with these, they rightly lift up the spirit to divine love; and generally speaking, for the various paths towards the proposed end and the various dispositions of those traveling such paths, all good indeed and beneficial, God prepares and gives different providence. And even to those not having prayed, therefore, he most wisely and paternally provides for both the present life and the future through it; but he also urges to ask and to do this persistently; "Ask," he says, "and it will be given to you," and the following of the saying, making virtue rewarded for them, and wishing to save them also by the reason of justice, not only by that of most good and paternal providence; for if they are going to ask effectively, and making it their concern to receive, they are also going to prepare themselves for praying well; "Ask," he says, "and you do not receive, because you ask badly." But those pray well and effectively who pray with trust in God, and those having such trust truly are those conscious of themselves neither being liable to unrepented sins and hindering divine philanthropy and bearing the appointed fruits of love with humility; for it is necessary for being predestined for eternal life and not neglecting any of the things leading to it to run together, as the blessed Peter says in the first of his epistles: "Be diligent through good works to make your calling and election sure," so that for each of the earnest ones there is as it were a pledge or sign of the election unknown to him from God, but known to God alone, the diligence in good works. Whence such ones do not even increase the divine predestination upon them by their zeal concerning these things, but they make their own life harmonious with being predestined with all zeal. And being such, they are of course predestined; and being predestined, they are thus zealous, so that the divine predestination for these reasons not only does not abolish the effectiveness of prayer, but even compels prayer well as

indeed befitting it; for the predestined pray well, and those praying well are the predestined, and it is the same to be predestined for eternal life and to pray well and effectively.

8.However, this also must be further defined, that those having trust in God reverently and lovingly do not need him concerning any of the temporary things, but concerning his kingdom, so as to attain this according to the divine command and for God to reign in them here, and for them to partake as is possible later of the kingdom in heaven; for the chief of the goods being sought and earnestly pursued by them is accomplished by God, all the other things are added even not seeking nor praying. But some having reached higher, do not even seek this in prayers, but being content with the constant zeal concerning virtue and the complete and sincere fulfillment of divine love, which is to ask for the kingdom in deed, they are no longer troubled by the prayer concerning it; but their prayer is the continuous doxology and thanksgiving with a moderate mind and "to foresee the Lord before them always on the right hand, so that they may not be shaken." Such ones do not even completely reject temptations, knowing that without afflictions it is impossible to enter the kingdom of God, and from temptations arise the fullnesses, but they only ask according to the Lord's formulation "not to be led into temptation," that is, not to be granted to fall into temptations beyond strength nor to be utterly lost by the temptations. And those who are fainthearted are utterly lost by them, just as the courageous ones conquer and are delivered from them through endurance, and to pray not to be utterly lost by them is to seek endurance from God; for this is a saving gift and being sown in us with proper knowledge, but being perfected and bearing fruit by the grace of God, it conquers the weakness in us opposing the zeal of the spirit. And grace follows our trust through good works, as the divine apostle says: "God is faithful, who will not allow us to be tempted beyond what we are able." To him be glory unto the ages. Amen.

ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN SOUL

II. Questions Concerning the Soul.

1. George Scholarius: The Origin of the Human Soul.

† Concerning the Time and Manner of the Existence of the Intelligent and Immortal Souls, that is, of Human Souls, Given to a Certain Friend Having Inquired.

1.Since you inquire, most honorable and dearest to us in Christ brother, concerning the production of human souls, when and how each receives existence, and you seek a clear definition of the truth concerning this, indulging your love of learning, we set forth to you the true and correct opinion concerning what you seek briefly, the subject requiring many words, but we, both by old age and illnesses and other cares, especially concerning us, having ceased from the ambition concerning these things finally. Therefore, some ignorantly opine that the human and rational soul is in the semen immediately being secreted and sown, and that the semen is the beginning and seed of both body and rational soul. And first, for the confirmation of such an opinion, they put forward the blessed Gregory of Nyssa, thinking thus; then also they are able to use arguments from the opposite such as these: For if this is not true, it is necessary for one of these two to be the case, either a pre-existing soul coming by itself into the body later, which is the opinion of Origen agreeing with Plato, even if not entirely but with some difference, or each soul being created by God, thus entering into the body. But more impossibilities follow from this; first, God will be continuously a creator in deed, creating new souls in new bodies; but such creation according to Moses was a work of the days, and having been completed, it has ceased; secondly, either he creates them with the ancestral sin, and they enter the bodies, having such a character themselves; but the works of God must be very good, as both the Scripture wills and reason, as also he produced the soul of Adam most pure, as having been made according to his own image; or he creates them pure and spotless, but in order that they also may be defiled by the communion of the body, partaking of the ancestral defilement, which the bodies draw along in the succession of the semen; and it seems inappropriate to divine justice, to create them indeed pure, then to cast them into defiled bodies, to partake of defilement and punishment, to which they contributed nothing; but they do not partake of the ancestral defilement, entering the bodies, or wickedness and unbelief follow them, of which it would seem that God is not the cause for them; for they necessarily partake of the defilement, as being connected with such bodies, and being thus connected, as there is every necessity for these to partake of the defilement. Moreover, in Genesis it is said that God formed the body of man, taking dust from the earth, then breathed into his face a breath of life, that is, he created separately first the body, then successively the soul. But concerning Eve nothing such is said, except that Adam being asleep, he took one of his ribs, and made Eve, so that what was taken from the rib, has the character of semen towards Eve, and at the same time being separated, and by divine miracle the thing taken became a perfect human being in the order of the female; therefore in what was separated from the rib, as in semen, there was both body and soul at the same time; therefore it is not said there that God again breathed a breath of life into Eve, as it suffices that the soul was created once, just as the first body was formed; and successively the generation of the whole human being occurs by the succession of the semen, as it contains both soul and body together; for it flows from such, that is, having a body and a rational soul. Moreover, it would seem that he cooperates with fornicating

and generally unlawful unions, creating souls for bodies, becoming from such unions. Such things those having such an opinion say or are able to say; for it is necessary for us not to set forth to you the opinion of the truth bare, but also to confront the falsehood as much as possible first, so that this having been refuted wisely and justly, the setting forth of the truth may shine forth even more. Having set forth this first, we will proceed to the solution of the arguments going against it.

2.Therefore, the human soul is neither pre-existing the body and existing by itself, then entering into the body; for this is neither consistent with the first production of man and draws in a swarm of many absurdities, nor is it in the semen and connatural with the body, as was the opinion of the Stoics once and of some others later. But to refute the former position is now superfluous, no one establishing it by this pre-existence; for all know this to be Plato's, then also Origen's, from which the one was forced even to posit metempsychoses, than which nothing is more unreasonable; and Origen was led by this even to think of an end of punishment, far from the evangelical truth. But as some now posit the second opinion, we show this also to be impossible. For since nothing is able to exceed the order of its natural principle, if the semen were the principle of the soul as of the body, containing both potentially, it will be bodily in nature and composite, and dissoluble and mortal, for such is the body, from its own principle of the semen. But if it is wholly necessary for it to be such, coexisting with the semen immediately, it is impossible therefore for it to be consubstantial with the semen, since it is incorporeal in itself and separate from the body and immortal, as is fitting for the simplest and intelligent nature; therefore it is also a form as of the whole physical body and being formed, not of the semen; whence it is also separable form. But moreover also as with an instrument it is joined to the body, not only as to a whole, the human soul, but the semen is by no means an instrument, just as neither is it a living being, but only potentially is it a living being, and thus potentially an instrument, so that the semen would not be a place of the rational soul, immediately being sown. Therefore, for it to coexist and be spermatic in the semen, being appropriately altered with it and growing together, is impossible, being incorporeal and immortal, as has been said. But if it only proceeds with the semen, but is a perfect soul in it, therefore it will also be immediately a form of the semen, and the semen itself will be suitable matter of the rational soul, and the semen and the soul will be sufficiently man; or, how will a perfect soul, existing in actuality, immediately coexist with the semen, neither matter existing for it nor an instrument of the smallest and flowing seed? For not in vain will a perfect soul immediately coexist with the semen from the beginning, nature doing nothing in vain and to no purpose; nor is there left any way in which it is possible for it to coexist with the semen, except these two; either spermatically, as itself also being imperfect still in nature, or as being joined as a whole and instrument to the semen. But these are altogether unreasonable and impossible; and how would a perfect, rational soul come forth from the one sowing? Whether being cut off from his soul, or being created by him? But is it necessary to set forth the swarm of absurdities, of those following this fall?

3.Therefore, this opinion has been utterly rejected; and let the manner of the first creation of man and the manner of the existence of the human soul be the teacher. For God did not say then: "Let the earth bring forth man," as has been said concerning the trees and the grasses, but having fashioned the instrument from the earth, then breathed into the instrument the soul being created, and this to breathe in was, to be created at the same time and to be breathed in. Therefore, it is necessary also now, the instrument first coming to be by the way of nature, for the soul finally to be created by God; and thence it is, that being separated from the

body, it exists by itself and is not destroyed with the body, which happens to the vegetative and sensitive soul; for they are destroyed with their own bodies being destroyed, and they are destroyed worse than the bodies; for the bodies remain for some time even without soul, but their souls are nothing immediately, when those cease living, and are no longer able to fulfill the order of living beings. But not only being separated from the body, the rational soul exists by itself, but also being in the body, it performs its own and most peculiar energies, by no means using it for these, namely understanding and reasoning.

4.Therefore, it is necessary to know, for a greater understanding of the truth in the question, that there are three kinds of souls: the nutritive or, of course, the vegetative, and the sensitive, and the rational. And the soul in the plant contains the nature of the plant, and has potentially towards no other soul the plant, but by this alone it both comes into being and is nourished and grows, and lives the life befitting a plant, as long as it lives, dim and ultimate. But the soul in the animal is immediately vegetative up to a point, the seed first seeking the order of the plant; but being completed within the organized animal, it becomes sensitive; and then the animal by the sensitive soul, and by this it both is and is called an animal, but not without the vegetative, no longer preserving the order of a proper soul afterwards, but as a potential part of some sort coexisting and serving the sensitive soul, so that there is finally one soul alone in the animal, the sensitive one. But since man, in common with the other animals, has, to live also by the senses, and up to this point is an animal, but remaining beyond the animals has the unique to live intelligently, and this becomes his through the rational and intelligent soul; it is fitting for things concerning human generation to have order. Therefore, it comes to be as a plant immediately, the semen being altered in the female and becoming flesh, then increasing in quantity, which is the work of the nutritive soul. But when it is also distinguished into parts both within and outside belonging to such an animal and to the sensory organs, thus it becomes an animal, and has the sensitive soul, not without the vegetative power, as has been said, being thus formed in appointed days, but gradually afterwards increasing the in-womb growth. But by this way, man would not also have come to be, who is the proper end of the prepared matter and is rightly accomplished by a proper form; for the vegetative soul is potentially coexistent with the semen firstly, as it is in all things being sown; and even if nothing prevents it, but rather all things cooperate with the order of nature in the receiving womb, which is ordained to provide matter for alteration and nourishment appropriately, it proceeds to action and is completed. But since the sensitive soul is also potentially coexistent with the semen, for it is the semen of an animal, orderly and the vegetative mediating then withdrawing; it comes into actuality; and this is the limit of the human semen, the power in it towards both souls being innate, of which a certain spermatic cause has been established, to be activated orderly, and for the semen to become living simply by the nutritive power, and having the vegetative soul, but an animal by the sensitive power after a little and having the sensitive soul in actuality thus, it has come to be and is an animal through it.

5.And this is the limit of the human semen in itself, insofar as it is the semen of an animal, and up to this its nature and strength are determined; but it is necessary not to stop up to this point, but also for such an animal to become immediately man, since it has come to be from human semen, of course of a rational animal. Therefore, another form is needed, and another soul befitting man; and this would be extraneous, the semen not being naturally able to produce such a soul from itself as the others, nor indeed does the power of the sensitive soul towards the rational soul have it thus, as the vegetative towards it, so that the rational could succeed it appropriately as that succeeded the vegetative. For those are co-ordinate both with themselves and

with the semen; therefore they are both bodily and inseparable from matter and mortal; but the rational soul is a divine thing and beyond nature in comparison to them, so that the semen, not only being sown immediately, but also proceeding in a way and becoming flesh and organized, is still wholly deprived of the rational soul, and has no power towards the rational soul coming to be from it and through it. For how would the body, the composite of the uncompounded, the corruptible of the imperishable and remaining continuously after coming to be, the servant and subject, of the master, the co-ordinate with clay, of the divine image, through which alone according to David man has been made a little less than the angels? And the human semen has potentially towards man, for it is impossible for anything else and not man to come to be from such semen; but man is from a rational soul and body; so that the human semen has potentially also towards the human soul, but not similarly has it potentially towards both it and the other souls. For towards those it has the power connatural; whence it also undergoes the completion of the power proceeding into action, and receives the nature of a plant immediately by the nutritive, and of an animal by the sensitive, the power in it towards these proceeding into actuality in due time; but the power towards the rational soul is imperfect in the part of the semen, as having the completion wholly from outside, the first cause choosing this painless labor from much goodness, so that it would bring to completion man, a foreign thing and both earthly and heavenly and bodily at the same time and immortal. And as much as pertains to it towards the matter, it has left it to nature to do, just as in the case of all things that come to be and are for this reason corruptible; but it itself creates the form, as nature is unable to produce such a form; and when the human semen becomes an animal naturally in the receiving womb of the female, and the instrument is articulated, and forty and a little more days articulate this in the mother, then he himself creates the spirit in it, neither changing the will concerning man from the beginning, nor being unable to accomplish this to the fullest extent, as he wills the generation of humans to be activated. Therefore, thus, also potentially is the human semen towards the human soul, and much more when it is animated and organized, and it is not potentially, as being wholly completed outside of this power, which also happens in other things in their imperfect powers. For the power naturally towards doing or suffering is not simple in the beings and those coming to be, and similarly inability, but varied and multifaceted. Whence also the discourse concerning these things, surpassing even the present need, let it be passed over; but to a simple thing of the whole discourse being gathered together, that one is perfect, the other imperfect of the powers in those having them, the power towards the human form in the semen towards the rational and human, of course, soul is imperfect, as having the completion not from itself, but from outside. These things therefore have been said superfluously for a wider manifestation of the truth; but instead of all, let the sacred scripture suffice us, saying somewhere concerning God: "Who fashions their hearts alone," that is, individually according to each one separately, and not according to the natural progression of the semen, and somewhere stating: "Who creates the spirit of man in him," of course the incorporeal and intelligent soul.

6.These things being thus previously posited, let us proceed to the solution of the arguments to the contrary. Therefore, concerning the divine Gregory, who seems to say the contrary, some say, out of reverence towards him, that this is falsely attributed to him; for there were others who championed this false opinion, and especially Apollinarius, and this is not at all surprising; for many other discourses were inscribed with his name, which in no way belonged to those discourses. But also concerning the end of punishment, which many attribute to Gregory, out of reverence for the holy man, they say it is an addition of heretics. But

the great Maximus, both theologian and confessor, positing that the discourses concerning restoration are genuine to Gregory, generously forces them into a pious opinion; for the words of the discourses do not clearly exhibit the pious intention of Maximus, which he ascribes to them, but even if this were truly the opinion of the holy Gregory, I mean concerning the soul, it is not necessary to wonder; for the divine Jerome, they say, posits that the soul was pre-created before the body; but neither should he be followed nor the one of Nyssa saying that the rational soul is in the semen, and trying to demonstrate this with a very unsound argument, just as neither should one be persuaded by him saying that the ascent to the good and to blessedness of those being punished occurs in periods of time; for he spoke, following his own opinion, before this opinion was examined in the councils afterwards, being attributed to Origen, and being openly rejected. But the opinion of the teachers of the faith, both common and true, which they enjoin us to observe, is this: where we find each of them agreeing with the canonical scriptures and with the other teachers of the church, we also place him with the others; but where someone disagrees with the common opinion, having suffered something human or being older than those of the subsequent inquiry and distinction concerning that dogma, we should not be angry with him, but rather prefer the common and safer opinion to his own. And of all the teachers, the definition now set forth by us concerning the manner of the existence of the human soul is the common one; and for us, of the Europeans, the blessed Augustine suffices for the present, saying that the rational soul, being created by God, is infused into the human body being fashioned and having received the order of an instrument, and being infused is created; the meaning of which we will reveal more opportunely later; and of those among us Asians, the great Cyril, the most theological, the leader of the third council, suffices; for in the epistle to the monks, contained in the book of the acts of the third council, the beginning of which is "Some indeed have arrived," he says thus in these very words: "The mystery concerning Christ is somehow similar to our birth; for the mothers on earth, serving nature for generation, have the flesh gradually forming in the womb, and by certain unspeakable energies of God proceeding and being perfected into human form; and God sends forth the spirit to the animal, in whatever way he knows how; for he forms the spirit of man in him according to the voice of the prophet; and different is the flesh and different likewise is the account of the soul. But even if they have become mothers of the bodies alone from the earth, yet having brought forth the whole animal, I mean that from soul and body, they are not said to have brought forth a part, nor would anyone say, for example, that Elizabeth is a flesh-bearer indeed, but not yet a soul-bearer; for she brought forth the Baptist ensouled and as it were a man from both, I say from soul and body." As this kind of existence of human souls is most evident and acknowledged by all, even by those disagreeing with them themselves concerning Nestorius, he refutes the ignorant opinion of Nestorius from this opinion. And the inspired Isaac, as from this common opinion, similarly shows the grace of the spirit coming from God to the soul after the completion of the work of virtue, which is as it were a house of divine knowledge; for in the second discourse of the first book, he says thus in these very words: "Just as it is impossible for the soul to come into being without the perfection of the formation of the body with its members, so it is impossible for theoria, the second soul, which is the spirit of revelation, to exist without the completion of the work of virtue, which is a house of knowledge receiving the revelations." And this is worthy of wonder, that they do not inquire primarily concerning the generation of the soul, but having set forth a particular hypothesis of the discourses, as being acknowledged by all, even by their opponents, of this kind of opinion concerning the soul, each confidently demonstrates

from this the truth concerning the matters at hand. Therefore, we also have used now their testimony especially, and are satisfied with it, for the sake of brevity omitting those of the others; but the one wishing will find the pronouncements of the others having been diligent. We will add one only from those, lest we also seem to some to use brevity as a pretext. For the blessed and all-wise Theodoret, in the discourse concerning the soul, which is his fifth against the Greeks, says the following: "These things the lawgiver arranged in the Cosmogony; and similar things he teaches also in the Laws; for indeed discoursing concerning the pregnant woman miscarrying from certain blows, he says that the embryo is formed first in the womb, then thus is ensouled, not the soul being inserted from somewhere outside, nor indeed being produced from the semen, but by the divine decree according to the law implanted from the beginning, receiving generation from God." And the noble Job, in the much-discussed contests conversing with the contest-master and creator, said: "Remember that you fashioned me as clay, and you turn me back again to earth; did you not milk me as milk, and curdle me like cheese? You clothed me with skin and flesh, and you knit me with bones and sinews; and you granted me life and mercy, and your oversight guarded my spirit." Through these he showed indeed the marital union, and he showed the beginnings of childbearing and that small seed, being transformed into myriad forms, and at that time the soul being created and joined to the body, and indeed even after the birth pangs the divine assistance guarding and governing." And concerning the blessed Gregory, thus much.

7.But to the following argument, we say, that the souls pre-existing the bodies is both false and impossible and the beginning of many absurdities, as even those arguing to the contrary themselves very well say this; but they err in positing them as simultaneous with the semen and proceeding together from those producing the semen and existing in the semen; for if it is false and impossible for the soul to pre-exist entirely and remaining elsewhere by itself to be joined late to a body, it is wholly necessary thereafter for it to begin with the body and to be co-natured having received one beginning with it the semen; for another time and manner of existence remains, fitting indeed for the soul and proper, and free from all absurdity, that after the construction of the instrument within in the mother; for if the soul is the actuality of the body and form, even if separable, the body itself must first be constituted with the other preparations of nature proper to this, then this to supervene, but for the nature of the semen to be extended towards the generation of such an actuality, as having such a power towards it, is wholly impossible, both being incorporeal and intelligent and being able to be separated from the body, and as long as it is in it, being able to be separated by its own energies; for towards understanding and conceiving, which are peculiarly the energies of the rational soul, it is in no way in need of the body, and if it is able to act without the body and being in it, and being separated entirely, still more to exist and act, how will it be in need of the body for existence, and how will it have the same beginning with the body, namely the semen? But the nature of the semen extends only to the vegetative and sensitive soul, as has been said; therefore they are also destroyed with the fruit of the semen, with the body being destroyed. Therefore, God creates the rational soul for the body being formed and fashioned, becoming for its sake, and at the same time creates it and infuses it into the body, as the blessed Augustine has shown saying; for he most wisely avoids the inconveniences following on either side, if one of the two were to precede the other, and it is not necessary to be at a loss concerning the all-powerful God, how he joins both these, and neither is prior to the other. Nor does the not creating by God partake at all of the unreasonable; for he established in the six days the essences of beings both of the heavenly bodies and of the

elements and of these generated ones with us, and he implanted in them at the same time the active properties and dispositions; some indeed suffer, others indeed act; but none of these either exists or does anything by its own powers, for both to exist and to act would immediately cease, the impulse of God acting in them having ceased. But the power implanted in them for acting, depending on the divine power, accomplishes the order given to each in the universe, so that the whole is even now of the divine power. And by this the rational creatures of God differ from the others, that for doing what they are naturally such, they have a given proper power, free will, and they do indeed do good not without God, who cooperates out of philanthropy with the good intention and directs it to the end of salvation; but they alone do evil, miserably preparing for themselves thus the failure of the end. But to the other creatures of God, the power towards doing has indeed been given immediately upon coming to be, but it would be weak, as far as it pertains to them, unless the divine power somehow sustained it in them, and made it continuous. For as a certain series, the creative power of God indivisibly partaking of the natures through infinity, extends to all the natures created by him together; whence it is not given only once to them to exist and to act each in the manner given to them, but it is also always given, and thus God is always the creator; so that also of the human body he is always the creator, not as having created only then in the first seeds of nature, but as also always implanting the power of doing in those being born by succession from them. Therefore, if God creates the human body thus, that is, by his power proceeding to the elements of nature, and if he creates the souls in plants and animals by this creative power, what is so amazing if he creates the rational soul in the body in a somewhat newer way, befitting its nature? Since he willed to create the human soul and the man living through it of such a nature from the beginning, and otherwise it would not have been possible either to implant a power in the semen appropriate to the all-ordering Word of God, productive of the divine infusion. Therefore, the discourse concerning creation is in no way able to contribute to what is being sought, it having been shown both that God is the creator and that he creates; and the providing for the created things is equal to creating, since if the divine providence were lacking, nothing of the created things would exist immediately; and what need is there of more words for this? The creator himself of us and of all beings, the Word of God, through whom all things came to be, "My Father," he says, "works until now, and I work." The Father, he says, has not ceased working and creating; and it is the same to say the Father works and I; but as to the Father as cause I refer the creative power firstly, just as also I refer all my things to him as cause; but by nature, "I and the Father are one." Therefore, he does not establish seeds of new natures; but how the established natures exist and come to be, as many as are of the generated things, is his continuous work; so that also the things concerning man of the divine operation are much more not outside. For he not only provides for him being born paternally, preserving his life with myriad cares, and directing those both choosing and striving from within to the future life, but also how he may be born, he takes care, fashioning the body for him, nature serving, to which he sowed the race of humans and which he continuously holds present, but creating and indwelling the soul at the same time, as has been said; since it was impossible for such a soul to come otherwise into being, as has been shown. But if someone would force creating towards making entirely from non-being alone, we will allow him not to be created now man, although the soul is being created; for man is not entirely from non-being now becoming, but nature indeed gives the matter not without God; but God breathes in the form, of course of such matter and such a form seeking, but of God not willing beforehand to create a soul, but rather creating it for man to come to be and creating the soul for his sake.

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8.But concerning the objection from the defilement of ancestral sin, indeed the things said sufficiently suffice. For it has been said that God creates the soul and indwells it in the body at the same time, and neither becomes prior to the other, but both at the same time. Since therefore a soul is created befitting such a body and prepared for such a soul, the being created is from God for it, but the being defiled with the body is not from God, just as neither is the body being defiled from God; and just as he cooperates indeed with the production of the body, although knowing it will be defiled by the defilement of the first semen, but the defilement from within by succession the begotten body incurs, so also he creates the soul in the body needing it such a soul and itself also very much willing both to come to be and to live in such a body. And this in no way opposes divine justice. Therefore, it was sufficient even to say these things to the objection; but for the confirmation of the sacred truth, these few things must also be added concerning a very great matter. It seemed altogether dreadful and displeasing to God for both seeds to come to be by succession from the first seeds, necessarily incurring the defilement of those, as it is likely to happen in the case of all seeds, and for souls to be created by him for the bodies immediately to partake of the defilement co-natured with the bodies, and it would be no different for the souls coming to be to be defiled, whether they begin and coexist with the body, or this happens to them being created by God. But they are indeed created now, as it is also fitting thus, and they do not exist in the semen, as it is altogether unreasonable and impossible. If therefore these things were altogether displeasing to God and it seemed to divine justice to oppose these things, he would immediately have ceased the generation of humans, removing the power of the semen of the first man towards being embodied; for this was much more than to make him from non-being and to implant such a power in his semen. But since he did not cease the generation of humans, although of such ones both in souls and bodies to be, it seemed both good to God and just, and all doubt must have ceased thereafter. But let it also be considered by reason according to the sacred propositions of the faith: all those born up to the divine economy were under Hades, the personal and in actuality justice and faith not being able in any of those having it to solve the obstacle from the ancestral fall towards salvation. But by the benefaction of the divine economy the obstacle has been solved for the faithful and righteous, and all such ones have been released from the bonds of Hades and now thence those believing rightly and living according to the law enjoy the place of blessedness with Paul, who desired to depart and be with Christ; but those disbelieving or living wickedly are dragged down to Hades. Whether therefore would it be fitting for divine goodness and justice to cooperate with bodies towards generation to be defiled and to create souls in them, having the purpose to cleanse and save those worthy to be cleansed and saved, some by his own death, those having been born up to that time, if he willed in the assumption to undergo this for their sake and having been assumed, but others after these up to now, by baptism, into the death of whom we the believers are baptized; therefore this would be fitting for divine philanthropy, or being indignant at the perversion of the first seeds of human nature to cease immediately the generation of humans, for whose sake he has made all this, and above all these generated things both with us and to establish the supernatural course of his own goodness, through which he has established all this, and to deprive the heaven of so much fruitfulness of spirits, whom wishing to fill it, he produced the human thing; and to gratify the desire of the evil one so much, and to make envy active in him by the cessation of the generation of humans, although being able by economies to accomplish his most good intention, such as indeed he has accomplished?

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9.Since, therefore, it was fitting for God to will the generation of humans to be ενεργεῖσθαι (activated), and for this very reason indeed he has willed it, worse than what was his purpose concerning it from the beginning; for neither would there be need of justice nor of cleansing, nor of so many divine economies concerning it for the human race, if the divine purpose concerning it, well-willed by the semen from the beginning, were fulfilled, but it was not possible for the vast goodness of God to be narrowed by the lack of will of the first seeds of the race; since, therefore, he willed the human generation to be ενεργεῖσθαι (activated) thus, let everyone see, knowing the divine things and having a mind able to attend to them well, how foolish it is to think that it is not in accordance with the justice of God to create a soul in a body incurring the ancestral defilement; for the generation being ενεργεῖσθαι (activated) is a great benefaction towards us, so that if there were no generation, neither would they be nor would they have these things to be puzzled about those thus contending against the truth; and the generation needed to be ενεργεῖσθαι (activated), as it was possible and as it was better; and it has thus better and δυνατῶς (powerfully), as has been said, of course of the body as a whole being prepared by the power of the semen, having such a power from God, and of the soul being created as a form immediately for the organized body, so that being both rational and intelligent and immortal and separable from the body and having nothing common with the nature of the body, it lives indeed by itself according to both mind and intellect, and especially the industrious one having received the time of industry, and provides life for the body by the nutritive and sensitive powers, neither being entirely absent when it is inserted, nor preserving the order of the souls thereafter, but as its powers inferior and of course common to the body, serving it as a mistress. And every man comes to be thus, with soul and body incurring the defilement of the ancestors, the body having it inherently coexisting, but the soul as becoming for the sake of such a body and personally united to it, partaking appropriately immediately; but no harm is implanted in it; for it both is cleansed having willed and cleanses the body. And the man living with virtue and faith receives the place of blessedness, which was allotted to the race from the beginning, but the one separated from both these is carried down to the place of misery, immediately indeed with the soul bare and will receive the instrument again sometime, having it a sharer of blessedness or misery. How many myriads of souls were brought up from Hades, of the unfruitfulness of the human generation in so many times, having suddenly become fruitful; how many after these up to now, having washed away the ancestral obstacle by baptism, then also having added the preparation from virtue, as if armed with two wings were lifted up to the heavenly place. Some of them, receiving baptism from their parents and keeping it until death, with also keeping the commandments of Jesus, others, indeed being born of unbelievers, but by prudent zeal and guidance of God and cooperations of prudent men, being impelled towards the true faith and the way of salvation, with being ready to endure all things, so as not to be persuaded by those wishing again to transfer them to the error and apostasy from the divine; and all these have arrived and are arriving now still to the blessed life, as if not even the fall of the forefathers had happened at all. With so many providences of the creator, and the fall having happened, being able to run towards its deliverance and to receive the ευκλήρ!αν (inheritance) defined from the beginning by nature, all those not wishing to run are most miserable voluntarily. Neither therefore would the souls of the saved blame God as having been defiled after being created by the communion of the body, since they have become in order that they may be saved having been cleansed, and they have been cleansed having willed to be cleansed and having been diligent and having known the divine purpose upon themselves, and for those not having willed to be cleansed, not the being

created by God and receiving the order of humans is the cause, but their foolishness, since even coexisting and growing together with the semen from the beginning, if it were possible, as it seemed to some not wisely, the same lot would have happened on both sides, of course for those indeed intending well to be blessed and the purpose of the creator from the beginning upon humans to be accomplished, but misery and continuous wretchedness for those having traveled the way of unbelief and wickedness; and no one would have to blame divine justice, that it did not prevent the generation of those about to be saved for the sake of the justly perishing ones, being able as not to create, if indeed he so willed, thus also to prevent these from being born. On both sides therefore, the same would have happened, but if indeed it were possible for the soul to be immortal coexisting and being born together with the body; but this being impossible and containing many contradictions, and the being created in the organized body and being man then thereafter having much reasonableness, greatest thanks to God, that both creating rational and incorporeal souls he breathes in and indwells them in the bodies, as otherwise it is impossible to be incorporeal and immortal, and gives the power of being cleansed and of cleansing the body together to those having willed, and sends that ευκλήρίαν (inheritance) to those striving, and the purpose concerning the generation of humans is fulfilled by him, being numbered in the countless multitude with the choirs of angels and being with Christ, which Paul thirsting desired for the departure.

10.In addition to these things, the blessed Moses necessarily narrated the creation of Adam in detail; but concerning Eve, he is satisfied with the removal of the rib, leaving it to those able to apply well from the example of Adam to perceive also the creation of Eve. For it is clear that what was taken from the rib was instead of the previously fashioned clay, and just as he did not fashion the body of Adam in time, but immediately the taken dust was fashioned and it was a complete body both in kind and as much as he willed to fashion and immediately breathed into it the breath of life, so neither did he fashion what was taken from the rib in time, but at the same time with what was taken he gave the completeness of the body and similarly breathed in the soul; and he does not go into detail with the things narrated concerning Adam being satisfied, as I said earlier; for what he wanted to make clear necessarily, is the difference of the creation of each; of course, the part of the body, that he did not take clay as in Adam and mud for the building of the body, but having taken a piece of the rib, so that Adam did not even receive sensation, but as if sleeping was unaware of what happened; but the production of the soul, as having been made similarly to the former, he did not consider it necessary to be verbose about. But the argument from unlawful unions was of Apollinarius, who also invented this opinion peculiar to his other insensibilities. Therefore, it must also be said in response to this, that if it seems unbecoming to those thinking thus for God to cooperate with unlawful unions creating souls for those being born from them, it would be much more harsh to pour together innumerable souls into the semen, flowing in many ways from men day and night, both awake and asleep, which would happen of necessity, if the soul were in the semen, and this could not happen, unless God permitted it. But the miscarriages of pregnancies before timely birth are rare and have no comparison to that number; although this too is similarly applicable to either opinion concerning the soul, and opposes neither. And there is also a particular discourse concerning such things, which is not relevant to the present need; but it is false that God also cooperates with such unions. He indeed forbids and punishes those doing them, and the laws of men also punish, as many of them as are to be punished; but he does not wish to destroy the benefaction towards the whole race by the improprieties of some individuals; for the universal good everywhere he wishes to be

preserved very wisely, and this is what both the divine law and the human law primarily consider. Therefore, the being able to generate those coming together is the work and gift of God; but the coming together of some contrary to reason and law is of their own choice, just as also with the other gifts of God, some indeed have used them according to the purpose of the giver upon them, but others have misused them for their own evil, and the giver is blameless. And what need is there to say more? By the gift of choice, the nature of humans is especially recognized, some indeed using the things they have for the better, others indeed for the worse; and the giver is the cause of acting well to those using the gift well, as without him they would not even be able with freedom to do the right things, but those using them for the worse for themselves are themselves also the cause of acting badly. In the case of these, also many of those coming together contrary to the law are saved through repentance being healed with the appropriate medicine; and many being born from such unions, receiving the order of saints and prophets, just as also from good parents and those coming together lawfully, are dissimilar in their choice, and from vines, as the saying goes, thorns have come forth many and are coming forth.

11.This is the readily available solution to the opposing arguments. But it is necessary also to consider now the most compelling point of the blessed Gregory with reverence for the truth and love, which even he himself would accept and be gracious to us; for he attempts to philosophize naturally concerning the soul and it is superfluous to examine it. He says therefore, that some, paying attention to the order of the construction of man according to Moses, say that the soul is second to the body in time; and by this argument, they show the flesh to be more honorable than the soul; and they also say that the soul came to be through the body. But everything that comes to be through something, is altogether less honorable than that through which it has come to be." First of all, therefore, they do not demonstrate even if they wanted to; for there is no demonstration of falsehood; then, nor did they intend to conclude this; for preferring the soul to the flesh, they did not intend it to be co-natured with the semen. But neither does the blessed one oppose anything to their argument; he only seems to lead the position to the absurd. It would be said rather that the construction of man according to Moses is not true, if such an absurdity follows; but if that is true and according to him, then the absurdity he says does not follow; for how could falsehood follow the truth? Then he says that they say the soul came to be through the body; and indeed no one says this simply of those opining that the soul being created supervenes; but as if thinking that this also follows their position, he speaks thus; but rather on the contrary they make the soul more honorable from opining it to be later; and very reasonably; for if they say it is a form indeed, even if separable, of such a body, and the whole body is of it such; and they say this indeed as the moving, but the body as an instrument, and they say such things and necessarily think it more honorable than the body, through which it comes to be and through which it is, as long as it is with it and as long as it uses it coexisting; but the becoming this through this is varied and has an examination that is varied and escapes many. Therefore, those paying attention to the order of the construction of man according to Moses were not doing poorly, but with paying attention to what it was necessary to pay attention to, they wisely preserved all the necessary truth concerning the soul as is right; and they avoided all falsehood by not paying attention, as the said teachers and others with them, being in time after him, very wisely and theologically accurately define. But Apollinarius therefore by not wishing to pay attention to the first construction of man has become enslaved to falsehood; for the manner of the unique union then of the most different things, of course incorporeal and body in the first man, instead of a seminal

and original account of those being born from him was going to be both an example and to be thought thus by those wisely thinking; but he having paid more attention to the production of plants and animals in the case of humans, concerning which it has been said that it is necessary for seed to be sown according to kind and likeness, not only existing as a principle of the body, but also of the soul befitting such a body, and for this reason both coexisting with it and growing together: thence also he has thought that the rational and immaterial soul is similarly sown and generated by succession. But even if he did not pay attention to the first construction of humans, he should at least have taken into mind that divine study "Let us make man according to our image"; not only according to the image, but also "according to the likeness," which is greater and peculiarly befitting man and that with this study also the manner of creation immediately followed in agreement. For he did not say, "Let the earth make man" with the other animals and also plants sowing seed and thus bearing fruit and being about to fill the earth by succession, but having fashioned the body from earth, the house, the instrument, the servant, he himself breathed in the breath of life, so that it may thus be generated throughout. And for this reason he also taught us by inspiration through Moses when he willed, so that we may believe and thus it may always be generated thence and believing we may become better. Whence the likeness to God is directly of the soul, as being infused and breathed in thence, the same to say, being produced immediately for the prepared receptive one; and it is also communicated to the body, as much indeed as it is natural for it to partake of the soul; and the whole man is an image of God for this reason, as he is one man from both, the body in those preserving and increasing the divine image according to the soul becoming and serving as an instrument for this, as is possible; for the sake of which indeed it has been joined and prepared to be joined.

12.And let this also be for you as a seal of the words concerning this truth. That the soul pre-existing entered into Christ our Lord is both false and impossible, where indeed concerning all men the church rightly rejects the pre-existence of souls as false and impossible; and that incarnation was not from seed, so that the soul also coexisted spermatically, as is the opinion of some concerning human souls; therefore, from the maternal matter for the body being immediately organized by the creative power of the Most High, the soul also immediately being breathed in from the same power was produced—for this is the only way remaining; and if this were not so, then the Godhead was instead of a soul to Christ, as Apollinarius babbled. For he, in order to innovate such an opinion concerning Christ, also mixed and mingled human souls with the semen, so that Christ being believed to be born without seed, the need for the soul in him would be altogether forbidden, or being preoccupied by such an opinion concerning human souls, he introduced the Godhead instead of a soul to the Lord's flesh, as neither being spermatic as in the case of other men (for it was not from seed), nor from pre-existence being inserted from outside or being created in the organized body, as neither is either fitting to the common nature of men. If therefore Apollinarius tried to establish falsehood and a falsehood, it is necessary for those wishing to think rightly to fight against both positions of his and to accept neither, but also to posit the generation of all men rightly thus, as it has been shown in this discourse by just means, and to believe that the ensouling of the flesh of the divine Word occurred thus, as is necessary and both these agree. For the not being born from seed, was both necessary and proper for many reasons to the divine purpose concerning the economy, and was not going to oppose the truth of the humanity in Christ; it being sufficient for his soul to come to be according to the other men, he himself being the one establishing both those and it by the Word of the Godhead; but the soul also not coming to be according to

the manner in other men and being joined to the body would make it seem on both sides not true to be a man, who is not related to the generation of men either in body or soul. Therefore, those mingling the rational soul with the semen not only speak thus outside of reason and the truth concerning it and all other philosophy and theology, as has been shown, but also by laying down a weak foundation for the incarnation of the Divine Word, they do not understand. Therefore also for this especially it is necessary to embrace the wisest and truest opinion and that confirmed by both the divine scripture and the majority and greater of the teachers concerning the existence of human souls; because it alone agrees with the divine economy, and the divine and true incarnation confirms this. For our Lord being a man had a soul, just as indeed he was also truly God; and he had it according to men, and was a true man; and neither did he receive it having pre-existed from outside—for thus no man is ensouled; nor did he have it coexisting from seed not only by being conceived without seed, but also by no one of men having his own soul coexisting from the beginning and proceeding with the semen and being born together; and the divine coexisting power both organized the body immediately naturally and at the same time supernaturally; for fulfilling the material need of the virginal and holy flesh for the one being born as in the case of other men, it itself supplied the deficiency of the proximate efficient cause, that is, of the semen; and it created the soul at the same time with the body, keeping the law from the beginning concerning men very justly and wisely and appropriately to the purpose of the improvement and salvation of men. And for these reasons, by the paradox of the organization of the body without seed, the natural production of the soul supervening both preserved and preserves very well, as was necessary, the truth of the humanity in our creator and Lord, with much reasonableness and the purpose of the divine economy. Therefore also as a true man he pleaded for men, but pure in soul and body, for the impure and those incurring the ancestral defilement by the semen, in bodies indeed immediately, then also in souls by the communion of such bodies. You have, dearest one, in few words both the definition of the truth concerning the question and the solutions of the oppositions to it; and allow nothing further either more pious or wiser and as has been shown seeming to the teachers than that the soul being created by God in the organized and formed body, for this reason also to be incorporeal and separable from the body and immortal. And may the Lord, dearest one, who created your soul, grant you both the heavenly grace and towards attaining it eternal life with your striving for this, because to him is glory unto the ages. Amen.

ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN SOUL

1.5. On the Origin of the Human Soul according to St. Gregory of Nyssa

† From the first book On the Soul, by the same author..

1.Concerning the blessed Gregory of Nyssa, what we have said a little while ago for his defense is sufficient, which also agrees with the common judgment of the holy church concerning any of the teachers, if he should differ from the common opinion, either having suffered something human, or having become older than those commonly examined and defined concerning this. But it is necessary also to consider now what is most compelling of him, with reverence for the truth and love, which even he himself, being most holy, would accept now from there and be gracious to us and know gratitude. For in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of the chapters to Peter, he clearly sets forth the opinion he had concerning the cause of existence being one and the same for both soul and body, as both dynamically existing in the semen. What therefore he attempts to philosophize naturally concerning the soul, and it is superfluous to examine. But touching upon those not even then accepting such an opinion, he says in his own words thus: "Some indeed, paying attention to the order according to Moses of the construction of man, say that the soul is second to the body in time, and by this argument they show the flesh to be more honorable than the soul; and they also say that the soul came to be through the body; but everything that comes to be through something, is altogether less honorable than that through which it has come to be." First of all, therefore, they do not demonstrate even if they wanted to; for there is no demonstration of falsehood; then, nor did they intend to conclude this. Preferring therefore the soul to the flesh, they did not intend it to be co-natured with the semen, but neither does the blessed one oppose anything to their argument; he only seems to lead the position to the absurd, without proof; it would rather be said that the construction of man according to Moses is not true, if such an absurdity follows; but if that is true, and according to him, then the absurdity he says does not follow; for how could falsehood follow the truth? Therefore, it was necessary to show either how it was not necessary for them to apply the order of the first construction to the present construction of men and thence not to join the soul to the semen, or that the applying indeed was reasonable but they do not apply well, even if they seem to. These things it was necessary to show, and with arguments having plausibility; but he has done neither of these; therefore also they do well paying attention to that order, and they think rightly from paying attention; and they say that the soul is second in time to the semen and the flesh after it and the other stages up to the organization of the body, of which the beginning is the semen, paying attention to Moses; but they do not think it less honorable for this reason than the body generated thence, unless also God, as the more honorable one, having taken clay from the earth, fashioned the body and breathed in the soul as less honorable into the fashioned one; then as it is the same to say body and flesh, he accuses those saying the soul is later than the body, as saying it is later than the flesh; but it is far from the same to say flesh and body. Therefore, they say it is later than the flesh, as not coexisting with the semen and the flesh after it, but they say it is simultaneous with the completion and organization of the body, the same as saying of the animal, the production and connection of the rational and incorporeal soul to it, as immediately following it. In addition to these things he says that they say the soul came to be through the body. And indeed no one says this simply of those opining that the soul being created supervenes; for with not the same but different specifications it would be said that the body comes to be through the soul and the

soul through the body; but as if thinking that this also follows their position for the worse, he speaks thus; and he says that they make the soul less honorable than the body; but rather on the contrary they make the soul more honorable than the body reasonably from not coexisting nor being cast down together with the semen; for if they say it is a form indeed, not of the semen, but of such a body and actuality, and what is greater, a separable form; and the matter and subject of it is such a body; and they say this indeed as the moving, but the body as an instrument, and they say such things, and they necessarily think it more honorable than the body, through which it comes to be and through which it is, as long as it is with it and as long as it uses it coexisting; but the becoming this through this is varied and has an examination that is varied and escapes many. Therefore, as requiring many arguments, it is not necessary now to define accurately dividing; therefore also the blessed one says excellently, that some do not wish the divine image, the rational and incorporeal soul, to begin and coexist with the semen; for of some, that is, of the rare ones, not even of the many, is the correct judgment and discovery of the truth concerning such things, nor do such things need rhetoric and eloquent verbosity, but of a wise mind—and mind is of the principles, and from them the truth concerning each is shown; to apply the things sought to the principles, is of the demonstrative leader of the sciences; whence those neither sufficiently having the first wisdom, and for this reason not knowing the principles, nor the demonstrative science, so as to be able to apply appropriately and truly, would say indeed very many things and would speak well, if indeed they have studied well concerning this; but to define accurately concerning the things sought and these so great, they would not be able.

2.Therefore, those paying attention then to the order according to Moses of the construction of man were not doing poorly, but with paying attention to what it was necessary to pay attention to, and they wisely preserved all the truth concerning the soul as is right; and they avoided all falsehood following from not paying attention, as also the teachers produced now and others with them, of whom for the sake of brevity we have not mentioned now, being in time after the holy Gregory, very wisely and theologically defining accurately and saying things agreeing with those earlier ones, instead of agreeing with him, although otherwise very justly honoring him as also we now do, with the longing for the truth and the preparation of the soul from God for it carefully passing him by in this part, but siding with the majority and wiser and later ones; for discovery is what has increased the sciences; and this is of the later ones, if they hunt it with wisdom. And even the great Gregory himself, even if he was later than these or even contemporary, would not have opined otherwise, as then overlooking those few of them or even having opined from the beginning as is likely without sufficient examination, he would have changed his opinion, having examined more accurately. Apollinarius alone would not have been able to be improved by changing; for not only by not wishing to pay attention to the first construction of man has he been enslaved to falsehood, but also as if using this as a resource towards greater absurdity and impiety. The manner indeed of the unique then union of the most different things, of course incorporeal and body, in one the first man instead of a seminal and original account of those being born from him was going to be, and an example and to be thought thus by those wisely thinking; but he having paid more attention to the production of plants and animals in the case of humans, concerning which it has been said, that it is necessary for seed to be sown according to kind and likeness, not only existing as a principle of the body but also of the soul befitting such a body and for this reason both coexisting with it and growing together, thence also he has thought that the rational and immaterial soul is similarly sown and generated by succession. But even if he did not pay attention to the first

construction of humans, he should at least have taken into mind that divine study, "Let us make man according to our image," not even only according to the image, but also "according to the likeness," which is greater and peculiarly befitting man; and that with this study also the manner of creation immediately followed in agreement; for he did not say, "Let the earth make" with the other animals and plants also "man sowing seed and thus bearing fruit and being about to fill the earth by succession," but having fashioned the body from earth, the house, the instrument, the servant, he himself breathed in the breath of life, so that it may thus be generated throughout. And for this reason he also taught us by inspiration through Moses when he willed, so that we may believe and thus it may always be generated thence and believing we may become better; whence the likeness to God is directly of the soul, as being infused and breathed in thence, the same to say, being produced immediately for the prepared receptive one, and it is also communicated to the body as much indeed as it is natural for it to partake of the soul, and the whole man is an image of God for this reason, as he is one man from both, the body in those preserving and increasing the divine image according to the soul becoming and serving as an instrument for this, as is possible; for the sake of which indeed it has been joined and prepared to be joined.

3.And let this also be for you as a seal of the words concerning this truth: that the soul pre-existing entered into Christ our Lord is both false and impossible, where indeed concerning all men the church rightly rejects the pre-existence of souls as false and impossible; and that incarnation was not from seed, so that the soul also coexisted spermatically, as is the opinion of some concerning human souls. Therefore, from the maternal matter for the body being immediately organized by the creative power of the Most High, the soul also immediately being breathed in from the same power was produced—for this is the only way remaining. And if this were not so, then the Godhead was instead of a soul to Christ, as Apollinarius babbled; for he, in order to innovate such an opinion concerning Christ, also mixed and mingled human souls with the semen, so that Christ being believed to be born without seed, the need for the soul in him would be altogether forbidden; or, being preoccupied by such an opinion concerning human souls, he introduced the Godhead instead of a soul to the Lord's flesh, as neither being spermatic as in the case of other men (for it was not from seed), nor from pre-existence being inserted from outside or being created in the organized body, as neither is either fitting to the common nature of men, the one indeed truly, the other according to his own opinion the second. If therefore Apollinarius tried to establish falsehood with falsehood, it is necessary for those wishing to think rightly to fight against both positions of his and to accept neither, but also to posit the generation of all men rightly thus, as it has been shown in this discourse by just means, and to believe that the ensouling of the flesh of the divine Word occurred thus, as is necessary and both these agree; for the not being born from seed, was both necessary and proper for many reasons to the purpose concerning the divine economy, and was not going to oppose the truth of the humanity in Christ; it being sufficient for his soul to come to be according to the other men, he himself being the one establishing both those and it by the Word of the Godhead; but the soul also not coming to be according to the manner in other men and being joined to the body would make it seem on both sides not true to be a man, who is not related to the generation of men either in body or soul. Therefore, those mingling the rational soul with the semen not only speak thus outside of reason and the truth concerning it and all other philosophy and theology, as has been shown, but also by laying down a weak foundation for the incarnation of the Divine Word, they do not understand. Therefore also for this especially it is necessary to embrace the wisest and truest opinion and that confirmed

by both the divine scripture and the majority and greater of the teachers concerning the existence of human souls, because it alone agrees with the divine economy and this the divine and true incarnation confirms. For our Lord being a man had a soul, just as indeed he was also truly God; and he had it according to men, and was a true man; and neither did he receive it having pre-existed from outside—for thus no man is ensouled; nor did he have it coexisting from seed not only by being conceived without seed, but also by no one of men having his own soul coexisting from the beginning and proceeding with the semen and being born together. And the divine coexisting power both organized the body immediately naturally and at the same time supernaturally; for fulfilling the material need of the virginal and holy flesh for the one being born as in the case of other men, it itself supplied the deficiency of the proximate efficient cause, that is, of the semen; and it created the soul at the same time with the body, keeping the law from the beginning concerning men very justly and wisely and appropriately to the purpose of the improvement and salvation of men; and for these reasons, by the paradox of the organization of the body without seed from the virginal flesh in an instant of time, the natural production of the soul immediately supervening both preserved and preserves very well, as was necessary, the truth of the humanity in our creator and Lord, with much reasonableness and the purpose of the divine economy; therefore also as a true man he pleaded for men, but pure in soul and body, for the impure and those incurring the ancestral defilement by the semen, in bodies indeed immediately, then also in souls, by the communion of such bodies. To our Lord Jesus himself be glory unto the ages. amen.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SOUL

2. Second Treatise on the Origin of the Soul.

† Most Holy, after the present one has been delivered to you, write and inform us that it has been delivered to you; and write twice if possible, lest perhaps one of the writings not be delivered to us. Repentance.

Concerning the rational and human soul, second treatise:

† The humble Gennadius to the most holy and in all things best Metropolitan of Medea, Theophanes.

1.We have received your writing, and having paid proper attention to it, as was fitting, we both perused it with pleasure, finding it worthy of praise, and rejoiced with the writer, both for the multifaceted accuracy concerning divine things, and also for the divine guidance towards the knowledge of the truths, which it is not possible to find without it, even if anyone is very zealous concerning arguments; and God breathes this grace into those who seek it with reverent application and a more moderate mind. But we neither previously contradicted the discourse which we composed concerning the soul, nor was it necessary in any way, nor just otherwise, nor fitting; but having composed it for a certain friend who asked, we sent it, not even knowing that he would wish to add to our judgment, or rather be able to, but judging it necessary to satisfy a friend who asked to see it. And now fulfilling the debt of love to your holiness, we send back the present one; for you deemed us worthy, having now set aside the quiet of our opinion, both to attend well to your writing and to express to you what seemed right concerning it. And you did not send it to us directly, nor did you deem it proper to write out of reverence, but by writing these things to those most dear to us you made them known; but we express our opinion directly, breaking the law concerning silence.

2.Therefore, that previous writing of ours concerning the soul had the order of an inquiry. Whence it was shown what is thought by all those who have wisely examined concerning the race of the remaining souls and their relation both to each other and to the rational order of them, simply and without purpose being considered even in the preparation of the bodily instrument of the soul; and what anyone might be puzzled about was also put forward; for it is possible even to oppose the truest things in appearance and for the sake of argument for greater confirmation of the truth, and this has been pursued by all wise men; but those knowing little, instead of the true things, set themselves against these oppositions rather. Therefore, we solved the seeming oppositions to the truth appropriately. And these were: that concerning the defilement of ancestral sin; that concerning God having ceased to create; that concerning Eve, that she is written to have been produced according to Adam, becoming a close and second human to him; that concerning fornicating unions; that concerning the unbelievers and wicked. For from these it seemed in former times to some that it was necessary rather for human souls also to coexist with the semen like the others, or for these things to happen from their being created by God. And then indeed the writing was immediately short, the occasion making it so to send to the friend; but after a little while being increased by additions, the occasion permitting this, it has been published to many who sought it, by whom I think it has been dispersed also in many places of the earth; and I do not know if even there it has reached you or the rest of our friends, and you would make it clear to us by writing. That one was such; and the present one will be short to you also, the occasion requiring this, but sufficient for you being wise, even if it were less; for it will both confirm your opinion

concerning the question and there will be a judgment concerning your writing, and a confirmation of those previously sent by us to the friend; and if need calls, we will perhaps send a third one to the seeker, if even the spirit still remaining with the clay, God by the extension of this life teaches both these. But it would be necessary rather for you and us to be satisfied with the things well known concerning both others and our souls and to know the grace to the God who gave it, and to take much care concerning the future, for the sake of which we have souls and for the sake of souls, for service indeed here, but there for communion alone, the bodies; for then there will be no account for us of how each one has come to be; and the now ignorant souls will then learn, just as also they will know then many other things of the unknown ones; but rather in deed in the time of the resurrection of the bodies they will know, that the being separated from the bodies underlying them and the having been separated and the being joined together after so much time following from wonder was from not being naturally at all and coexisting with the semen; which also you have very wisely set as a seal on the good writing. And the resurrection of the bodies will not be without a miracle, by being rather immediately or by being composed and reformed from the elements making it paradoxical; but this union of the souls with them does not involve a miracle; for from the fact that they were then first united by God for the purpose of being united again, God having willed it, they have an innate and preserved natural inclination in them. Therefore, these things the now ignorant souls will then learn well; but the learning for them for the better or the worse will be the end and the fruit of the life here, whichever of the two ways they would choose. Whence we must especially take care of this. Since we were led then by goodwill towards the friend, we would not be able to be silent to you either, with greater goodwill and for many reasons being owed, of the good things bestowed upon you from God.

3.Therefore, the teachers of the church (for it is necessary to proceed to the matter at hand) refuse to say that the intelligent and incorporeal soul coexists with the semen and goes out and is sown together with it, for many absurdities and impossibilities necessarily follow from this position; but they say that it is immediately created in the organically formed body, and then indeed by the completion of both natures, of body and soul, and the union having been established into one individual by conjunction, man begins to proceed thence with the advancements befitting either of the parts, which are also reckoned in other ways by the two together, having as a cause finally the soul itself and its powers; but we will note the progress of the soul in acting intelligently, as the discourse proceeds. And this wise position avoids the opinion of Origen concerning the pre-existence of souls, drawn from the Platonic nonsense; and it has been freed from that of Zeno of Kition with many others following him in the time of the universal error, and after these also of Apollinarius in the time of the truth, having also chosen the opinion of Zeno and Cleanthes, even if with some difference. For the ones mixing and mingling the human soul with the semen, also thought it to be corruptible, and the blessed and all-wise Theodoret very wisely and justly refutes them in the Discourses Against the Greeks, as having spoken very insultingly and absurdly concerning the soul; but Apollinarius thought that the soul coexists with the semen and proceeds forth from the one sowing and is sown together; and he did not say that human souls are begotten, but that souls come to be from souls, just as bodies from bodies, as from a common principle of the semen. And Zeno was doubly wrong, and the consequence according to reason happened to him; for holding a false opinion, he had a false one following. But Apollinarius had more than Zeno in saying that the soul is immortal, which was true; but holding a false opinion, he intertwined the true opinion unknowingly, and became the cause of many being deceived concerning these things. But also the

falsehood of those who once opined that the soul is later than the body and enters from outside, who were divided into many opinions thence concerning it, has been avoided by the wisest position of the teachers; those who thought that the soul is cast down together with the semen were more moderate concerning the falsehood, the semen indeed from the man, but the soul from God; for neither did they seem to think that the semen is the cause of the rational soul, nor the one sowing; but erring concerning the time and manner of the production by not wishing to pay attention or not being able in some way to both the scripture and the holy teachers, and they themselves, gaining nothing from the difference with those thinking worse, were nothing. But we return to the proposed sequence.

4.Therefore, the teachers say that the rational soul does not coexist with the semen; for the semen is not yet a living body nor proper to such a soul, unless someone would call it a body according to the more common account of the body, but the body is opposed to the incorporeal; and thus also the elements are called bodies, even if simple in comparison to those from them, but the human body from the human semen by a certain natural progression, which the creator of nature has ordained, in forty days or even a little less having come to be, with the co-ordinate souls readily serving, immediately also receives the rational soul being created by God, the proper one to the one sowing; and thence it is to be both a human body and a human soul, as, whenever it is first formed and organized, immediately also the soul being created by God for the prepared receptive one and proper and befitting and prepared for its sake; for the being together indicates only the being co-natured or the becoming in the same individual, even if not the co-natured ones, but also in many other ways it is and is said, of which the now defined one is also one.

5.Therefore, the great Gregory in theology, in his discourse On the Divine Incarnation, setting forth the creation of the first humans in accordance with the divinely inspired account of Moses concerning them, says that God established the intelligent natures at once, nor did he give them the power to produce others from themselves, as this is not according to reason; but whatever of the sensible things are generable and corruptible, which he willed to create according to kind, producing them by one command and the simplest means, some indeed from earth, others from water, he also gave them the power to produce similar ones by succession, some indeed being produced immediately from earth and water, but others by the succession of seeds, with the elements giving them nourishment and growth until their completion. And thus mind and sense were distinguished from each other; but there was not yet a mixture of both nor any mingling of opposites. But gathering together the thought of the great one, which is in the breadth of the words, just as also we now omit the praises of this newer and composite creation and for this reason last of all, caring only for the matter at hand, which is the manner of the creation of man from those so far apart, the same to say of all of us, he presents it in these very words: "But the Word, the artificer, wishing to show this, creates man, a living being from both, I mean from the invisible and visible creation; and taking the body from the matter already pre-existing, but breathing in from himself a breath, which indeed the Word knows to be the intelligent soul and image of God, he establishes a certain second world, great in the small, on the earth, another angel," and the following. Just as therefore the divine Moses used the account of the different production of men compared to the others for another benefit of ours, theological and ethical, and how we may know by the same path to be now generated and to have the body closely from the matter and through it from God, but the soul immediately from him, so also the great Gregory for the sake of these benefits

explained beforehand the things concerning our first production, or rather God is the one who first inspired these things to Moses for our sake and through him to Gregory and the others.

6.Then indeed he received the body from the earth as a whole, not fashioning it by some order and progression, but immediately making it a human body; but the soul, neither from a whole pre-existing one, nor with any change preceding, but having created it immediately from non-being, he breathed it into the perfect and organized body, so that in account indeed it is later, as is the case with every actuality, but in deed it began with the body, this alone being later than it, because it came to be in it (for it was not possible to happen otherwise), and to have this more than the actualities which the accounts of the wise define to spring up timelessly with the completion of the materials. For the rational soul is not an actuality of anything, but also has greater other orders appropriate to the body thus by nature and thus having come to be and being about to remain thus and to be blessed thus; and the body too is distinct from the simply called matter, with which the soul is the rational one to be joined, which it is not necessary now to be over-curious about. Then therefore our creator has done thus. But in the generation by succession he has given thence instead of the whole earth the semen, not from the man being sown in the woman and coming by gradual alterations and increases in defined days to the account of the human body, so as no longer to be semen, but a body befitting and proper to man and a human soul, even if still dim and small in quantity, as is likely in the beginning, immediately he instills the breath from himself, that is, the spirit from creation. For the body by succession was possible to come to be and reasonable in the progression of the semen, of both bodily and composite nature being; but the rational and intelligent soul and incorporeal the divine image it was necessary to be produced immediately from the divine Word filling and encompassing all things and to be created and breathed in at once.

7.For man is said to have been made according to the image of God, but this is said because of the soul; and the soul is an image of God according to the mind alone properly and the intelligent activities in it, by which man excels the other creatures; for which reason also he alone is said to be an image of God. Therefore, he joined for the demonstration of his omnipotent wisdom and goodness the opposite natures thus into one hypostasis, body and soul; but neither has he made the soul productive and creative of another soul (for this he has given to no one even of the higher spirits and minds, as belonging to the first mind and cause of all, that is, to himself alone; and the human mind and soul is also of the nature and order of the higher minds, even if with inclination, for the sake of the one joined; for thus God willed), nor did he wish the human semen to be productive and creative of the human soul, the proper image; for it was going to be paradoxically joined to the body springing from the semen such a one, and for the semen to become the cause of it and fertile was in no way possible, nor was it necessary; for what would man have more than the irrational animals or even plants and the soul breathed into him from God? For concerning the irrational ones it is said in Genesis, that "the soul of it is in the blood of it"; but also concerning man it is said in Ecclesiastes, "Until the dust returns to the earth from whence it was, and the spirit returns to God who gave it." Nor is this said there concerning Adam, but it is said concerning every man; so that for each of men according to the divine scripture God is the one giving the spirit, as it was from the beginning, not the corruptible nor the body formed from it (for then, even the spirit itself would have returned to the earth with the causes), nor the father (for he gives only the semen, the dust, which returns to the earth), nor does he breathe it in (for this is of God alone), nor would the corruptible one breathe it in, nor is the one sowing

present to him at least being later formed and becoming receptive of the spirit. Therefore also of the other creatures God is not called father, although being both creator of them from the beginning and the cause of their generation thence by succession by having given them then immediately such power and giving it until the end by willing; but of men alone he has deemed it worthy to be called father and thus permits us to call him, as alone being honored with the divine image and then indeed similarly to the others having come to be specifically and generally, but individually and now being generated by him by the part only of the spirit; so that nothing opposes the then given by kind succession and being fulfilled until now, the cooperation from him in the individuals. And he commands when we call him father, to add "who is in heaven," as also having an earthly father of us. But the earthly one is the father of the earthly in us; but the heavenly one is both creator of both, of the heavenly and earthly in us, but rather is the father of the heavenly as better and higher and in a higher way receiving existence by the immediate production.

8.I say therefore, returning to the point, that not only following the pious account, being most wise, but also agreeing with the holy scripture, the great Gregory, who has become for us instead of a foundation for the present discourses, both in his discourses and in his poems everywhere guides and gives such an opinion concerning our souls. And the saying of Ecclesiastes was sufficient. But also everywhere in the divine scriptures it is possible to find this opinion clearly; for what is clearer than "Who fashions their hearts alone?", namely the souls, that is, according to one each individually, and neither all together nor each according to the natural progression of the semen. And what is clearer than "Who creates the spirit of man within him?", namely creating and fashioning the incorporeal and intelligent soul of man within him. And what need is there to list all things? Taking his lead from here also the most theological Cyril, the leader of the third synod, in the letter to the monks placed in the book of the Acts of the Third Synod, the beginning of which is "Some indeed have arrived," says thus in his own words: "The mystery concerning Christ seems to be somehow like this among us. For the mothers on earth serving nature for generation have the flesh formed little by little in the womb being solidified and proceeding by certain ineffable operations of God and being perfected into human form; and God instills the spirit into the animal, in whatever way he saw fit, for 'he fashions the spirit of man within him,' according to the word of the prophet. And the account of the flesh is one, and that of the soul is similarly another. But even if these have become mothers of the bodies from the earth, yet having fully brought forth the animal, I mean that from soul indeed and body, they are not said to have given birth to a part, nor would anyone say (for example) that Elizabeth is a flesh-bearer indeed, but not yet also a soul-bearer; for she brought forth the Baptist ensouled, and as in both, the man, I mean from soul indeed and body." Therefore, as this existence of human souls is most evident and agreed by all, even by those opposing, themselves, those concerning Nestorius, he refutes the ignorant opinion of Nestorius from this. And thus also the father who sows is said to be the father and begetter of the whole one begotten reasonably, although not being the cause of the soul; for concerning the soul also being generated, whence it would properly come to be, he himself had given the material preparation, even if in time earlier, but by nature later was what was given by him, as is the case with all matter. Whence also he is the father of the two together, if he was the cause of the part; for the two together is man; and without a mother the two together would not be.

9.But the blessed and all-wise Theodoret, who has accurately examined all divine and human wisdom in countless books, says the following in the discourse On the Soul, which is his fifth against the Greeks: "These

things indeed the lawgiver has arranged in the Cosmogony; and he teaches similar things in the laws. For indeed discoursing concerning the pregnant woman who miscarries from certain blows, he says that the infant is formed first in the womb and then thus is ensouled, not from outside whence the soul is inserted, nor indeed springing from the seed, but by the divine action according to the law enacted from the beginning receiving generation from God." And the noble Job in the much-discussed contests with the judge and creator said: "Remember that you have made me as clay, and you turn me back again to earth. Have you not milked me as milk, and curdled me like cheese? You have clothed me with skin and flesh, and knit me together with bones and sinews. You have granted me life and mercy, and your visitation has preserved my spirit." And through these he showed both the marital union, and showed the beginnings of childbearing and that small seed being transformed into myriad forms, and at that time the soul being created and joined to the body, and indeed also after the birth pangs the divine assistance watching over and governing. These things indeed the most wise Theodoret says, excellently reconciling the great Moses in how he narrated the production of human nature from God and distinguished the punishment concerning those miscarrying from a blow, defining it as less when it is miscarried unformed, and greater when it is formed. Therefore, he says that the formed one is the shaped one; and when it is shaped, it also has a soul brought forth from God the divine image, and has a double formation, and is a man then; but before this double and immediate formation, the miscarried one is not a man, but simply an embryo; therefore also he defines the punishment then as small. But if it is miscarried formed by blows or dead or mutilated, he imposes the punishment appointed for murderers or mutilators, that a soul be given for a soul and an eye for an eye and a hand for a hand and similarly for the others. These things therefore Moses says in the laws, giving a best and wisest judgment and befitting divine legislation. And that these are similar and in harmony with the things arranged in the Cosmogony seems to both Theodoret and all wise men; for he who is about to kill and not yet is sinning less than he who has killed and is. And being and having come to be, it is a man that is formed, as has been said, completed with soul and body; but before being formed, it is about to be a man and future, not yet, just as neither from the clay then being formed alone, but also the spirit having been put into it, did it become and was a man.

10.And the God-inspired Isaac, in the second discourse of the first book, says thus in his own words: "Just as it is impossible for the soul to come into being without the perfection of the formation of the body with its members, so it is impossible for theoria, the second soul, which is the spirit of revelation, to be without the perfection of the work of virtue, which is a house of knowledge receiving the revelations."

11.And the blessed Augustine says that "the rational soul, being created by God, is infused into the human body, which has been formed and has received the order of an instrument, and being infused is created," that is, it is both created and infused into the body at the same time. For he very wisely avoids the incongruities following from either side, if either one preceded the other in time.

12.Therefore, the teachers of the church, knowing very well the things happening in accordance with the divinely defined scriptures and reason, confirm them with the greatest confidence and demonstratively; for they have shown that the human semen is potentially a plant immediately, then potentially also an animal as having such a power co-natured with it, and that the natural power of the semen is up to these; but that it does not have such a power towards the rational soul, but is potentially only towards it according to the purpose of the one who made it, who mixed the opposites making it paradoxical according to the great

Gregory (and he mixed, or rather joined, not into one nature, but into a hypostasis), and it is potentially towards such a soul, not as producing it, but as receiving it, as having been sown from such a one and as for the sake of receiving it, thus proceeding with its own and naturally inherent powers towards the other things being put into action; but it is one thing to be potentially this towards this and another to have such a power. For air indeed has potentially towards being illuminated by the sun, being dark; but the sun has the power of illuminating itself, being actually light and illuminating. Thus indeed also the body from human semen, becoming sensible and animal-like, has potentially towards the rational soul from the things said; but having come to be and been completed, it receives from outside the completion of the potential by becoming such in actuality also; but it is fitting nowhere else or from God, the divine image of the intelligent soul, whenever it is first ready, being immediately brought forth to it and breathed into it. For neither did he breathe it into the dust taken from the earth before being formed (the same to say, he did not create nor put it in—for this would be co-essentiating, not uniting according to hypostasis), but he breathed the breath of life into the face of the formed instrument; and by the face both the whole construction of the human body is signified and the composition and distinction of the outer and inner parts; for the face is in the head, and this is the capital of the whole body; and the place most fitting in the infusion is also signified. And by all these the most specific manner of the production of man is signified very well by "let it bring forth," and it is least in common with the things said concerning the others.

13.Nor do the teachers of the church forbid the rational soul to coexist with the semen, as if it would thus be idle in the sowing and alteration and formation of flesh and not at all acting rationally, but because being of such a nature and thus going into being through the semen, it would not have even afterwards ever the ability both rationally and intelligently to act; but coming to the organized body from God, it is both perfect in essence and immediately giving its proper increase and befitting to the body, and will have dynamically towards its proper activities up to a certain point, not through itself, but indeed through the one joined; and in good time it will also have them going forth and increasing into action, the body becoming such little by little after birth, so as not only not to oppose its proper and according to nature activities, but also to serve and cooperate, as it is said by the philosophers to be all necessity, if any sense is lacking, also a certain science to be lacking. Thus the perfection of the one joined is cooperative towards the perfection of the activities of the soul, if the soul would use it according to reason and it would have the power implanted in it from God yielding (and it will have it willing and striving as is proper to a mistress) as both an instrument and a servant.

14.To these enumerated teachers, the leaders to us of these good things and the others (for what need is there to enumerate those of the great Chrysostom, those of the great Basil?), the newer ones also agree, and though in other things lesser, yet being proclaimed by the church and themselves under the series of the former ones because of both their holiness and their struggles for the church. Immediately the divine Maximus, wishing to unfold the thought of the great Gregory, which also we mentioned here before the others, says thus: "Therefore, the generation of the soul does not come to be from underlying matter as bodies, but by the will of God through the life-giving inspiration unspeakably and unknowingly, as only its creator knows, the soul receiving existence at the conception, is led together with the body towards the completion of one man." What could be said more in agreement with the other teachers, and especially with the divine scriptures? For he himself does not wish the soul to come to be from underlying matter (for this is

proper to bodies and the bodily alone, but the soul is incorporeal and rational), but to be produced only from the divine will, and the body constructed from matter to be ensouled by such a soul, so that the human soul receives existence not from matter, the same to say of the semen, but from God, and it receives this not in some pre-existence, but in the time of conception, as the beginning indeed is the natural harmony and mixture of the material causes sought in the womb of the productive semen (for they often fail and are unfruitful, either one of these or even both, or rather, suffering a lack of the necessary ones), but the end is the completion of the animal after the myriad alterations and transformations, as the great Theodoret said. Whenever therefore in this time of conception the semen becomes a body befitting such a soul and proper to the one sowing, so that it may also receive a proper soul from God just as the one sowing, then immediately being created and vitally breathed in together with such a body it comes towards the completion of one man. And he says that it is clear that neither the matter, the same to say the semen or the body formed from it, is the beginning of the soul's existence, but God creating it is breathed in; but he says that the manner of creation and infusion is unspeakable and unknown very well, known only to himself who creates and infuses, as also Cyril said. And the divine John of Damascus also wills the same as Maximus, having once stood before him to speak concerning these things.

15.But if these also should seem to differ from that great chorus of teachers, first indeed, even if they differed altogether, it would not be at all surprising; for not to all are all things given, the great Paul has said, nor is this a dogma of the sacred faith, but a question belonging to philosophy and theology, and in such things each judges appropriately to his ability. Then, they do not differ in opinion, but only perhaps disagree in words; for in the accuracy according to the letter and the sharpness of the thoughts they are not of the same breadth and skill as those former ones, even if the blessed ones themselves would say so. But it would be for the wise to judge now rightly concerning these things, having used the canon of reason, the kindling of the eternal and divine law in the souls, though kindled in few souls, when by many ways and means and through time those kindling are gathered together (wherefore also they define some as knowing all things by reason, and define reason as the right judgment concerning all things); but for the prudent to side with the more and more worthy; but for the good to resolve with all zeal the seeming disagreement among them and to bring together those fewer in number and order with the more and greater; and those doing thus they would know grace thence, those seeing all things.

16.But we give thanks to the one who fashioned our nature from the beginning with all and above all, and thenceforth as then fashioning it by the two ways, the father indeed giving the beginning of the body, the same to say of the proper matter to the spirit, and he himself breathing in the spirit and choosing this painless labor from much philanthropy; for because of this he did not allow the malice of the evil one and the folly of our seeds to prevail against the race of the spirits from the earth, whom wishing to fill the infinite number of those brought down from heaven, he has not ceased creating the other angels, the overseers indeed of the visible creation, initiates indeed of the *νοουμένης*, the temporal and immortal, the visible and *νοουμένους*, to say with the divine Gregory, but he filled the heaven with these most beautiful spirits, even if now, by wickedness having become *πυκνῶσαι* of the few that ascend, the end will be near finally the foretold one, as also its cause has been foretold. But if he also ceased from all his works then, as Moses said, speaking of the various kinds of beings well (for thence he brought forth no kind anew and another nature from non-being, nor will he produce until the end), yet he works until now from that many things; his Word, by which

all things have come to be and come to be, has also said and says this; for he works some things using nature as a servant and minister, others fulfilling it; and he works many things even contrary to nature without however abolishing it. But what could one say concerning the other providence and his paternal or judicial works, which surpass all reason, which not only each separately, but also according to greater and lesser communities as many times as all men continuously enjoy, and how many of these are done and exist for their sake? Wherefore also in the heavenly dispensation of human affairs, not only by the usual and from the beginning given but also by other paradoxical services do these serve it.

17.We still give thanks to the all-good creator as after these also spiritually fashioning and fashioning all according to himself, even if not all wished to be refashioned; but it was not possible to refashion the unwilling, if indeed not even to take away from them the good of choice, which was the same as not even being men; but being men and also having choice it was likely to be divided in opinions. And indeed he freed those in Hades who believed from ancestral sin and the punishment thence; and thence he freed all and frees those believing by baptism, by which we are baptized into his death. And he made and makes transmissible the ancestral sin and punishment especially the semen, as coming from that root by succession; and not it alone, but also the preceding desire of both the one sowing and in which it is sown and the mediating appetite of the flesh, through which being sown they conceive; or even these themselves are consequent to the ancestral sin and its participation in all the later ones. And just as the productive principle of such a body is twofold, both the semen and the one giving it, even if in a different way (for the proximate cause of the one being generated is the semen, but more remotely the father is the cause of the semen; whence also the semen of Jonah becomes Peter, but Jonah does not become Peter; and the one indeed becomes a man after a little while, until having come to be and being finally, for the one becoming is not yet, but the other is long since having come to be), so also differently from each side the succession, of the ancestral pollution to the one being generated, is brought together; for as much as the semen is the beginning of the one being generated, and the one sowing is to such an extent, namely by the account of the animal-like body and organic; for towards it both have the power.

18.But such a body finally also has potentially closely towards its proper and fitting soul; with which being added, as has been said, also the two together is truly a man then, as subsisting partly from the matter of the body, and partly from the form of the rational soul. And then also it has the difference of the rational confirming, but not before; for not when it was a plant, nor when after this it became an animal; for the form indeed of plants is the vegetative and the sensible of animals, but they are inseparable from the matter; for they are co-natured with it; wherefore also they are corrupted together. But of man the rational soul is a separable form, not only in account as the others, but also in reality; for it is supervening, not immersed in the matter, and containing rather than being contained; wherefore also being separated it remains. Whence also of animals it is possible to call any at all even in the womb this animal, perhaps a horse or sheep, until it has the sensible soul; but the body from human semen before receiving the rational soul (and it receives it being perfected, as has been said, and organized) is not a hypostasis, even if it has then a sensible soul and the vegetative power under it; for those indeed have their proper and defined soul, but this has its proper soul and towards which it is being prepared not yet having received it. How then could it be and be called a hypostasis without its proper form and which is the end of the generation? But whenever it receives it, also it is immediately a hypostasis the one from both; and the sensible is corrupted, the rational having supervened.

And indeed the rational soul is not without the vegetative and sensible then; but as proper powers indeed it has them, not as other souls coexisting. Wherefore also of the rational soul going out of the body, neither does it remain finally.

19.Therefore, returning to the account of the semen—for we have digressed a little concerning the transmission from those first ones of the sin co-natural with the flesh—the soul also participates by transmission indeed immediately, not according to its proper activity; but it is freed both by willing and striving by faith and baptism, the light of truth brightly calling all, as many as do not willingly blind themselves. And indeed the beginning of the flesh and sense is in the first inclination towards sin; for Eve was the occasion of the transgression having the order of sense; but Adam having the order of reason instead of rebuking rather obeyed. And the eating then was of the sense; but that on account of knowing, was the corruption of reason. Whence also those illuminated by the divine Spirit say that the divine economy came to be from the divine clemency, and that David prophesied this, "Mercy and truth shall meet together; righteousness and peace shall kiss each other," having hidden the future in the words of the past. For the soul had some reason for excuse towards the divine clemency, that being deceived indeed blamably, yet by the suggestions of the joined body, it has been thus weakened. But this excuse not belonging to the demons, they are incurably and perpetually miserable, just as also the nature of men after its most paradoxical and yet most clement healing transgressing unrepentantly, will pay inescapable and perpetual penalties; for many, purified from ancestral defilement by faith and baptism, are again defiled by personal sins and close again for themselves the opened gate of eternal life, just as those who have lived well with the virtues in action, as it is thence opened, enter unhindered. But also to those having sinned personally from much divine clemency the medicine of repentance has been given, and genuinely repenting they find by faith the gate of salvation.

20.Therefore, with the good things from the semen, no less are the bad intertwined, and the good indeed from God, but the bad from us; but also of these the creator has become a physician to us from much clemency to those thinking rightly and becomes so in many and paradoxical ways and worthy of the magnificent clemency. Therefore also our Lord Jesus was not made from semen, that being pure for the impure and sinless for sinners he might intercede and undertake judgment for all, having come for this purpose; but he was the one receiving and the one giving; for he gave indeed as a man, but received as God with the Father, and of the Adamic soul, which he came to wash and purify and rescue from the long-lasting misery in Hades, he had nothing except the natural true likeness; the body alone he had received thence; for thence it had come down into the blessed virgin, and this he had received according to nature alone; for the form-giving power of the body was not from the forefather, but from the Holy Spirit. But the all-holy virgin, by being born from semen, would not have been unpartaking of the ancestral sin, although her parents were incomparable in virtue, and they also partook of the inheritance; but the grace of God utterly removed it, as if she were born even without semen, that by the incarnation of the Divine Word she might offer a flesh wholly pure. Whence as being utterly freed from the ancestral trouble and punishment and alone of all men having received this gift, she kept her soul altogether unapproachable even to the clouds of thoughts, and both in soul and body she became thus a divine temple. Therefore, she gave the maternal matter, human indeed truly, but most holy, to the Divine Word; and the creative cause of the body, instead of the proximate cause in all men, the semen, was the Word of God himself who makes all things; he himself immediately organized the body of flesh from the virgin, he himself also produced the soul at the same time and joined it

to the instrument the body; having joined it to himself as an instrument for the divine economy through him, he fashioned that superhuman man and joined him to one hypostasis with himself, that just as from the first Adam and earthy one sin entered into the world and through it death, so also through the second Adam (and the difference of the heavenly and earthy is clear) all might be freed, he paying the penalty for all which he did not owe. And by being born without semen he was unpartaking of the ancestral transgression; but by his own superhuman and personal virtues he became an example to those believing, that not only to those being born again by his spiritual grace the gate of eternal life is opened thenceforth, the ancestral impediment having fled, but also by conforming to him as a way of life, after that blessed entrance and having partaken of the good things within, each according to their efforts here, proportionately.

21.Whence neither is it right to make the most paradoxical economy in the super-natural communion of the divine Word with us according to body and soul an example of our entrance into this life, the same to say of our birth; for after the economy we were fashioned, but in order that we might be refashioned more, those unspeakable things were economized there; but it is necessary rather to use our generation from body and soul and the order of generation as a kind of foundation of the divine economy, that we may confirm the true assumption in the divine Word of our nature by the likenesses, by the removal of those standing against it from disbelief, who remain un-akin. For except the being born from a man, the same to say without semen, and the evils following these beginnings, which it is not fitting for God and rather to loose them he came, he fulfilled all the other things conformably to men and received both body and soul, the one indeed having fashioned it from the virginal blood and immediately having formed and organized it, but the other having immediately breathed it into the perfect instrument, no time intervening in observing the order (for the one doing it was the lord of time and he did these things for himself, even if not through himself, but for the sake of the servants and children), so that both naturally human was the coming into being of both the body and the soul then and in another way super-natural and more divine, as not needing time as in the other men for the preparation of the house of the soul the body, but immediately both it being organized from the holy flesh and immediately consequently being ensouled. But to have used the divine economy only as an example for the salvation of the soul is both just and expedient, as having come to be also for this purpose, among many other good things from it, and to be conformed as is possible to both the other life of our lord and teacher and to the sufferings for the sake of the children and servants.

22.For all these things we owe ceaseless thanks to our creator and re-fashioner, and we must sing the praises of his most perfect philanthropy and wisdom; nor should we be at a loss if, knowing that many of the souls being created will live in unbelief and wickedness, and not using the given provision concerning their deliverance from evils, he nevertheless ceases not to create them; for neither would he remove the charge against them from the communion with such a body, since very many by piety and goodness live this life well and come to the end thus rightly, as if they had been created and joined to bodies altogether pure, nor would any unseemly thought arise thence in the all-holy and all-powerful God concerning souls being rightly guided by nature and reason and divine grace to the truth; such are the teachers of the church, who have set forth the true and just opinion concerning the rational soul, not being ignorant indeed of the oppositions to it, but as of things powerless and false having utterly disregarded them, and both they and those now attending to them have very well perceived thence the surpassing goodness and wisdom and power in God. For what is greater in the account of these divine advantages, than that even knowing the first men that they would be

such, he did not cease from the purpose concerning their creation and the most beautiful and greatest of all men, knowing also that he would endure to practice their healing and the other methods towards their, even if not all, improvement, by the fact that not all would wish it? But he knew also thence until the times of the economy and after this until now those who will live in unbelief from the souls being created and those who will believe the ones who will live badly. But not wishing to stop generation out of much goodness nor the thence innumerable fruitfulness of the faithful and righteous spirits, he has used the order concerning the generation of men from the beginning. And the father indeed gives the proximate beginning of the body, thus God having ordained it, of the common and first principle of all beings; but he himself breathes in the spirit, the same to say, immediately creates it in a perfect and vital body; and even if he does not prevent the womb and the sun's shining, he himself being the one doing these things and able for this reason to prevent them, lest by pretext of the unbelievers and wicked the righteous ones be corrupted and those about to be generated would no longer be generated, but also to both he gives these good things, even if by different accounts and purposes, all tending to his just and at the same time good will, he creates also souls properly to the first production, as it is not reasonable for such by nature to come to be otherwise; but he leaves it to them to be good or bad. And he creates them indeed good, but endures some to become bad afterwards by their choice, lest the multitude of the good should fail, because of the bad ones the succession having ceased, since thus he willed their production to be from the beginning, and man to be generated as to the body indeed by succession, but as to the soul by creation. Whence neither is it properly to say that men are now being created by their souls being thus generated—for the creation of man properly is the specific production of him, the same to say of the two together; for the two together is properly a kind and nature of man, but in another way the kind is said in relation to matter. And such was the first production. Therefore, the kinds, that is, the natures of beings, God then ceased making; but he cooperates with the generation by succession of the kinds, cooperating with the individuals, with the others indeed by more common and relaxed ways, but with men more highly; for as a natural part of the human kind, the soul, the same to say of the nature, and a form-giving part, high and surpassing the whole very much, he joins it to the fruit of the succession by creating, to the body.

23.But if it is worthy of question, that he produces souls, destined to be and to attain their proper end, and not for the sake of some who will not wish it are they produced, and there was no cure for the question; and if it were possible, and they were co-natured with the semen being sown and joined to it, this would be in question; for neither from the human and of those sowing power would such a generation of souls be forthcoming at all nor without God, but from him both having once given and giving always to human nature all the power for this. But indeed, it is greater, and he provides not only for the good and faithful, but also for the bad and unbelieving, the divine Paul says; he provides as of those having come to be by him and as of all things being his works. And foreknowing therefore their wickedness, yet he does not will them not to be, nor them and the others for their sake. Glory to his all-wise goodness; glory to his mercy, that he has illuminated even our least souls.

24.There are indeed also more divine and wiser accounts concerning the matter at hand than the previously and now said ones, but bearing to the same end as the said ones; but surpassing the capacity of those about to read them we have omitted both then and now, for the sake of whose benefit, of no other, we have been led to compose both those and these. But you have excelled all the others; therefore also you have

stood very nobly in truth in your wise treatise, and we both labor singing, but it is not necessary to connect things of much tragedy and worthy of lamentation.

FATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH OF THE SOUL

3. The fate of souls after death.

† Concerning human souls, what happens to them after the separation from the bodies: to a friend inquiring on this question.

1.Most venerable Father Sabbatius, we have thoroughly examined the excellent distinction made by the blessed Symeon concerning human souls, which you, within the solutions to other inquiries, entrusted to us, so that we might both give it due attention and set forth our own judgment concerning it. And we know much gratitude is owed to you for providing us with such material. You should know, therefore, that concerning those things which the divine Scripture expressly states, and which the teachers of the Church, examined in the common councils, agree upon, these obviously pertain to the sacred faith. But in many theoretical matters, which do not hold the rank of the necessary and demonstrable but rather of the reputable, they speak differently. It happens to them to reason differently about such things sometimes, either because of the difference in wisdom (for those who are less endowed with wisdom than others do not achieve the same accuracy as them concerning the matters at hand, perhaps not even having yet encountered the opinion of the wiser ones), or because those who are later in time than others, even if equally wise, are likely to discover things in addition to the more ancient ones, just as in every science that which is added to the initial discovery is wiser than that which was received by tradition, or because some of the teachers, defining precisely concerning such matters, make it their primary concern to accurately determine what happens according to the principles and to please the few who are accurate concerning such things; while others, delivering their discourses and writings to the multitude, aimed at the comprehension of the many as they were able to understand, not at the definition of accuracy, even if they were able to define it thus, and for the moral improvement of their listeners, they introduced constructions from Scripture and other divine theorems; or even they themselves often make excuses in their own writings to those who know, and even among themselves they sometimes differ, being moved differently according to the different purposes of their words. But all these causes of differences, being reasonable, render the differences blameless for the teachers concerning the aforementioned, namely, the reputable propositions. In such differences, among those who are later than us, one teacher is suitably added to another by each person according to his own disposition; but only the wise, possessing both the first wisdom and the second, dialectic, since they know the principles of all things well, and being able to perceive without error the things that follow from the principles, applying them as they should be applied, these alone are added to the wiser and more accurate of the teachers, and they neither reject the others nor accuse those who are more added to them according to their own disposition as being inappropriate.

2.This divine man, therefore, was educated in the highest degree. For we knew him both living and we heard him teaching the people before he was sent as a shepherd to Thessalonica. While not fully partaking of wisdom, he was illuminated by God and came very near to the grace of wisdom. For he was not only educated in words, but also among the foremost in virtue among those of that time. And for this reason, he rightly chose the opinion concerning souls which was both of the majority and wiser, and at the same time more in accordance with the principles, and he both chose it himself and answered those who asked him about it. For immediately, if we were to examine his purpose and which of the teachers he follows, he says

that the blessed ones, who are destined for eternal life, who not only are cleansed from all defilement of the bodies but also are deemed worthy of the prize of the supernatural end after their final perfection because of their noble struggles in this arena for the truth and the divine laws, all these, he says, having been taken up and ascending to the heavens, have there the life befitting the heavenly and blessed ones. And the life befitting such souls is the loving, intellectual apprehension of the first and intelligible truth and the intelligible and ultimate good within them according to the measure of their preparation from here, with which they were prepared both by natural disposition and by accurate diligence and by graces from God for the apprehension of the inherently intelligible things. For desiring this here in the time and place of riddles and mirrors as their proper end, they made the attainment of such a desire the end of their sojourn here, as far as possible drawing this unnatural, passionate, and shadowy life towards the natural desire. And that this is true is clear from this: either such souls are nothing anywhere after the departure from the bodies, or, being somewhere, they act according to nature. But the activity according to the nature of a separated soul is nothing other than to understand alone and only to find the inherently intelligible things. But as long as it is in such a body, the earnest soul understands, indeed, the potentially intelligible things, and this happens differently to each according to the difference in her diligence concerning them in the effort to break away as much as possible from the sensory activities or passions with which it shares with the connected body. And for this reason, through compositions and abstractions and analyses, it comes with difficulty to the knowledge of beings and their correlates, through such an activity of the intelligible things becoming accessible to it. Then it also soars towards the higher intellect, not understanding the intelligible things both by their own nature and by its own understanding of them, but insofar as it is illuminated by the commonly revealed here to the faithful through enigmatic knowledge concerning them and the particularly added to this for those who have advanced in divine love revelation and knowledge concerning them, with one person having more than another according to the degree of faith and love in them, but yet in all here, even if the more earnest ones may be, the intellectual light shines more dimly because of the mist from the connected body.

3.Here, then, the souls act thus, understanding; but going out of the bodies, since neither matter any longer cooperates with them nor stands in their way, and the manner of understanding here is therefore brought to an end, and being improved both in nature and in activity, they reasonably come to the place of the intelligible things, and they understand the inherently intelligible things. And first, understanding, they come to know the only true God and Jesus Christ whom He sent, that is, the ineffable things of theology and economy, then also they bring with them from there the knowledge of beings, as it is likely that when the causes are known, the effects are also comprehended. But such knowledge begins in them immediately from the dissolution of the body, naturally indeed happening at once and in smaller measures in them and extending until the resurrection of the bodies, but supernaturally after these things to be extended in supernatural measures, in the time of their supernatural perfection. Not having this knowledge there now appropriately to the time, they are blessed; and being blessed, they have what is not possible to find and receive while being in such a body. Therefore, the blessed Paul also said that he knew well that as long as we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord; so that to go out and depart from the body was necessary to be an indwelling with God, and for this reason again elsewhere he said: "What I shall choose I do not know; for I am pressed between the two; for I think it more necessary to remain in the flesh for you, but I have a far better desire, which also I rather desire; but I have a desire to depart and to be with Christ." And the same

discourse necessarily applies to all those who are led by the spirit of Paul and have in various ways followed and are following the path of Jesus. But Paul did not desire to depart and be with Christ only according to intention; for even while in the body, he was with Christ according to intention, since he lived for Christ as he was even here, and he would have nothing more after the departure as he desired, so that he would even desire it in vain; nor did he desire to depart from the body, so that he might be present with God only by his disposition towards God, in disregard of the body and all earthly things; for he was such even while living; and how would he desire to acquire by departing from the body what he even had while indwelling in the body? Nor was he absent from God according to such a disposition, being here in the body, nor was he deprived of being thus with Christ, even while being with the body, but absolutely he desired to depart to God and to be with Christ absolutely and to attain the truly desirable things, not in mirrors nor in riddles, as he received and saw here while living with them, but in the direct way befitting a separated soul, by far more trustworthy and higher than the sojourn here with them and concerning them. For being thus very much persuaded concerning them, he desired the departure very fervently, so as even to make the fellowship and care of the brethren secondary, for whom he daily gave up his life; and the blessed Paul knew these things thus clearly by a most sure sign, the sign of the rapture, which he had as a pledge of the continuous vision to be received in the departure from the body, of the temporarily and economically revealed then good things, being superior to all sight and understanding; and he gave it also to others as a guarantee, as he underwent the rapture not for his own sake only, but also no less for the sake of others, so that through him all of us, knowing, may run with sure hopes, as he does not obscurely and figuratively show this hope as in an example, but more clearly he shows it in saying: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," signifying the incorporeal and intellectual nature of the life and dwelling there by the "not made with hands," and by the "we have" indicating the immediate and present and direct. But if he had hoped that the resurrection of the body alone would procure heaven for him, he would have said otherwise: "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle, after being dissolved, be again rebuilt, then we shall have a house together, the heavenly one." But now he says that the dwelling in the heavens follows rather the dissolution of the dwelling here; for heaven is a place of the soul by itself, having its natural state; but through the soul it will also be a place of the body sometime, after being conformed to such a place and to such a state of the soul, by the good providence of God, not because of the body was the soul to be deemed worthy of the heavenly place, which rather through the body is in the earth, until it is formed, as it were, in it; for God forms the spirit of man within him according to the voice of the prophet. For this reason he said that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, there is no harm to us from here; for neither are we dissolved together with it, nor do we remain any longer nailed to the mist of the earth, but instead of this earthly dwelling we immediately have the heavenly house, not made with hands, that is, the intellectual envelopment of the divine light in heaven, until we receive this made with hands again in a much better condition; for we must be somewhere, and just as we are in the earth because of the body, which is the place of the body, so also being freed from the body and the earth, we have heaven as a proper place for the soul, for such a soul, which as much as possible, even while being in the body, lived a life freed from the body, and before being naturally dissolved from it, was voluntarily separated.

FATE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH OF THE SOUL

4.Therefore, this divine hierarch, thinking most excellently and theologically, elevates all the blessed ones to heaven after this life, or rather, not he himself, but the divine Paul, and even more so the Church of Christ, both publicly and manifestly, night and day, elevates them there, hymns them there, prays for them there, intercedes for them there; from them it hopes and receives help for its own children, and many, having been revealed, saw them being led up by the angels of light, as the histories concerning them show, which no one would dare to contradict, being confirmed by word and by the unassailable judgment of the Church, which very well renews the trustworthiness of those who saw and wrote them. Concerning the blessed and predestined, therefore, he thus defines. But all, he says, who have died in mortal sins impenitently, and for this reason have been rejected from eternal life, because of the thickness and darkness that came to them from the desires of the flesh, are dragged down to Hades by demons, where also remained those after Adam who did not believe in the divine economy and shining forth in Hades, only those of the believers, as is likely, who were worthy to receive the gift of faith there, having once been prepared for it by purity of life, since the same thing had to happen to those from Adam until our Lord Jesus according to the principle of righteousness, or also to those who came from this Jesus, until the generation of men came to be; for He came indeed to save all, as far as it depended on Him, but He saved those who believed, and He saves similarly until the consummation those who are freed from ancestral liability by the sign of faith, namely, baptism, and find the gate of heavenly life opened, unless they close it again to themselves by their active and personal sins, which is closed in two ways. Therefore, it was reasonable that the same thing should happen to those in Hades; for some, having a faith that was both folded up and previously held, namely, that concerning Moses and Elijah and such, then believed explicitly, and there was nothing preventing the ancestral obstacle from being immediately loosed for them, through which alone they were kept from the blessed life due to them for the other reasons, and from running together with Jesus; but others, not having true faith indeed, but having become good and wise according to their life, being ready for the shining of the truth, believed, and it was not necessary that they also not be released together with the others; but those who have no preparation from the choice of this life for the knowledge of the truth, being blind, also overlooked the illumination there, and for this reason all those who are strengthened both by the bond of unbelief and by the ancestral and natural bond after the sin, and at the same time by their own and personal sins, were left behind there with the demons, nor did the demons deprive them of anything of the divine appearance there. Therefore, those who are of the same choice with them, either through unbelief or through the impiety of their works, even if they have a bare faith concerning divine things, are added daily, being added to those. And not only are they with them there, but also with the demons who are with them, since the demonic race, some are punished in Hades and by the deformities there, and they afflict the wretched souls there with their company; but others in the air serve in the economy concerning men in the manner of executioners, the power and abundance of God's goodness using even evil for the preservation and increase of good, until it itself will be dragged down there together with the other demons; those fearing, or rather confidently hoping from the like misfortune of those like them, were perplexed whether the Lord had come before the time to torment them; for they did not yet know that the consummation of all things had come; or as they understand that saying differently, they understood the expected destruction of their rule in the world by divine permission as torment, but that the time of it had not yet come, namely, the glory of the Lord about to be shown by the passion and the resurrection. But these things not only must be reasonably believed thus

concerning human souls, in accordance with the aforementioned opinion concerning the blessed ones, heaven and Hades being contrary, and the blessed and wretched souls being thus opposed, but it is also confirmed by the parable concerning the rich man and Lazarus, parabolically indeed, but showing the dogma of truth, to which it was indeed appropriately compared; just as also the parable of those who worked throughout the day and those in the eleventh hour, exemplarily indeed, as concerning workers and a vineyard and a day's length, but it presents the dogma of truth, that by the principle of justice God opens the heavenly gates to those who have served Him throughout their lives, but by the principle of mercy and gentleness also to those who have been occupied for most of their lives with good works and who have spent their time in the opposite things, but at the end of their lives have repented sincerely and have embraced divine love with all their zeal; thus indeed also in the parable of Lazarus the dogma of truth is confirmed, that the souls of the righteous are immediately led up to heaven by the angels and to the intellectual paradise there; but those who are otherwise disposed are carried to the place opposed to it; and this itself is testified to by many revelations, which this divine man notes a few out of many, and of the recalls from the punishment in Hades, some of which they obtained through the intercessions of holy men. And the traditions of the fathers are full of these things, which it is not possible to disbelieve, the Church having received them as true and proclaiming them to its children.

5.Having said such things also concerning the wretched, he then proceeds to the intermediate ones. These are those who have neither died in mortal sins, nor are they altogether free from the lighter and pardonable ones. These, therefore, he neither drags down to Hades with the wretched, nor does he lead them up to heaven with the blessed, but sending them to paradise on earth, he places their natural end, the ascent to the heavens, in abeyance for them, as they also are to find this sometime, some sooner, others later, by the ecclesiastical methods of provision for them, which it has considered for the departed not without divine inspiration; for these alone are benefited by the things entrusted by the Church to the care of relatives, or even happening directly through it daily, the blessed not needing them, and the wretched not being benefited even if they need them, unless temporarily also these, only at the time of the sacrifice for them, some enjoy a certain moderate refreshment, and others a superabundance of pleasure, befitting the ranks of each, the activity of the mystery thus extending through all, as it seems to some of the theologians and very rightly so. All these things this divine man and teacher has well distinguished, concerning the three ranks in men and the two ranks in the demons, having not only what is reasonable and in accordance with the scriptural principles and with the majority and wiser of the holy teachers, but also with the prevailing care and zeal of the Church concerning these things through works, which it is impossible for the Church, of course, to deceive or to arrange in vain; and apart from the sacrifice availing something temporarily for each of the extremes, the relatives of the departed, being able to know clearly where the lot of their departed relatives is, since they perhaps hold the middle rank and especially need help from them, ought to contribute this, as it is profitable for themselves; for no small part of piety is to neglect nothing of what is possible for one's own, both living here and having departed hence. But we shall add something concerning the intermediate souls to the words of the teacher, both generally and concerning this part, which he most truly deems and teaches, and which would have accepted even more accurate detail.

6.The abeyance, therefore, of the intermediate souls towards the life in the heavens is true and undeniable; but not all the teachers assign the same place of such abeyance to them, but some gather them

together into the paradise on earth, as this holy one says; but others define the air above the earth for the improvement of these souls; for they say that the earthly paradise can neither provide rest nor affliction now to souls bared of the body, and at the same time its need has ceased, neither of men being born there henceforth, nor departing thence, but they say that the soul of the thief then only and those of those godly ones who believed in Hades, having remained a little while in the earthly paradise, after the ascension of the Savior were also taken up to heaven, and to the intellectual paradise there, into which Paul also was caught up, calling this same one both the third heaven and paradise, they were taken up there, having used the soul of Christ as a forerunner according to Paul and leader; and thence also such a need of the earthly paradise ceased henceforth. But some of the Western saints and teachers, I mean those before the schism, who are held in the greatest honor among us and of the same authority with our teachers, say that the intermediate souls remain for a certain time in the hypocaust, where, of course, the convex surface of the air is joined to the concave surface of the ether; and there, being cleansed of the filth of venial sins and being freed from the guilt, they thus ascend to heaven, some more slowly, others more quickly, the aids from the Church, as has been said before, cooperating with the speed of purification and ascent, with whom the Latins now agree, calling the purgatory in the ether of the intermediate souls, "purgatorium" by their Roman word, not thinking that this purification is of those punished in Hades nor is it a release from the final judgment; for this, being an Origenistic heresy and blasphemy, they themselves, just as we, subject to anathema, and they consider this worse than all error, but they speak of the purification of venial and lighter sins in such souls before the resurrection and that judgment; for if they differ from us in other things, yet in this part they rightly agree with us and the truth.

7.Whether, therefore, the souls of the intermediate ones remain in the earth and in paradise, or in the air, or in the hypocaust, and whether they are freed from guilt, being embittered by the pains and tribulations in the earth, or by the sharpness of fire in the hypocaust, or by the exactions of the toll collectors in the air, or whether they are relieved of the burden or cleansed of the filth, or however one might wish to call it, the release of such and temporary obstacles in them, it makes little difference; and therefore, since the Holy Scripture has defined nothing clear concerning them, just as also concerning the other souls, some of the teachers have opined one way, and others another, as it has been possible for each to conjecture concerning the things not defined by Scripture. Whence also of those now studying these things, some, encountering all the teachers, adhere to those more worthy through wisdom, or those whom they are able to follow more, not having very much the power to judge; but others, not encountering all the teachers, adhere only to those whom they happen to encounter; and there is nothing difficult, in the manner said in the preliminaries, the matter itself allowing this. But we adhere more to the middle ones concerning the middle ones, considering them more reasonable; for neither ought the paradise, which was originally appointed for the opposite use rather, to be a place of affliction and purification, even if that most fortunate use was ended by the common misfortune of the race, the sin of the seeds of the race being reckoned to the whole race, and therefore it rather temporarily served the pleasure of the saints, who together with the ancestral punishment also left Hades below and were ready for blessedness, nor does it seem reasonable for the fire to altogether rule the souls of venial sins and those burdened by them, which has been appointed as a way of punishment for the wretched souls, and this could be shown by many arguments. But rather in the air, being embittered by the exactions of the toll collectors, the good angels allowing them not to utterly drag down such souls, but to

wear away their ascent by the exactions and thus to afflict them, reminding them of the transgressions through which such affliction befell them, being embittered thus there, then finding the divine mercy, with the remedies from the Church cooperating with them for the quicker attainment of it, they thus ascend through the ether without affliction and hindrance. And not only do we adhere to this opinion as more reasonable, but also we read (and hear) of many such narratives in the Church, with which it would not be possible for the Church to be pleased if they were improbable; nor would anything else before the Church and those pleasing to it at some time be honored by us.

8.But concerning the place and manner of the perfection of the souls themselves being thought of thus differently, which we have already said, there is nothing difficult; but this indeed it is necessary to think concerning them, that neither are such ones dragged down into Hades, nor do they ascend to heaven unpurified; for no unclean thing shall pass through it, that is, the heavenly gate, the saying says. By such a distinction in general concerning human souls, nothing is opposed to the expected perfection of men at the second coming of the Lord, which the blessed Paul says; for there is a twofold perfection of man according to the first division after this passionate life; one indeed, partial, namely, the reception by the soul of its own and natural end, having lived both according to nature and reason, being immortal and living much better after the separation of the body, which indeed the blessed Paul also desired to attain after the departure, and he ought to and will attain it; and this happens to each of the separated souls, as many as have striven with all their might for the attainment of the naturally established end for them; for the things which the human soul, having once been joined to the body, ought to understand supernaturally, not being hindered any longer by it from the apprehension of those supernatural things according to the manner to be granted to it, these there is nothing to prevent it, even before it is joined to such a body, from understanding naturally, and thus naturally to be blessed, since its natural perfection consists in the apprehension of the intelligible things alone without phantasms and in the immediate understanding of them; for neither will such a body, which not even for the more perfect and supernatural understanding will it be present, be present to such an activity of the soul, nor now through the deprivation of the body will it be hindered from the naturally connected end to it; for it is incompatible and has no reason. It is hindered indeed because of being joined to it now, as long as it is joined to such a one. This indeed is one perfection of man, that according to the soul alone; but the second is the perfection of the whole man, which is in the union of the soul and the body naturally; for not by accident does the human soul unite with the body at the beginning, as those around Plato babbled, but according to itself, and it is separated by accident when it is separated, undergoing this punishment of the first sin; when this ceases, as it is with all things that happen to someone by accident, it is necessary for the soul sometime to receive the body, and thus through both to be perfected the man, as if the essentially parts of man coming together again, even if they were separated for a time. And this discourse confirms the dogma of the resurrection, which is received not only by faith but also follows reason and justice.

9.To each of these perfections, happening naturally, a certain supernatural gift of perfection will then be added. For to the soul, a supernatural prize will be given, the immediate union with the first intelligible, the unadulterated likeness, as far as possible, to the first principle according to the intellectual life, as the Holy Word says: "When He is revealed," that is, at His second coming, He will manifest His power to all creation, "we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is," in these very words says the inspired Evangelist John and Theologian in the third of his epistles. For now, after this mirror-like and enigmatic knowledge and after

faith, the knowledge of supernatural things and words becomes natural to the soul, no longer apprehending them doxastically but intellectually; but then it will also apprehend them intellectually, in the way it now immediately apprehends the scientific principles in the comparison to the conclusions, and altogether in a supernatural way it will then be with the divine things. Thus also those completely separated from matter now understand God, even if not comprehensively; for thus only He knows Himself and understands; and by understanding Him, they understand the other things. To the soul, therefore, it is thus; but to the body will be added that supernatural state of impassibility, and consequently to the whole man to be perfected, being connected with such things and both of its essential parts and being improved. But since the beauty of the composite is reckoned to the better part, also the perfection of man is reckoned more to the soul, and is given especially to it. Whence the blessed soul, insofar as it is soul, is perfected after the departure of the body, when being connected with its own and natural end, lest it be in vain, and lest it be more wretched as accomplishing an idle life, and neither using the connected body in any way, nor attaining its own end by nature; or rather, lest it be at all, as not performing any of the things proper to nature and time. But it is again imperfect, not only as not having the connected body and the perfection due to it thence, but also as in itself deficient in the comparison to the ultimate and supernatural perfection; but it will be completely perfected, for there is nothing to prevent us, for the sake of greater clarity, from repeating, when it receives the body perfected according to the promise of Jesus, and not only supernaturally perfected, as from mortal and passible and dark and heavy having received the opposite disposition (for this is a supernatural gift of God), but also being naturally perfected, by the principle of the natural connection with the soul, because it will indeed enjoy that supernatural blessedness according to the soul, but will impart its own to the soul, as it is likely and as it is possible then for them to share blessedness with each other; for thus even here they shared with each other the life according to reason and the struggles towards it, but the soul will be perfected even more in itself by the supernatural prize of this life here, by the supernatural, namely, but nevertheless participated in, apprehension of the supernatural and divine things.

10.In the same way also the things of eternal punishment begin in Hades after the departure of the bodies for each of the wretched souls dragged down into it; but they are doubly perfected after the resurrection of the bodies, all undergoing the final judgment in common, concerning which they were commonly unwise together with the body. Since therefore, to sum up the discourse, each soul not receiving now this promise of the resurrection and of the supernatural gifts consequent upon it, neither is each thus perfected separately, but all together will receive this perfection, God's better and wiser foreseeing as was fitting and being about to raise the bodies scattered in time with one turn, lest what can be done through one be done in vain through many by the most wise God, which not even a wise man would endure; and then the human race will be perfect, not only measured by a perfect soul but also by the connection and twofold perfection of soul and body; and this the Evangelist John calls a double garment to be received in the judgment, as before the judgment each soul ascends to heaven with one garment, that is, by its own sole perfection and by its natural progress of itself alone; for these reasons, in the distinction concerning human souls as has been said, neither does the expected perfection of man and the apostolic saying concerning it have anything contrary. Therefore, all things agree entirely with each other and with the rules given concerning these things from the sacred oracles, and the blessed Paul himself confirms all these things well and consistently with himself in the epistle to the Philippians; "For our citizenship," he says, "is in heaven,

from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body." For, he says, since our homeland and end is the heavenly realm, and for the sake of this end our nature at the beginning endured, but this being temporarily hindered, God again freely and gratuitously released it to us through that wondrous economy and opened the heavenly gate to us, when our earthly tabernacle is dissolved, we are immediately transferred to the heavenly end and the originally appointed citizenship for us, where it is impossible for the soul to be outside, the tabernacle of it having fled and the temporary sojourn, if only nothing of the ancestral sin and the personal one is brought against it. Thence reasonably also we await the reception of the body according to the promise, Himself again becoming our Lord and Savior and accomplishing this benefaction for us through Himself and transfiguring and conforming our humble and earthly body to His glorified body, so as to be able to be well raised to the place above, following the soul and ascending together with Jesus, after having descended together then descending; and thus our nature will be perfected, as lacking nothing of what was either given or reserved from the beginning for it; for it was not possible for the purpose of the Creator concerning us from the beginning to fall through unfulfilled; and this seems to be the end of that economy. Whence we expect the resurrection of the bodies not only by faith and the infallible promises of our Savior, but also by the order of our improvement according to the blessed Paul; for he says that each soul is perfected in itself, being deemed worthy of the citizenship in the heavens after the temporary tabernacle here, and being connected with its own and kindred place after the sojourn and after the departure hence to God and the end; and this becomes a guarantee to us of the whole perfection in the reception of the body, and these being constituted thus, namely, impassible and light and transparent, and such as would pass through solid bodies, as that of our Lord had once entered through closed doors; or indeed it will be immediately a proctor of supernatural prizes, as at the final perfection of nature also the perfection through divine gifts will follow, to be given for the sake of the prize; for it would not be possible for man, having well struggled in this arena in soul and body, to receive the crown without the connected and fellow-struggler; and for this reason, although desiring the separation, as being about to immediately enjoy the pure communion of the divine things, the blessed Paul nevertheless says that the crown is laid up for him by divine justice in that day of the common proclamation of those who have worthily struggled, because of the course and the struggles which he endured very well in soul and body to complete the prize of piety; calling the crown the perfection of the both in the reception of the supernatural prizes. For as a certain crown it will be those things and a diadem of the blessedness about to meet immediately after the departure of the body.

11.But it is necessary to know, for the greater clarity of what has been said, that, the sojourn of man in paradise having ceased and that journey and its activities having been brought to an end henceforth, until the economy of the Savior, and then through it the human matter being renewed for us as if again in a journey much more brilliantly, even if more mystically and more obscurely to the many, for which reason it is not the time of the present to speak, reasonably for us the arrival at the final end happens through many advancements, as if in certain journeys or stages being orderly advanced towards it. For first indeed through frequent activities concerning these things man receives the habit of thinking well and acting well; then he is perfected by the activities of such a habit, either completing the theoretical life not without the practical, or the practical not without the theoretical, because man is somehow naturally connected and co-prepared towards the other of these lives, not without the divine grace and the guidance and help thence happening to

him for such progress, just as not even of the first preparation towards these things. But the first preparation being given freely is grace, with nothing of us having contributed beforehand; but the one jointly advancing towards the subsequent and greater good things are given both by grace and by way of reward and make those worthy of rewards, that is, of greater gifts, through which we arrive at greater progress. Whence to those thus perfected in their own life, other graces are sent down, some shining individually only to those receiving them, but others extending also to the common benefit, surpassing indeed the preparation of others here and of those living more earnestly, as if being appearances and forerunners of the perfection which they will receive after the departure in the vision of the intelligible things. Therefore also such illuminations from above concerning them are not even to those having experienced them fully comprehensible, nor are they expressible by word, the ecstasy towards those things having ceased in them. For the thickness of the connected body and the necessarily unavoidable turning of the soul towards it at some time, as without it it is not possible to live here, both stops the ecstasy again, and the bliss thence is taken away temporarily; and of these the histories and teachings of the saints and of the apostles themselves are full, being comprehended by few, and especially indeed by those having learned by experience, but more inadequately by those having to follow with word alone perfect wisdom. To those thus advanced, the complete separation of the body immediately sends forth an incomparable expansion of illuminations to the previous ones, being guided by angels to the place befitting such illuminations; and the knowledge of the things here pre-shown, not yet supernaturally, illuminates such a mind, which will be the work and proper end of that supernatural awarding of prizes; as far as it is likely for nature, having been prepared by such preparations and advanced and progressed by its own toils and heavenly graces, being completely freed from the bond and the necessities accompanying it, and being delivered from the valley of weeping of all kinds of mists, which stood against the divine light, appearing dimly and barely and temporarily as has been said to them and again being hidden, not the light withdrawing, but the obstacles not allowing it to be present; and then naturally the human soul is perfected and by nature and by grace contemplates all the good of nature itself; and then it is blessed in itself; in itself it rests, it enjoys a continuous and painless and sure fulfillment in itself of the divine gifts and surpasses the measure of the information thence by the greatest measures. And the aforementioned perfection in many ways and to be given for the sake of a supernatural prize, which will be no less grace, by having no analogy the toils here according to Paul to that excess of the recompense, such a perfection therefore they will await only there, being blessed indeed both now and exceedingly blessed, as the Church of Christ appropriately and unerringly deifies them daily, but then receiving the crown of blessedness. And for this reason being now suspended towards it by longing, may we be deemed worthy of that life, at least in the last degree, by the prayers of this most holy father and of you, who have shared with us the treasure of the good father, having caused us to cultivate it and to be delighted ourselves by the gift of divine grace and by the words concerning our common hope, you have well become causes; amen.

From the patristic book called Euergetinos, from the ninth section in it.

First, the blessed Gregory the Dialogist says to Peter, that the souls of the perfectly righteous, as soon as they come out of the prisons of the flesh, ascend to heaven; which has become clearer than light, and then

he brings proofs from the Holy Scripture. Then he brings forth, to Peter asking also about the sinful, that such souls are immediately dragged down to Hades. In the same dialogue with Peter, the blessed Gregory says that Saint Benedict, raising his eyes into the air, saw the soul of his holy sister, as in the form of a shining dove, being taken up to heaven. The same Benedict also saw the holy soul of Germanus, the bishop of Capua, in a fiery sphere, being lifted up by angels in heaven. Concerning the soul of Saint Benedict, that two brothers saw a road in bright garments reaching towards the east into heaven, and men extraordinary holding torches and ascending orderly, and a certain white-robed man standing near them asked if they knew whose road it was that they saw; and when they said they did not know, the apparition said: "This is the road by which Benedict, the beloved of God, ascends to heaven"; and coming to themselves, they understood the saint's perfection. Secondly, in the life of Saint Paul of Thebes it is written, that Saint Anthony saw, in ranks of angels, apostles and prophets and martyrs, the soul of Paul, brighter than snow and shining, ascending to heaven; and he saw it about the third hour; going to him, being near the cave, and coming, he found him departed. Thirdly, in the life of Saint Pachomius it is written, that as he was going to visit a sick monk in a monastery, having come near, about two or three signs away, he heard a sacred voice and psalmody in the air, and looking intently, he saw the soul of the brother being carried by angels in a bright course, and he said to the brothers with him: "We go in vain; for I already gaze upon him being carried away to eternal life." And in the Gerontikon many similar narratives lie. In such a ninth section also many confirming things lie concerning the sinful who go immediately to Hades.

THE FUTURE OF SOULS AND BODIES

4. The future lot of souls and bodies.

† Gennadius to John, January 19th, in the Monastery of the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeos.

1.We most gladly answer you, most esteemed friend, concerning those three inquiries; and rejoicing in your discourse concerning these matters, which could not be better, and is more fitting for an educated man; and being near to the words concerning the things inquired about, what the Church would commonly define concerning each of them, we wish first to know you concerning it, that concerning such inquiries to establish the human mind orderly and scientifically, none of those who have distinguished themselves in the Church has taken care, as much as we know; nor is there any book thus defining concerning such things, or enjoined from the common [authority] of the Church to anyone of the wise to produce, or of itself having judged, made being begun from within; but if you happen to make a kind of the Greeks and such books having appeared, then they made them disappear, we would not be able to know clearly; so that unless the Elements of Theology of John of Damascus, defining a few things as from the common opinion of his predecessors, and the canons of Basil concerning the monastic life were present in those called Ascetics, no one would have known accurately concerning either part; but some, cutting off some of the sacred subjects, write what seems more to them than to all in common, neither being led by accurate reason, which they do not have, nor deeming it worthy to follow the wiser ones, by not being very eager to pre-grieve, but following their own preconceptions or imaginations or unwritten histories and others presiding over such things in which they write; and the many following them, think that such an understanding of some is a dogma of the Church. Therefore, the Church nowhere commonly declaring concerning such things, except for a few things, concerning which a common inquiry once arose, neither defining that it is necessary to be persuaded by this certain teacher in these things, and if by another, in other things (?), and passing over some as glorious, there being no one who has deemed it worthy to examine all things, it has been left to the more earnest ones, choosing the things more proper to reason concerning each, and by reason, which would be used without error by application to the canonical scriptures, and from such principles according to the accurate law of proof would investigate the truth concerning each, and thus provide for themselves and those using them the knowledge of the truth, as is possible in this life. In such a way also we, being, answer your understanding concerning the matters proposed, ourselves having most of the arguments, even if we do not set them forth here, avoiding to write more, but making known to you, the dearest one, the opinion gathered by us from the divinely granted knowledge.

2.Concerning the souls, indeed, that are separated from this body, the one that brings no obstacle to the life in the heavens, which it naturally and at the same time supernaturally receives, immediately goes there, being guided by angels; and each receives the ascent as a prize of the intelligent sojourn here, and each receives not as a prize, but as given to the common nature of souls, the not immediately lacking anything of what is proper to such a one, since neither here is it placed to be and to live in vain, but so that it may happen to take care to obtain that; nor being separated from the life here, will it be in vain nowhere, nor will it live more wretchedly than here by neither being prepared as here for the good, nor being able to enjoy what, as being about to immediately enjoy, it has most excellently taken care of; nor could it be at all, neither being blessed nor being in misery; and for the same reasons also the one unworthy of the heavenly sojourn through

unpardonable wickedness is immediately dragged down by the demons to the infernal places of punishment, to whose desires also it was pleasing in this life; and each, having once received the place proper to them, move nowhere; and neither is it possible for the soul of Peter or Anthony or any other of the blessed ones, being perfected in understanding, and having been connected with the ultimate good, to be dragged down to Hades, nor is there any hope for the one that has received the subterranean place to run up to the place of blessedness. All true discourse deems these things, unless some fabricate regular cycles of souls and falls and recalls of them, with which some also weave other worse things; but we, being persuaded by the oracles and deeming these things beyond our reason, I mean the human, believe that in the air alone and in a very short time both spirits will sometime run together with the bodies about to be resurrected then with them, running back to their proper place immediately, which indeed the oracles call perfection not of the human spirit but of the entire human essence, which the sacred discourse constitutes from soul and body. But the sole perfection of a good soul is to be freed from such a body, in which, not attaining the desired, but being occupied also with how it is necessary to desire it, it grieves very much, when it is sober, and it considers this misery and a most difficult lack. But if some visions posit a release of some spirit from Hades to the life in the heavens, they do not contradict the discourse, nor are they on account of it to be disregarded, either having appeared thus for some benefit, or not even asserting the common dogma concerning all, even if the work consequent to them would be; for God does some things contrary to the established order by Him to beings, which it is not necessary to draw for an example; for something else similar could happen by Him, but it is not necessary because of it also for all similar things to be to the paradoxical things; nor because of what was once or twice made paradoxical by the divine will, its power being concurrent with it, is it necessary to think something concerning all things in each race contrary to the divine order and reason. Concerning the spirits indeed of those notable for unpardonable wickedness or irreproachable virtue at the exit of this life, it is not necessary to doubt that each immediately attains the end proper to them, and henceforth lead the blessed or the miserable life, and neither progress, or not as much as their attainment of the good or the non-attainment stands nowhere, but progresses with the eternity of time; nor would the soul of Anthony ever come to the same degree of blessedness with Paul, having progressed, and the same is the discourse concerning the differences of wickedness and the punishments upon them in those who have miserably failed of the end; but it is absolutely necessary for their desire of the blessed ones to stand, and if it were not thus, very many impossibilities would follow the discourse and nothing different from myths; and the order of the angels would be otherwise, neither itself agreeing with their progressing, nor would it be possible for the good and blessed in the heavens, as many wish, being the opposite, not to belong much more to the angels, in whose choirs to be numbered the blessed men is a dogma and sufficiently reasonable; and the so-called morning and evening knowledge of the angels leads to something else, far distant from progressing to blessedness.

3.But since not a few of men do not end their lives with mortal sins, for which they would also be immediately carried under the earth, but are subject to pardonable obstacles to eternal life; these would be either pardonable transgressions in their kind, as is the idle word, and the adultery in the heart, and such things, in which the principle of twofold love is not corrupted, which enlivens the inner man, or involvements of greatest sins for those who have repented well for them, but have not made satisfaction here to the divine justice for them; being purified from such things, they also receive the heavenly place; for neither does the

divine goodness will to completely exclude such ones from it on account of them, nor would anyone unclean enter through the gate of the heavens; and for these the place of the air is temporarily assigned; and for the purification of such men these very established things are done, the other spirits least needing such assistance, and others not being able to be helped; although these are indeed purified by the exaction of the demons giving judgment, the heavenly sojourn being deferred for them, and being embittered by the conscience of the causes of this temporary punishment, and more embittered than those in the punishment having despaired of blessedness. For neither does it please them more to be near to heaven and the life here than the exactions of the demons disturb them, the divine allowing the wicked to be so much for the purification of those to be pitied; as when, for example, of diseases in any way proper to judgment being counterbalanced in the spirits claiming each of the lots, and the straightforward ones drawing to heaven because they are not unto death, but the evil ones counter-drawing by not even themselves being ignorant of heaven being impassable to those not completely purified, the foreknown indeed by God concerning them pity from afar and not unknown to His angels, but only ignored by wickedness of those always being with the more worthless hopes concerning men and for this reason being deceived, it is dispensed to those thus suffering souls, some being wiped away in the sojourn of a greater time, and others in a lesser. But these established things also cooperate with the faster purification and release from obstacles, especially the sacrifice for many reasons, being a most effective medicine everywhere; then the intercessions of good men, and worthy of being heeded, more quickly calling forth the divine mercy by prayers; then as much as is accustomed by law to be set aside for the departed; and this kind of care concerning them has been determined especially for a year not because their purification and release have been determined by so much space of time, but because it is necessary to take care of those sooner and there is more goodwill of those taking care; and thus they help those released through more years to be released sooner; but what happens in this part of the year, as in the ninths for example, it suffices sometimes to release some of those who would have suffered in that place for a greater part of the year, and others in a longer time; and it is likely that many things happen to their own by which not even willing would it be possible to ward off the souls of their own; and though daily of the year it is not superfluous if someone were able to provide for the need of those incurably suffering; but certain parts of time have been reasonably determined because in such parts the nature of man is somewhere restored both in this bodily generation and life, as it seems to those occupied concerning these things, in which if ever also the restoration of men in the good is likely to happen, from which they are temporarily hindered; but nothing prevents to provide for them thus for a longer time, it being unclear when they will be released nor if they were released sooner, even if the zeal concerning them would be altogether, and the work being profitable to those zealous and beneficial also to those themselves; not progressing from hence to the whole blessedness, which it is necessary to stop, such a care failing from their own, and generation sometime ceasing and the earthly church with it, but certain other things being benefited and pleased, which would need many arguments to go through concerning both the blessed men and the angels; and by not releasing from misery altogether such aids those who have once fallen in ought not to become more discouraged those doing it; for first indeed with it being profitable to those doing as has been said, none of those surviving knows where their own have gone, and as indeed it is possible for them to be in the place between heaven and earth to be temporarily suffering, where such care would be most timely and pleasing to those, it is necessary not to wish to neglect them; then, even if they were not released from the punishment by any

means, being compelled by inescapable necessities under the earth, but that something of them should reach even there the power of the sacrifice is nothing unlikely, and that they should be somehow relieved in the time of the mystery, which reaches all souls in the way proper to each, being given a universal medicine to nature from God, as representing the whole divine economy; whence not even the salvation of anyone for whom it is done is primarily aimed at, but it considers the entire improvement of nature as a whole. But if for someone living to partake of it, still full of impurities in the soul and not cleansed by the ways of repentance, it becomes to him for judgment and for destruction, but being mixed with the philanthropy of the Church, it somewhat psychagogically affects even those given to the eternal punishments, its fragrance and grace running through all nature, as much as is in the heavens, and in the space between, and is under the earth, but of the releasing grace of it from evils and power only those in purification partake, not for the sake of not being dragged down to Hades, for it is not possible for those once deemed worthy to be cleansed to be in such danger henceforth, but for the sake of running up more quickly when the obstacles have ceased.

4.On account of all these things and whatever agrees with them, the sacred discourse wishes the human matter to be divided into three parts; for some to be foreordained to eternal life even before the beginning of the world, and here using themselves as is proper to such, both being used and being guided by the divine not neglecting anything useful to the end, after the release from this clay to immediately cleave to the end; but others to be rejected from eternity, the divine intention being beforehand as infinite the ever happening to them from choice coming into being; therefore by their own choice and by the abandonment of grace having done the things proper to the failure of the end to immediately arrive at the opposite end to the blessed ones; but others to happen to be pitied, who, by being burdened with not mortal sins at the end of life, or not even having done [them] at the beginning or being cleansed by the warmth of repentance by the mercy of God, would not be brought to Hades in any way; but not yet being worthy of heaven by being hindered by some lighter and pardonable transgressions, since the purity there admits no such thing, being released even from them by the mercy of God, using as a pretext the not having been corrupted in them the love, by which alone the human nature is raised to the communion of God; then also they are deemed worthy of the place of the blessed ones, and being distinguished in themselves by the measure of love, by which it is likely to measure the divine communion. For Paul, being foreordained to the Gospel of Christ, says that the crown of righteousness is laid up for him, which will be given by the righteous judge, in which day indeed it was necessary for him to leave behind the earthly house of the tabernacle being dissolved; but to immediately inhabit the house in the heavens not made with hands; and to depart indeed from the sojourn, but to be with Christ in the homeland; and as many as have lived this life with the spirit of Paul receive the supernatural blessedness, by the rights of the fruits of love, as receiving it both as a gift and as a prize; but those whom we said are being purified to ascend for a time, receive that gift altogether by pity; for it does not suffice those thus greatly loved not to trample until the end the laws of love, but it is necessary also to show its fruits, of which also greatly showing many, there would be no comparison to the future good pleasure and the supernatural communion of God, since Paul having been so much emboldened by the fruits of love, and these things of such fruits not more being reckoned to those having brought them forth than to the one breathing love from heaven.

5.And concerning the former inquiry it suffices to say so much. But concerning the quality of the bodies to be glorified, that wise man deems the things most agreeable to reason, and which everyone would say

following unerring reason; for he does not agree with us in all things; but agreeing in most things, he has used much of the reasonable in them; whence also concerning the matter proposed he adds the truth and shows it as much as it is possible to be shown, although there is not very much need or to have others think [otherwise]. For I indeed know the greatest graces to the one having surely promised to raise my body, and not only having promised, but also having shown it in deed on Himself and having brought Himself as the firstborn from the dead to heaven, and having most faithfully demonstrated the resurrection of His own flesh, through which He was seen having done to others; and I am not even able to admire the excess of His liberality and of such great goodwill concerning the creature; and not so much is it to me great to be able that the same God being able to do all things as to will seems to me; but if it did not thus please the one doing all things most wonderfully, it would have been enough for me indeed to live even without flesh in the communion of God and of all the composition concerning the body, which although we know the earnest ones here very much despising, and would have wished not even to have been born with it at the beginning, if it were possible. To such ones therefore and thus having it makes no difference to receive the grace concerning the body under such a disposition or such by some paradoxicality, as long as the rising ones are about to be incorruptible and impassible and glorious with the other advantages; but for them to have also natural perfection is much more reasonable; therefore also our Lord to those inquiring with importunity whose wife she ought to become through whom no seed was found of the brothers in none, did not answer that it is necessary not to distinguish the races there, but also of those being distinguished He says likewise that there will be no need of connection; and neither will both races do the things of men nor the things of women, but will walk as angels of God; which indeed those living in virginity from either race do here; for men having lived with women and women similarly with men have imitated the evangelical impassibility, to whom such things are at all by nature are nothing of which men need for the sake of generation, and from ceasing to do [them] they have come to not even to think of these at all, nor to desire them, just as also having completely departed [from them] in the manner of the angels.

6.To your third question, we answer thus: to those inquiring about such things, by saying what is true, you will not at all benefit them; but by pretending to follow the opinion of the many, you will not philosophize. You ought therefore to send them away rather by silence; but you would be able to know the accurate as is possible also concerning them thus: towards the not dissolving of some bodies like the other dead but remaining congealed, more and not similar things seem to contribute; for to some this happens by the nature of the part of the earth; to others because of the same nature; for the well-nourished and fat dissolve sooner, being ready for putrefaction and decay; but those congealed in life either through a long-lasting disease or by abstaining strictly for a long time or even completely dead remain congealed, and much more in a harder and not very moist part of the earth than in some newly dug grave; and to others for the sake of other causes, among which is also that for the sake of holiness or unpardonable sin, as has prevailed in the common opinion; but it seems to be wonderful, if from different and opposite causes the same result happens to the dead bodies, this would be the not being dissolved; a certain difference appearing in both consoles this; for the not being dissolved is one for both, but it is not in the same way, but under different characteristics of the constitution; if therefore it is true that such things happen in the bodies of the earnest ones and partakers of God or contrarily disposed for the sake of sanctification and for glory, and also for the sake of wickedness and for ingloriousness, there would be some economy of the divine such things, healing each of men as they

would be healed, and for the benefit of the many, who are scarcely led to the good by the obvious, using the works of nature; and for this reason He would preserve the body of the earnest one undissolved, which would have been dissolved by all other causes, so that He may stir up to emulation of virtue; and He would preserve likewise also the corpse of the wicked one undissolved, which would have been dissolved, so that He may turn others away from wickedness by fear; but it is not also undissolvably having from within of each of the dead from what causes by nature of such a constitution, but He dispenses to receive them being such, arousing to reveal those who would not have revealed from within. However, it is not necessary to make it a sure proof of the soul of this one being blessed that her corpse has not been dissolved being congealed, nor of the soul of this one being punished that her corpse has not been dissolved being congealed; for this would be of ignorance both of others and of the mysteries of nature, which having received from God, which also the Latin proverb more boldly, though not blameworthy, expresses; for many, it says, whose remains are honored on earth, their souls are punished in Hades, and whose bodies are dishonored on earth, their souls are glorified in the heavens; although they also honor indeed the things worthy of honor, and there is the greatest reverence for them concerning such things, but they do not make it a necessary proof of glory for a separated soul the remaining of the corpse undissolved. But concerning the honored dead it must now be left aside; for the discourse concerning them is greater, and it would be necessary to consider many things, if it were primarily proposed concerning them; among which also the God's working many wonders to those approaching reverently and worthily to such remains, which would especially be a proof and much surer than the not being dissolved of the soul once being with it being glorified by the divine communion in the heavens. But neither would this be altogether a necessary sign; for neither does the boldness towards God alone of the blessed spirit nor as many other things as contribute to such divine miracle-working avail so much as the faith of the approaching one, which God confirms by the miracle, for many beneficial reasons; therefore also if someone has well to understand that the one receiving a prophet in the name of a prophet will receive a prophet's reward, it would not seem to him worthy of perplexity if someone once approaching one of those living unworthily with faith towards God unadulterated and of believing in the prevailing opinion concerning man, should happen to obtain God's miracle-working; nor if even departing from men as divine not using such a one, he would succeed similarly; nor if with the spirit being among the blessed, having approached his corpse not being [there], but being believed to be, and thus should obtain the mercy of God; of such things the life of men is full because faith alone is primarily sought, and alone suffices to accomplish all things, if it should be formed and live by the form of love being with it.

7.Concerning the dead, who seem to undergo punishment by remaining undissolved, about whom you said some inquire of you, in addition to what has recently been said concerning them, you must also know these things. For all the dead separated from the divine either through unbelief or through unpardonable wickedness, it is not necessary for this condition to happen; for we know even more that the bodies of the unbelievers are dissolved, being, I suppose, more delicate in constitution. But if someone, despising the divine laws, and not even when the separation from God of the Church threatens him, would turn back, and for this reason dies impenitently transgressing, the spirit indeed, being separated from God through the unrepented transgression, is punished by a second worse transgression, by the shameless disregard against the Church and its governor from heaven; and it is absolutely necessary for this to be so; so that even if the dead one suffered the common condition of the majority, the wretchedness of the spirit would not be disputable

on account of this, the shame of the sin being openly brought forth; and something such would be dispensed also concerning the body, in accordance with the prevailing opinion among the many, not so that anything more of either evil or better should happen thence to the one having very willingly chosen the separation from God, but so that thence at least those living more carelessly may be roused to the fear of God and the Church, and for the sake of other benefits; and what would have been dissolved or having been dissolved and not having been seen, God sets forth undissolved to the sight of the many; but this is not a sign of the spirits once associated with them being separated from God; for there is no necessity for the things concerning the dead of the present disposition to be signs of the souls once associated with them, as if being connected with each other; but the unpardonable and most shameless aversion and disregard of the divine in them would be a most sufficient proof of their being excluded from that divine communion; and these things must be attributed either to nature or sometimes also to divine economies, as has been said.

8.Concerning the inquiry whether these also are about to rise, there is no place; for on what account indeed would they not rise; for they would be ensouled and would receive their own then or those completely corrupted; but if so as not to be made inoperative in living, then indeed these must rise again with the others, undergoing punishment, just as those of the earnest ones will rise again to suffer with the souls having subjected them; and much more must they rise again for eternal punishment, because they themselves and the sensation once in them by the weakness of the reason working in them had become causes not only to transgress, but also to shamelessly resist and to disregard the divine, as far as it depends on them; but it would have been better for them not to rise, and still more not even to have been born, the divine word says. But for the reasons said it is necessary that not only these of all should remain unpunished, but receiving again the being, to undergo the punishment similarly to all with those only associated with the wretched ones; or more accurately to say, they increase the punishment with the spirits as they would be related, since they themselves would not be able to partake of any pleasure there, nor again of pain, but become an addition of pleasure or pain to the spirits having received [them]. But the power of the Church has to release from condemnation and to make worthy of God those worthy of repentance; but to separate from Him is not hers. But those having sinned the ultimate sins rather separate themselves from God and from their mother the Church; and she uses them as separated by themselves, and advises the prudent of her children to flee the matricides, and threatens to separate, so that they may not be separated; but to separate herself from God so much is she far from pre-grieving, that she even brings destruction upon the body from God, having the greatest power, so that the spirit may be saved, but as long as the soul is here with the body; but when they are separated, the things coming upon the corpse do not at all reach the soul either for the worse or for the better, just as neither from it does anything flow to the corpse; but the Church healing with God the many as they would be healed, and much more than nature being present in the necessary things to the children; and this is in accordance with the I know not whence prevailing opinion among them concerning such things of those thus having chosen for themselves to be separated from God; bringing forth some sign even in their corpses, nor would she be believed to do impossible things and very beneficial. These things to you concerning the questions in brief; of which the former, that there must be the greatest concern both to me and to you and to everyone at all examining by reason and following by deed; but concerning the rest to be less concerned how it may be; and with the former from the agreed upon truths concerning it and not what those happening to say randomly, of the many, that we have delivered the fewest collected; but with the others of the much

possible being present, we think to have delivered the most possible concerning such things, for the sake of your goodwill and understanding, as has been said; for it is not necessary to answer to the many concerning such things, both for the reasons said and as it makes no difference thus or otherwise for them to happen or to be about to happen and to be thought concerning them. To the one teaching those seeking knowledge, and in the place of riddles as is possible, in the Trinity one God, glory, amen.

5. On the state of intermediate souls or Purgatory.

† On the state of intermediate souls or Purgatory.
To the most honorable Lord John the Just of Thessalonica, Gennadius sends greetings concerning Purgatory.

1.I improvise for you, most learned and best of friends, concerning the Purgatory of the Latins, or rather purgatory, having sought moderately these things, more than the present time does not at all allow us, until, God granting, we send you after leisure a most sufficient [account] composed. First then know that the wiser among us have made little account of this innovation of the Latins in this matter, even if this is numbered among the errors of the Latins, and being truly an error. Secondly, know that the Latins do not say some restoration of the souls being punished in Hades after the presence of Christ in certain periods of times, saying purgatory, but they say some purification before that presence of the pardonable impurities in the souls of men being made through fire; and this is much different from the former; for the former was the heresy of Origen, drawn from the Platonic absurdities and fables, having been subjected to anathema by the Church through the fifth synod. Thirdly, hear the cause of this Latin thesis. For it says that after the separation from the body, the souls being immediately receptive of reward or punishment, and immediately receive each, nor is there any delay of the rewards of the blessed or the punishments of the wicked, until the souls receive the bodies again; but they say it is possible [for] the obstacle [to be] from the part of the blessed, so that the souls immediately released from the body do not receive the ultimate rewards, which consist in the vision of God; for to that vision it is not possible for the rational nature to be led unless it has been completely purified, as it is said in Isaiah: "And nothing unclean shall pass through it"; but the soul is defiled by sin insofar as it is disorderly connected with vain things, and therefore not indeed of defilement is it cleansed in the present life through repentance and the other ecclesiastical mysteries, but it happens sometimes for such purification in the present life not to come completely to an end, but man still owes justice either through some negligence or distraction or through death having overtaken [him], yet not for this is he deemed worthy to be completely excluded from the rewards; for this without the mortal sins is impossible to happen, through which alone love is taken away, to which love the eternal life is owed as a reward. It is necessary therefore after this life for such ones to be purified before attaining the last rewards; and this purification happens through punishments therefore the attaining of the last prizes is in delays for the souls of the righteous, of those in the present life having something in need of purification, until they undergo the purifying punishments. This is the argument of the thesis; and they confirm the thesis, as much as [it pertains] to there being a purgatory, from the custom of the Church praying for the dead; which indeed custom would be in vain, unless a purgatory were established after death; for the Church does not pray for those already having obtained the good or evil determined for them, but for those not yet arrived at the end. They also confirm it from the revelations often made to the saints living here at various times and places concerning purgatory and punishments, by which some souls were worn down, as is found in the Lives of the Fathers and in histories and in the books of Saint Gregory the Dialogist; which indeed revelations it is impossible to be false and deceptive. But as much as [it pertains] to the purifying punishment being made through fire, they confirm the thesis from the apostolic saying in the first [epistle] to the Corinthians, in the third [chapter]: "If anyone builds on this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw, each one's

work will become manifest; for the Day of the Lord will reveal it, because it is revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort each one's work is. If anyone's work which he built endures, he will receive a reward; if anyone's work is burned up, he will suffer loss; yet he himself will be saved, but only as through fire." The Latins indeed say other things also for the confirmation of their thesis, but these are the main points.

2.I set forth to you next the doctrine of our Orthodox Church; this one believes the same things almost with the Roman [church], as much as [it pertains] to the not entering into eternal life those happening to be involved in remissible [sins] immediately, but by the aerial demons, by the Fathers being called toll collectors, being tried to judge concerning such souls for the in any way appearing to them signs of sins until a certain or even greatest [point] being hindered, by the permission of God to give justice in this hindrance; and instead of the punishment owed thence, which they did not manage to pay well and make satisfaction, to undergo the delay of the reserved reward and the temporary deprivation of the glory of God from the demonic hindrances, until by the knowledge of the remissible sins, through which they are hindered by the demons, and by the pain and grief for these things having called forth the divine mercy, they are released from the hindrance by the philanthropy of God and thus with a light wing may they ascend to the heavenly place, the evil spirits no longer being able to approach them, when they see the light of the divine ray shine upon them unmixed and completely untouched and unapproachable by the touches of darkness; for the faster release of which souls from this place about the earth contributes the custom of the Church, and especially [it is] true and most necessary, even if the things accustomed to happen for the departed are not only beneficial for such souls, but also for those having gone down to Hades not a little, not releasing from the punishment there nor giving hope of complete release; for how [can it be] for those having impenitently left this life in mortal sins; but providing some relief of the very pressing [punishment] temporary; which indeed both the narrative according to the great Macarius the Egyptian ascetic concerning the skull found in the desert being asked of such an answer shows; and the saying in the prayers of the great Basil read at Pentecost more clearly sets forth: "Who also in this all-complete feast, He says, and salvific having deemed it worthy to receive suppliant prayers for those held in Hades, and granting us great hopes of relief to those held of the distressing [things] holding them and comfort to be sent down from Thee." But very rarely has it been found also [that] some souls burdened by the eternal sentence of the punishments in Hades, but by the readily heard powerful prayers of some sanctified men here and especially high priests have been completely released from the punishments in Hades, to be deemed worthy of the blessed life, as is said and believed concerning Trajan and Theophilus the kings; of whom one indeed was of the mind of the Greeks, and the other was hostile to the honor of the icons, making the prayer of the Church and its ministers εισαγώγιμον to the divine philanthropy of some good works of the punished ones, as the righteousness of the said kings had. And if someone should grant that souls go down even to Hades, of those having died in only remissible sins, whence being released by the things being done for them by the Church or from their relatives to be received into the life in the heavens, as the blessed Theophanes the Confessor says in some of the canons he says for the departed: "Of tears and groans in Hades release, O Christ, but not as in fire and bodily punishment, but as in a prison and jail being confined, they remain there the time that has been deferred to them the blessed life, beseeching the judge with groans and tears and fear of the complete fall from life and calling forth His compassion.

3.And if we seek the complete release of those being punished somewhere in Hades praying, by pity towards those and daring impossible things we do this, hoping the divine mercy concerning these things,

insofar as also some of those having died in mortal sins are believed to have been released by the philanthropy of God and by the insistent supplication of some inspired ones, as has been said concerning those kings, and as is said concerning Falconilla, whom the protomartyr Thecla rescued; even if we would not have such a hope concerning all together of those held in Hades, the Divine Scripture standing against [us] saying that the punishment in Hades of those condemned in it is eternal, but we beseech God concerning all this, so that the divine mercy making the petition of the Church a starting point for itself, once the greatest power having been given by Him to the Church and its mysteries, He may show mercy to some, to whom through some surpassing virtue in this life it is possible for the mortal sin to be forgiven; since indeed we would not be able here to know well who these are, so as to pray for them specifically and by name. These things however happening before the second coming of Christ and that final vote move the mercy of God and of the Church very reasonably; since, after that vote, the souls divided to each place will have eternal and unending the state in blessedness and in Hades. But generally and summarily to say, both the Church among us, just as that of Rome, assigns the heavenly end to the souls immediately indeed to the blessed and leaving behind the bodies with perfect love, and assigns the punishments in Hades to others, that apostolic saying not standing against [us] of not having received the promise, so that they should not be made perfect apart from us; for this does not signify the delay of the rewards or punishments owed in the souls by themselves, but of those owed to the body, which according to the Lord's promise rising then or will co-enjoy the good things with the soul or will undergo the eternal judgments with it.

4.Since therefore the perfection of man consists in the soul and the body together, because these are united in man not by accident but essentially and substantially, but are separated by accident, man undergoing the punishment of ancestral sin in death, which is a dissolution of the essential parts of man, it is necessary then, when the accidental ceases, for the essential to return to man. As long as man is only soul, not yet the body having risen, he is incomplete according to nature, therefore also he is incompletely blessed; and this addition according to time He will make to men from the second coming of Christ, and then they will be perfected, as now indeed enjoying the blessedness of souls alone, then also enjoying that of bodies; for it is necessary for the flesh itself to rejoice, in which they endured the crucifixions and pains for Christ; but those having been prepared indeed for the eternal life in general, but being hindered from it by certain remissible sins until a certain [point], in one of the ways and places said they pay the punishment that delay and the burden in the hindrance; and thus calling forth the divine compassion, the cause of the hindrance being remissible, they are received into blessedness; nor is it just for both those seized by mortal sins and those erring with remissible and pardonable [sins], in which the principle of divine love has not been corrupted, to undergo the same punishment in quality and form, namely that through fire, differing only in extension and shortness of time; nor for both kinds of souls to be of the same quality, so that the punitive fire there should reach them equally, nor have we heard anyone saying a purgatorial or temporary fire defined for human souls, without that eternal and unquenchable one. This is the position of our Church, as has been said, agreeing somehow with the Roman except for the purification being made through fire, and for a purification to happen at all; for it posits that delay to be not a purification of impurity, but rather a removal of some bond and hindrance.

5.It is next therefore to answer also to the things confirming the Latin position as has been said. That indeed the custom of the Church is not superfluous nor random, and that it is established and happens and

contributes for the benefit of releasing the human soul from the hindrance through the pardonable sin, we concede, but it is not necessary also for the soul being purified through fire to be released from the hindrance; for neither is this found anywhere being said nor is it necessary to think thus because of the custom of the Church; for the argument of the remissible sin suffices to effect both, that is, the sin indeed to hinder the enjoyment, until a certain [point]; and it would not do this as pardonable; or what indeed would the pardonable differ from the mortal, both being driven through the fire and the sharpness in it, as much as [it pertains] to being punishable and both? Nothing; and thus the argument of the remissible sin would be corrupted, so that it happens to those punishing the remissible sin by the sensation of the pain through fire to say the remissible not remissible but punishable. But to the confirmation from the revelations of the saints, we say that those revelations were certain economies being miraculously worked by God for the conversion of the living and correction from sure information concerning the threatened punishments made by the revelations, being true indeed in the reasonable souls of those seeing or hearing on account of producing some true hindrance and release of hindrance, of which there is need and such things, but not indeed necessarily for there to be fire temporarily punishing and purifying through punishment compelling [us] to think because both fire and hot waters and such things were seen in those revelations and miracles. But to the saying of the Apostle, in which especially the position of the Latins concerning the purification through fire is based, we say that they do not understand that well nor agreeably with the interpreting teachers, very indeed dissonantly and unharmoniously; for first indeed that fire was called by the apostle testing not purifying; then also he says that the good things of the works will pass through it; these indeed it is clear nowhere need purification; then he says that those bringing the evil works, those being burned up, will be punished; but those being purified, besides not being punished at all, also indeed gain. But it is necessary rather being persuaded by Chrysostom and the other most accurate of the sacred interpreters to understand that therefore the fire in the time and place of judgment will not destroy the good things of men; it will indeed illuminate, a light, not fire, becoming to those, when they go before the Lord according to David, and according to Daniel the river of fire, and these are the gold and the precious stones; but it will burn up the wickednesses of men having encompassed [them]; for they are all easily burned, being signified by the straw and the grass; and he carrying such actions will indeed be punished, when they are being destroyed by the fire; but he himself will remain being punished and will not be destroyed with the evil dispositions; nor once will the wickedness be destroyed being burned, but it will always indeed be destroyed, and being destroyed it will always be and burning; but he himself will always be preserved, as it is likely to be preserved in fire; for who indeed would truly be in fire salvation? But the Latins understand the purification [to be] burning, and salvation the attainment of eternal life, which even if someone of the teachers among them has said thus, it must be overlooked with caution, as least attaining the apostolic purpose, as the teachers among us happened very wonderfully and well.

6.Thus therefore it is clear that it is not necessary [for] a purgatorial fire, as the Latins say, to exist, nor can this thesis be true, being confirmed from nowhere; but in [the fact] that those having pardonable sins arrive at blessedness in a certain time, being released from the hindrance upon them by the ways said before, we and the Latins agree; therefore also among both it has prevailed to do many things for the departed, we being ignorant who indeed would be burdened with mortal sins, and who with remissible, and for this reason simply doing these things for all, if indeed anything also concerning some having died in mortal

transgressions not despairing of divine help either through some just petition being worked or through surpassing virtue of theirs or especially both; for the former is strong being joined to the latter, but not simply. But just as some slander the Latins as saying a restoration of all to eternal life through purgatory and a cessation of punishment, not knowing how they say purgatory, that they posit this before the last coming of Christ, so also the Latins slander us as thinking that all the souls of men are immediately brought to punishment and immediately to eternal life, where each is worthy to be brought; and just as those received into eternal life are surely established in it, so also they say that we [believe] those cast into punishment are eternally held there; and thus they say that we make the aids for the dead in vain; for neither do the blessed need them, nor can those once and for all eternally condemned be at all helped. We do not say thus, but as has been said in a way considering and dividing the souls in the departure of the body into three [classes], of which the middle ones are beneficial to be helped by the remedies from the Church, even if in the last ones there is sometimes something they have accomplished and similarly are able to benefit, and we stand well with the ecclesiastical custom, and we would not transgress any of the limits set by us; but they stand with the custom of the Church, and they speak well concerning those of remissible sins; but introducing fire and purification of fire from themselves they err; which no one of the teachers among us would have been unaware of, if it were true.

7.These things to you, dearest, concerning the purgatorial fire as indeed the account is otherwise, may it suffice for the present; but know the Latins [to be] slightly blamed on account of the purgatorial fire by our true Church of Christ, as also has been said at the beginning of the present [letter]; but erring unspeakably in these three things: first, that they perform the sacrifice with unleavened bread, which seemed utterly dreadful to our fathers and teachers, not only because they bring back again the type instead of grace, as they also use other Judaic customs, jubilees and certain other such trifles; for these things indeed were venerable in the type, but what place do they have in grace? But what is much more dreadful, that this way leads to the position of Apollinarius concerning the sacrifice; whence also Apollinarius is recorded to have innovated this custom first among Christians and the others to have received [it] from him, both some Armenians and the Latins themselves, all Christians immediately from Christ performing the mystery of the Eucharist with leavened bread in all churches; for Apollinarius saying that the flesh of Christ was soulless and mindless, the Godhead sufficing instead of a soul, and babbling that Christ is of Godhead and flesh, not a perfect man having been assumed by the Godhead of the Word, for this reason also [he thought] to sanctify the mysterious flesh of Christ through unleavened bread, because it seemed to him that the unleavened resembled something soulless and lifeless, lacking the leaven making the rising, and otherwise also [it seemed to him] to be something simple and uncompounded, as he posited the humanity of Christ, only human flesh without a human soul. Whence also I recall having seen writings of older [writers] against the unleavened sacrifice much more than the writings against the addition; for our ancient [writers] made much account of this innovation; and it seems that this was innovated a little before the addition, as it appears from the reproving epistles to the popes of the most holy high priests of the East being preserved, of which the most are sharply attacking him on account of the sacrifice, saying nothing about the addition, but others [speak] concerning both; and the time of those writing the epistles testifies to this very thing. The second indeed in the generation of time, but first in order, is the error concerning the procession, having become twofold to them, both that they falsely opined concerning the procession of the Spirit and that they added the falsehood

to the symbol; to which it is not necessary to add anything immediately from the second synod until and of all the ecumenical [synods] with threats and laws and actions it prevailed. And this twofold infirmity has also made the schism; for on account of the unleavened sacrifice our [people] tolerated the pope, always threatening the separation, but not separating [yet], for they hoped that the [bishop] of Rome would be corrected; but the addition having been made, they immediately cut the pope out of the diptychs; for it was no longer tolerable; for it was manifest heresy. The third, less than none of them, but recently happened; therefore also nothing written against them is found in our [writings], [we] having been more vehemently moved against this, if it were erred in those times; that they give to their laity for communion the body, that is, the unleavened bread, but not also the blood of Christ among them, against all reason and all justice; for this [practice] has very many absurdities inherent in it, which we omit for brevity. For this reason also very many nations now are breaking away and have broken away from the subjection of the pope, which were previously subjected. Repentance.

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[THE END]